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HISTORY

THE INDIAN NAVY.

(1613—1863).

BY

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HISTORY OF THE INDIAN NAVY.

CHAPTER I.

1831—1838.

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IN consequence of serious differences having arisen with the Chinese authorities at Canton, involving not only the forcible occupation of the British factory, and the demolition of a wall and quay, but the endangering of the lives of British merchants, Lord William Bentinck despatched Captain Fremantle, commanding H.M.S. 'Challenger,' accompanied by the Hon. Company's ship 'Clive,' Captain Harris, with a letter addressed to the Viceroy of Canton. The two ships arrived off Macao on the 4th of December, 1831, and, on the 8th, the Select Committee of merchants at Canton, with whom Captain Fremantle communicated, sent a deputation to the Chinese Governor, to inquire when it would be convenient for him to grant an audience to Captain Fremantle for the purpose of receiving the Governor-General's letter of August 27, demanding reparation and protection for British interests. Governor Le refused personally to receive the letter, which, according to

Chinese custom, he persisted in styling a "petition," but requested that it might be presented through the "hong," or native merchants, a proposal which Mr. Marjoribanks, President of the Select Committee, rejected with indignation. Ultimately Governor Le reluctantly consented to receive the letter through a mandarin of rank, stipulating that the British officers were to proceed from Macao to Canton in their boats, the ships-of-war remaining below the Bogue forts.

Accordingly, on the 31st of December, at half-past ten a.m., boats from the 'Challenger' and 'Clive,' and from the Company's trading ships, arrived at the stairs of the Company's garden, all fully officered and manned. The captains were in attendance, and everything was arranged to give as much effect as possible to the ceremony At a quarter before twelve, all took their places in the boats, which pulled out into the stream, and then proceeded to the southern gate. The boats formed two abreast, those of the 'Challenger' and 'Clive' taking the lead. When abreast the 'Dutch Folly,' they were met by a boat, on board of which was Mr. (the late Sir John F.) Davis, who joined the party in the 'Challenger's' pinnace, and the procession proceeded. On approaching the place of meeting, the numberless native boats, the house-tops, and every available space, were found to be crowded with Chinese, who were, however, kept in order by a strong body of native policemen: and the passage from the shore to the place where the Mandarin was seated, was lined with Chinese soldiers. On the arrival of the British party the marines landed, and then Captains Fremantle and Harris followed, with the other captains and the gentlemen of the factory. They proceeded to the inner pavilion, at the end of which were the two mandarins deputed to receive the letter, surrounded by several other mandarins, and the linguists in attendance. Captain Fremantle then advanced, and requested Dr. Morrison to inform the principal mandarin that he was the bearer of a letter from the Governor-General of India to the Viceroy of Canton; and, in delivering it to him, he understood he delivered it to an officer of proper authority and rank, deputed by the Governor to receive the "public despatch." The mandarin signified an assent and received the letter, saluted Captain Fremantle, and the party retired, the marines presenting arms in the usual manner. The party then re-embarked, and returned in the same order as they came. A reply was transmitted through the "hong" merchants, for the acceptance of Captain Fremantle, but owing to the channel by which it was conveyed, and to its being addressed to no one, it was not received. Matters continued in this unsatisfactory state at Canton, and it was not until after the Chinese had received their first lesson of British power in 1840-42, that they were brought to a sense of their own impotence.

The 'Clive' quitted Canton on the 15th of February, 1832, for Bombay, but Mr. (the late Captain) Stephens, one of her midshipmen, was detached for service as draughtsman.

As regards the internal economy of the Indian Navy, the Court of Directors, in August, 1831, made further changes in the uniform, assimilating it more to the pattern worn in the Royal Service.*

In May of this year the Hon. Company's brig-of-war 'Nautilus' arrived at Bombay from Berbera, on the Soomali coast, having lost fifteen of her crew from cholera, contracted whilst visiting that port. She reported that this dire disease had made most dreadful ravages at Berbera, all the inhabitants of which had either died or fled. The plague also raged with fearful violence in Bagdad, Tabreez, and Bushire, which the British Resident and merchants had quitted for Kharrack At Tabreez it carried off thirty thousand persons in six months, and, in Bagdad, no less than fifty thousand, out of a total population of eighty thousand, fell victims to its ravages, at one time three thousand dying per day.

On the 9th of April was founded the Bombay Geographical Society, and Sir Charles Malcolm was elected its first President, a post he held until he left India in 1838, when he was succeeded by Captain Daniel Ross, Indian Navy Sir Charles conducted the duties of the office with conspicuous success, and the Journal of the Society, which was affiliated to the parent institution in England, was replete with articles and memoirs, a large proportion of which were contributed by officers of the

* The following were the Orders issued by the Court —"Captains—Coat, superfine blue cloth, with black velvet lapells, cuffs, and collar Nine buttons on each side, equi-distant, and three on each cuff Pocket flaps to have three points and three buttons, collar lapells and pocket flaps to be lined with white silk serge Embroidery as formerly Trowsers, superfine blue cloth or kerseymere (worn over a short boot) with black straps Waistcoat, white kerseymere, single-breasted, with nine buttons Black silk neckcloth or stock Cocked hat Sword, sword belt, and knot the same as worn by the officers in Her Majesty's Navy, with the Company's crest on the handle Lieutenants—The same as the Commanders, without embroidery on the coat Round hat with gold loop Surgeons —Coat, superfine blue cloth, with lapells to buttons closed up, stand up collar, with a velvet band one inch wide round the same, and a double serpent ring of velvet on each side thereof Lining, buttons, &c, same as the officers, plain round hat Pursers—Same as the surgeons, with a plain velvet collar to the coat —Assistant Surgeons—Same as Surgeons, but with velvet of only half an inch wide round the collar, and a single serpent ring on each side thereof, no buttons to the pocket flaps Midshipmen—Coat, single-breasted with nine buttons in front, none on the cuffs or pocket flaps Stand up collar, with a black velvet patch on each side, to be lined with white worsted serge To wear dirks All the buttons to be of one pattern, viz, raised, with one anchor, and surmounted by the Company's crest Officers in India, or when on duty in the summer months in England, are permitted to wear white jean or drill trowsers and waistcoats, with shoes and silk stockings in the evening On board, jackets and caps may be worn as undress Undress coats the same as full dressing, without the silk lining Captain's undress coat only to be embroidered on the collar and cuffs."

Indian Navy. At the time of the abolition of the Service, the Bombay Geographical Society numbered one hundred and two members.

On the evening of the 1st of March, 1831, a fine eighty-four-gun ship, built by Nowrojee Jamsetjee, the Company's master builder, was launched in Bombay Dockyard, and christened by Lady Malcolm, the 'Calcutta:' she was a beautiful specimen of workmanship, and fastened on Sir R Sepping's principle, and though nominally an eighty-four, she could carry ninety-six guns The 'Calcutta' was the eighth* line-of-battle ship built for Her Majesty's Service in Bombay Dockyard, exclusive of others for the Imaum of Muscat by those famous Parsee shipbuilders, Jamsetjee Bomanjee, Nowrojee and Cursetjee; and Sir Charles Malcolm only stated a fact when he informed the multitude assembled at the launch of the 'Calcutta,' that the Company's dockyard had produced "some of the finest men-of-war he had ever in the course of his career met with." Among these was the 'Asia,' eighty-four guns, 2,889 tons, the largest ship hitherto built in India, which was the flagship of Sir Edward Codrington at the battle of Navarino; and of which Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm wrote to his brother, Sir Charles:—"Tell my old friend, Nowrojee, what a glorious part the 'Asia' sustained in the battle of Navarino, and how proud I am of his success as a builder"

On the 3rd of July, 1831, Commodore Sir John Hayes, senior officer of the Indian Navy, and master-attendant at Calcutta, expired in his 64th year at the residence of Mr Ross, on Kulling's Island, in the Cocos group, in the Bay of Bengal, where he had been landed six days before from the Hon Com-

* The following is a list of ships and vessels constructed at Bombay for Her Majesty's Service —

		Guns	Burden in tons	Floated out
Pitt .	Frigate	36	872	Jan 17, 1805
Salsette		36	885	Mar 24, 1807
Minden	Ship	74	1681	June 19, 1810
Cornwallis		74	1767	May 2, 1813
Victor	Brig	18	384	Oct. 29, 1814
Sphynx	Brigantine	12	239	Jan 25, 1815
Wellesley	Ship	74	1745	Feb 24, 1815
Zebra	Brig	18	385	Nov 18, 1815
Cameleon	Brigantine	12	239	Jan 16, 1816
Amphitrite	Frigate	38	1064	April 14, 1816
Melville	Ship	74	1767	Feb 11, 1817
Tuncomalee	Frigate	38	1065	Oct 19, 1817
Malabar	Ship	74	1715	Dec 28, 1818
Seringapatam	Frigate	38	1152	Sept 5, 1819
Ganges .	Ship	84	2284	Nov 10, 1821
Madagascar	Frigate	46	1166	Oct 31, 1822
Asia .	Ship	84	2289	Jan 17, 1824

On the 17th March, 1828, the 'Bombay,' eighty-four guns, but pierced to carry one hundred and twelve guns, was launched from the dock, in 1829, the 'Andromache,' frigate, in 1831, the 'Calcutta,' eighty-four guns, mentioned above, and in 1848, the sixteen-gun brigs 'Nerbudda' and 'Jumna.'

pany's ship 'Coote,' in which he sailed for sea air to restore his shattered health. In him the Service lost its most distinguished officer since the time of James and Watson, and the Indian Government an able and upright servant.

The Calcutta Government Gazette notified the sad event on the 11th of August, and the Press expressed the universal feeling of regret, while the shipping in the river Hooghly hoisted their colours half-mast, as a mark of respect to the gallant officer. Throughout his long and eventful career, Sir John Hayes never strove to reap any personal pecuniary benefit, but his public acts were inspired solely by the desire of doing his duty and promoting the interests of his masters; of this single-mindedness we have a striking example in his permitting two captured Chinese junks, having on board cargoes valued at £600,000, to go free, when, by retaining them, he might have compromised the interests of the Company, although his share of the booty as Commodore would have been upwards of £33,000. Shortly before his death, the gallant veteran received a sum of over £1,400 as prize-money, the notification* of which, probably, surprised no one more than himself, as a period of twenty-six years had elapsed since the capture for which it was awarded.

The following "Minute of Council" was published by the Bombay Government on the occasion of the death of Sir John Hayes:

"Bombay Castle, August 31st, 1831.

"The Right Hon. the Governor in Council having received intelligence of the death, on the 3rd of July, of Commodore Sir John Hayes, Knight, of the Indian Navy, feels it to be due to the memory of that gallant and lamented officer, to record the high sense entertained by Government of his valuable public services, for a period of nearly fifty years. The late Sir John Hayes entered the Service, of which he was so distinguished a member, in 1781, and was actively engaged in the principal naval operations which took place during the subsequent twenty years on the Western coast of India, and in the Eastern seas. In 1809 he was appointed Master-Attendant at

* The following was the official notice —

"Marine Board, Fort William, January 22, 1830.—Notice is hereby given, that individuals actually serving on board the Hon Company's frigate 'Bombay,' Captain John Hayes, and armed ship 'Lord Castlereagh,' Captain George Robertson, in August, 1804, on the occasion of the capture of the Fort of Muckie, on the west coast of Sumatra, are entitled to receive prize money in the following proportions —

1st	Captains . . .	Rupees	1,4324	14	10
2nd.	Commissioned Officers		795	13	4
3rd	Warrant Officers .		561	12	2
4th.	Petty Officers .	„	116	6	2
5th.	All other individuals	„	17	5	4

"Individuals claiming on account of the 'Bombay,' are to apply to this Office, furnishing proof of identity."

Calcutta, by the Hon. Court of Directors, and in 1811, received a Commodore's commission for the Java Expedition, on which occasion he commanded a squadron of nine vessels of war; and in the late Burmese war he was in command of the armed flotilla as a flag-officer, on the coast of Arracan. A sword was voted to Sir John Hayes in 1798, by the Court of Directors for his intrepid behaviour in an engagement with pirates in the Gulf of Cutch, when he was severely wounded, and he had repeatedly received the thanks of the Hon. Court and of successive Governments, in Bengal and Bombay. The thanks of Parliament for the gallant conduct of himself, officers, and men, during the Burmese war, and the honour of knighthood conferred on him by his Sovereign, further marks the estimation in which his services have been held. The Right Hon. the Governor in Council is sensible that any expression of his sentiments on the services and character of the late Commodore Sir John Hayes must be feeble, after the testimonials already cited; but in justice to an officer of such distinguished merit and integrity, and as an example and encouragement to others, his Lordship in Council deemed it fit briefly to advert to these services and honours, and to offer his tribute of applause and of regret on this lamented occasion" The above testimony only does justice to the character of Sir John Hayes. The Indian Navy has produced, before and since, equally gallant seamen, but neither this nor any other public service often numbers within its ranks an officer so disinterested and single-minded that throughout his long career no one could cast a stone at him, or refer to a single incident in which a regard for the welfare of the public service was not the *sole* actuating principle of his conduct.

We have, in the course of this work, introduced the services of Sir John Hayes, which form so brilliant a chapter in the history of the Indian Navy, but now that we have chronicled the closing scene of his life, we will give a brief *resumé* of his meritorious public career:—Mr. Hayes was appointed a volunteer in the Bombay Marine in December, 1781, when only thirteen years of age. In 1782-3, while midshipman of the 'Bombay,' he cut out two ships in Mangalore Roads, and was present assisting at the capture of Cundapore, Onore, Mangalore, and Merjee. From 1784 to 1788 he was employed as midshipman and lieutenant on board various cruisers at Bussorah, Calcutta, Canton, Prince of Wales' Island, and other places; and was even employed occasionally on active land service, when the war broke out with Tippoo Sultan. In 1790-1, he was attached to the army under General Abercromby, and was present assisting at the capture of Carlie, Cannanore, and Bilhapatam. After the close of the war, in 1793-4, he commanded two vessels, the 'Duke of Clarence' and the 'Duchess,' on a voyage of

discovery, when he explored Van Diemen's Land and the Derwent River, the south-west side of New Calèdonia, south-east and north coasts of New Guinea, the Molucca Islands, Timor, the whole north and south-east face of Java, from Cape Sandano westward, having passed through the Straits of Madura, and presented the first instance of the progress of a British ship through that intricate channel. During this expedition he adopted such humane and judicious measures in reference to the intercourse of the expedition with the savage inhabitants of several of the places he explored, that not a single life on either side was ever compromised or lost in a quarrel. Personally gallant and fearless to the point of recklessness, Lieutenant Hayes abhorred anything like cruelty or oppression, and though the ships under his command were noted for discipline and efficiency, he had the utmost repugnance to flogging and rarely resorted to it.

In 1797 he was selected to proceed on a mission to the Hakim of Sonmeanee, to demand restitution of a British ship, and was furnished with an armed vessel, the 'Vigilant,' carrying six guns, and a small crew, in addition to his personal escort, consisting of seven artillerymen, two European seamen, and twenty-two Sepoys of the Marine Battalion. On the 13th of January, when close in with the Island of Beyt, at the entrance of the Gulf of Cutch, he was attacked by a squadron of Sanganian pirates, and the action which ensued was perhaps one of the most desperate ever recorded. Lieutenant Hayes had the lobe of his right ear shot away, his right cheek cut in two, and his upper jaw-bone shattered to pieces. This wound was inflicted by a jingal piece, fired close to his head. and was of a frightful character. His life was for a considerable period endangered by it, and his countenance to the last sufficiently indicated the seriousness of the injury *

Lieutenant Hayes was next employed on shore with Colonel Little's detachment until the reduction of Seringapatam in 1799. Afterwards, in command of the 'Alert,' he landed on

* The Court of Directors desired to present him with a sword in recognition of his gallantry and wounds, but as at this time Lieutenant Hayes had a family of only three daughters, he requested that the gift might assume another form, and accordingly he received a magnificent silver cup, on which the following inscription was engraved —"At the entrance of the Gulf of Cutch, the 'Vigilant' was attacked by a fleet of four sail of Sanganian pirates, each vessel double her size and force This unequal and desperate conflict lasted four hours, three-fourths of which time the enemy's vessels were on board the 'Vigilant' About the termination of this memorable contest, Lieutenant Hayes received a severe wound, having the lobe of his right ear shot away, his right cheek cut in two, and his upper jawbone shattered to pieces" Ten years after receiving this cup, Captain Hayes had a son born to him, an officer distinguished in the Army for his linguistic attainments and soldierly acquirements. This son, Captain Fletcher Hayes, was Military Secretary to the late lamented Sir Henry Lawrence, and died of his wounds in the Residency of Lucknow, during the ever-memorable siege

the island of Kenery, mounting two hundred pieces of cannon, recovered a British vessel taken in there, and caused the pirate Rajah, Angria, to pay 500 per cent. upon the cargo deficient through plunder In 1800, while in command of the 'Fly,' cruising against the Malabar pirates, he captured and dismantled their principal battery on the heights of Vingorla. In 1801-2 he was captain of the 'Swift,' of twenty guns, and chief of the Marine at the Moluccas, during which period he commanded the squadron which mainly contributed to the capture of Ternate, the chief seat of the Dutch Government in that quarter, and, in the 'Swift,' defeated and partly destroyed a fleet of forty sail of Magindanao pirate vessels, and thereby saved the Company's settlements on the Celebes. In 1803-5, he was captain of the 'Bombay' frigate, and commodore of a squadron, under a commission granted by Lord Wellesley, for the protection of British shipping in the Bay of Bengal. During this period he recaptured the fort of Muckie, on the coast of Sumatra, and recovered the remaining part of the ordnance and stores, lost through the treachery of the Malay inhabitants. While in command of the Bengal squadron, no British merchant ship suffered by capture within the limits of his cruise or authority.

In 1807, while in England, he was appointed by the Court of Directors, Deputy Master-Attendant at Calcutta, to succeed to the station of Master-Attendant on the death or resignation of the incumbent, without prejudice to his rank or standing in the Bombay Marine; and, in 1809, he so succeeded to the situation of Master-Attendant. In 1811, he received a Commodore's commission of the first class from the Governor-General in Council, for the expedition to Java. On this occasion he commanded a squadron of nine vessels of war, and all the other ships and vessels employed by the Company on the above service. On the 24th of December, 1816, by the death of Commodore Turner, he became Commodore and Senior Officer of the Bombay Marine.*

His last actual service was during the Burmese war, when he commanded the armed flotilla, as a flag officer, on the coast of Arracan. His performance of the duty of Master-Attendant at Calcutta gave the greatest satisfaction, as appears from the testimonials of respect from the mercantile community. During the course of his lengthened service he received the highest marks of honourable consideration from successive Governments, particularly from the Marquis of Wellesley, Sir George Barlow, and Lord Minto; and George IV. conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, a distinction the more flattering as it was unsolicited and unexpected.

* The dates of Sir John Hayes' commissions were —Second-Lieutenant, 1787; First-Lieutenant, 1792, Second-Captain, 1801; First-Captain, 1807.

In summing up the character of Sir John Hayes, we may employ the words used by the conqueror of Gibraltar, Sir George Rooke, who, when a friend, shortly before his death, expressed his surprise that an officer who had possessed so many opportunities of amassing a fortune, was living in comparative poverty, replied, "It is true that I leave little behind me, but what I have has been honestly earned; it never cost a sailor a tear nor the nation a farthing."

An unfortunate occurrence took place on the 1st of July, 1831, owing to the Company's trading ship, 'Marquis of Camden,' not conforming to the strict quarantine regulations on entering Bombay harbour. When going to the eastward of the light vessel at the Sunken Rock, a shot was fired across her bows from the schooner 'Royal Tiger,' Lieutenant Igglesden, as a notice to her to heave-to until the pilot had boarded her. As the captain did not obey this summons, acting on his instructions, which required that if a vessel runs up as far as the Sunken Rock without heaving-to or anchoring, and does not attend to the first shot, she is to be fired into till she does, Lieutenant Igglesden fired again, when the discharge killed the chief mate. An indictment for manslaughter was preferred against Mr. Campbell, who fired the gun, at the instance of the captain of the 'Marquis of Camden,' but the bill was thrown out by the grand jury. "Few events have taken place here," said the 'Bombay Courier,' "which have caused a greater variety of reports."

On the occasion of the retirement from the Service of Captain Collinson, the Governor in Council issued a Government Order, dated the 17th of September, 1832, "expressing the high sense which he entertains of his long and valuable services in the Indian Navy, and especially of the zealous and judicious manner in which he has conducted the important duties of Commodore in the Gulf of Persia during the last three years."

On the 24th of January, 1833, Sir Charles Malcolm, accompanied by his wife and child, proceeded in the 'Elphinstone,' commanded by Captain Rose, to the Cape for the benefit of his health, and was absent for more than a year. During his absence Captain John Crawford, Master-Attendant, officiated as Superintendent, and President of the Board of Health, an office held by the former functionary.

During Sir Charles Malcolm's absence the Master-Attendant was removed from the active list, and a Comptroller of the Dockyard established, Captain Cogan being appointed to the office. New regulations were issued by Captain Crawford, the Acting-Superintendent, for the more efficient control of the dockyard and other establishments at Bombay, and, after they had been in operation for one year, under the superintendence of Commander Cogan, the Comptroller, that officer issued a report

addressed to Sir Charles Malcolm, dated the 26th of December, 1834, as to the great reductions that had been made, without sacrificing the efficiency of these establishments; and he attributed the reductions in ship-building chiefly to the adoption of "the system of contract, instead of the former system of daily mustered labours under an inefficient control" By this system, and the reduced price of timber and other materials required in ship building, amounting to no less than fifty per cent. since 1826, it was calculated that an eighty-four gun ship, similar to the 'Calcutta,' could be built at a cost of £21,026 less than in England; and he adds, "it is universally admitted, that a Bombay teak-built ship is fifty per cent superior to vessels built in Europe." He also stated that merchant ships could be constructed in Bombay dockyard, at a cost of £12 a ton.

Several changes took place at this time, owing to the establishment of the new Charter in 1833, by which the powers of the local government and the Superintendent were curtailed. The whole of the accounts in regard to pay and allowances came into the hands of the Military authorities, and officers were worried with numerous references, and with sheets of foolscap full of frivolous objections as to items of expenditure.

The post of boat-officer was abolished, and the Court of Directors, continuing their share in the process of reorganisation, for which the Service appeared to afford all the authorities so ample a field, abolished the rank of master,* who were *passed* midshipmen, holding a warrant until they attained their lieutenancy in due course of seniority, and instituted the rank of mate.

Captain John Crawford officiated as Superintendent until March, 1834, when he proceeded to England,† embarking in the 'Tigris' for Cosseir. The Governor in Council, by General Order, dated the 5th of March, expressed his thanks to this able

* At a later period this rank was re-established, and was conferred on midshipmen and officers from the merchant service employed with acting rank in the Indus flotilla By order of the Governor of Bombay, dated the 7th of August, 1835, mates (or passed midshipmen) received an extra allowance of fifty rupees per mensem Under date of the 11th of August, in the same year, Government sanctioned a revised scale of prize-money for the different ranks of the Service, —commodores receiving one-sixteenth of the whole, commanding officers of any rank one-sixth, lieutenants, surgeons, captains of marines, each fifty shares, pursers, assistant-surgeons, chaplains, lieutenants of marines and mates, each forty shares, midshipmen, clerks, native and warrant officers, each thirty shares There were six other classes of recipients of prize-money, including European petty officers and seamen, and the eleventh or lowest class, being the unit, was entitled to one share By order of the 10th of October, 1835, lieutenants received four rupees of batta per day, and midshipmen and warrant officers two rupees

† Captain Crawford died in England on November the 10th, 1843 He was only less distinguished as a surveyor than Captain Ross, and was worthy of being ranked with his brother officers, Captains M'Cluer and Court.

and talented officer, in the following terms :—"His Lordship in Council has much pleasure on this occasion in recording the high sense he entertains of Captain Crawford's valuable services in the several situations, afloat and ashore, which during his long professional career he has filled, and especially the important situation of officiating Superintendent of the Indian Navy, the duties of which he has discharged since January, 1833, to the entire satisfaction of the Government." Commander Cogan, senior officer at the Presidency, and Comptroller of Dockyards, was appointed to officiate until the return of Sir Charles Malcolm, who resumed his duties a few weeks later.

On the 25th of October, 1833, died at sea on board the 'Clive,' Commodore Henry Wyndham, a distinguished officer, who had only been appointed to the command of the Persian Gulf squadron on the 9th of December, in the previous year. He was succeeded by Captain Thomas Elwon, who had been conducting the survey of the Red Sea since the year 1829. Commodore Elwon, an officer of high scientific attainments, did not long enjoy the perilous honour of commanding the Persian Gulf squadron, which has proved fatal to so many incumbents. He expired at Bassadore on the 17th of June, 1835, after a few days illness, in the forty-first year of his age In him the Government lost an able and conscientious servant, and the Service one who, by his affability and kindness of disposition, had endeared himself to all equally in public and private life. At an early period of his Indian career Commodore Elwon had been obliged to proceed to England, owing to the effects of the climate, and resumed his duties in 1819. Ten years later he commenced the survey of the Red Sea, and had just completed his portion of it, extending from Jiddah to the Straits, when the death of Commodore Wyndham enabled the Government—which had more than once expressed its thanks and approval for the masterly manner in which he conducted the survey—to offer him what was in some respects regarded as "the blue riband" of the Service. Unhappily for himself, he turned a deaf ear to friendly councillors who warned him that a respite from the active duties of his profession and a visit to Europe, were essential for the maintenance of his health, and too soon he paid the penalty of a noble self-abnegation, by an early death in the service of his country. He was succeeded by Captain Pepper, commanding the sloop-of-war 'Amherst.'

By orders of the Bombay Government, dated the 4th of February, 1833, the following classification of the vessels of the Indian Navy, was sanctioned:—'Amherst,' 'Coote,' and 'Clive' to be of the second class. 'Elphinstone,' 'Euphrates,' 'Tigris,' and 'Hugh Lindsay' steamer, to be of the third class. 'Ternate,' 'Benares,' 'Palinurus,' and 'Nautilus,' to be of the fourth class. On the 7th of the same month, the Governor in

Council decreed the abolition of "the separate office of the auditor of Indian Navy accounts, and transferred its duties to the civil auditor." Accordingly Commander Houghton was nominated assistant to the civil auditor in the Marine department of the audit. The Service was thought at this time to be doomed, and the "Bombay Courier" of the 15th of June, 1833, stated that "positive orders had been received for making extensive reductions from the 1st of July. The officers were to be invited to retire, the force was to be cut down to four ships and one steamer." In the face of such positive statements, it is a marvel that the discipline of the Service was maintained, and that all efficiency or *esprit de corps* had not disappeared. But it was not so, and the officers continued to discharge their duties with the Damocles sword of abolition suspended over their heads.

In 1834, Lord William Bentinck, recurring to the proposals of the Report of the Finance Committee of 1829-30, strongly recommended the Court of Directors to abolish the Indian Navy, as he was of opinion the duties could be performed at less cost by a squadron of ships of the Royal Navy; but, following the course adopted by Sir John Malcolm, the arguments put forth by the Governor-General were refuted in an able minute by Lord Clare, the Governor of Bombay, a nobleman who strove to increase the efficiency of the Service, and was held in warm regard by its officers. The Supreme Government always entertained a certain jealousy of the Service, inasmuch as it was under the orders of the Governor of a minor Presidency: and Sir Charles Metcalfe, who agreed with the Governor-General in desiring its abolition on the score of expense—actually called it "a pet service," than which, surely, no appellation could be more inapplicable, for, by the recent retrenchments, many appointments of value had been abolished, or their emoluments curtailed. Thus, formerly, the Service had Commodores both at Bombay and Surat, and a Marine Board composed of its officers; this Board had been abolished, while both the assistants to the Master-Attendant were of the uncovenanted service The staff allowance of 200 rupees to a Deputy Judge-Advocate-General was abolished in 1832, and, a few years later, the Assistant Naval Auditorship, held by Commander Houghton, was, upon his proceeding to Europe, conferred upon a military officer.

In 1823, we find that officers of the Service held the following staff appointments at Bombay:—Master-Attendant, Assistant Master-Attendant, Commodore, Captain of Mazagon Dockyard, and Boatmaster; also, Accountant to the Marine Board, and Marine Storekeeper. In addition to these, the following officers of the Service held shore appointments:—Captain J. Jeakes, Conservator of Forests in Canara; Captain G.

Walker, Commodore at Surat; Captain F. Salmond, Master Attendant at Bencoolen in Sumatra; and Captain W. Bruce, Political Resident at Bushire; also, First-Lieutenant D. Anderson, Master-Attendant at Mangalore; First-Lieutenant G Herne, at Kishm; First-Lieutenant T. K. Tenell, at Tellichery; and First-Lieutenant C. F. Grice, at Quilon: First-Lieutenant Jas J. Robinson was employed surveying the South Concan, and First-Lieutenant E. Searight was Assistant-Conservator of Forests in Malabar. In addition to these, the following officers of the Bombay Marine held appointments at Calcutta: Captain John Hayes, Master-Attendant; Commander W. Arrow, Assistant Master-Attendant (with an appointment, under date of the 12th of May, 1819, to succeed Captain Hayes when a vacancy should occur); Captain Daniel Ross, Marine Surveyor in India; Captain W. Maxfield, First Assistant; First-Lieutenant John S. Criddle, Second Assistant; and Second-Lieutenant C. Bavilard, attached to the department. But, as successive augmentations took place in the Service and the sphere of its duties was enlarged, so, in an inverse ratio and contrary to the treatment received by their military brethren, the staff appointments. considered the prizes of the Service were, one by one, abolished, until the state of affairs was reached, animadverted upon by Captain Haines, in a memorial he presented to the Court of Directors in 1837. In this statement, which met with the consideration always displayed by the Hon. Court towards their Naval Service, we find that the reductions in the staff appointments since the year 1828, were as follow:—

1828	Rs per Mensem
1 Commodore in Bombay at	2,000
1 Master-Attendant in Bombay at	2,500
1 Boatmaster and Agent for Transports	1,152
1 Captain of Mazagon Dock	1,102
1 Master-Attendant at Bengal, upwards of	2,600
1 Commodore at Surat	1,500
1 Agent for timber at Calicut	800
1 Assistant-Secretary to the Superintendent and Secretary to the Marine Board	662
1 Draughtsman	927
1st Assistant to the Master-Attendant	822
2nd " " "	502
1 Assistant-Paymaster	449
1 Deputy-Storekeeper	637
1 Master-Attendant at Mangalore	462
Total per Mensem	16,115

1837	Rs per Mensem
1 Master-Attendant at Bombay	1,250
1 Comptroller and Agent for Transports	1,000
1 Senior Officer at Surat	1,396
1 Commodore in the Persian Gulf	1,300
1 President of Standing Committee of Survey.	647

	Rs per Mensem
1 Assistant Comptroller and Agent for Transports . .	500
1 Assistant to the Superintendent	400
1 Draughtsman .	390
1 Persian Interpreter to Commodore .	200
Total per Mensem	7,083
Making a monthly difference of .	9,032
Or a year's reduction amounting to .	108,384

And this retrenchment was effected in what Sir Charles Metcalfe denominated a "pet service." It would have puzzled that eminent statesman to have stated in what respect, and by whom, it was petted, and the officers certainly would gladly have dispensed with such a *pignus amoris*.

For many years not a single vessel was added to the Service, which passed through one of the periodical crises which were continually menacing its existence, until, forty years later, the evil hour struck when the *coup-de-grâce* was given by Sir Charles Wood. A feeble effort was made to keep the Service from expiring from inanition, when, in 1834, a schooner of 157 tons, called the 'Mahi,'* was launched at Bombay, and the Court sanctioned the construction of two cutters, to replace two pattamars condemned, which received the names of 'Margaret' and 'Nerbudda.' The Court having, at length, resolved to continue the Service, proceeded with that intention to effect its transformation into a Steam Marine. With this object they gave orders for the construction of two steamers, one in London and the other in Glasgow.

In 1834 a Committee, presided over by an officer of the Indian Navy, was appointed for a singular though important inquiry. Vice-Admiral Sir John Gore, Commander-in-chief on the Indian station, being of opinion that Bombay harbour had seriously deteriorated since the dates of his first visits in 1789 and 1791, wrote lengthy letters to the local Government, dated the 20th of December, 1833, and the 17th of January, 1834, drawing attention to certain facts, indicative, in his opinion, of this deterioration, and suggesting measures to arrest the progress of the evil, and also the construction of a basin from the Flagstaff Bastion to the southern extremity of the dockyard wall. The Governor in Council, accordingly, appointed a Committee of six members, presided over by Captain R. Cogan, and in-

* The 'Mahi' and the 'Nerbudda,' as also the old brig 'Taptee,' received their names from rivers which flow into the Gulf of Cambay The proper name of the first-named stream is the Mahé Mahé is also the name of the principal island of the Seychelle group, so called after M Mahé de la Bourdonnais, the celebrated Frenchman The word Seychelle, it may be mentioned, is derived from M Moreau de Seychelle, an officer of the French East India Company The group consists of about a dozen small islands, of which the principal are Mahé, Praslin (named after a French Minister), and La Digue (called after a French ship) and several rocks and islets. There is also a French settlement on the Malabar Coast called Mahé.

cluding Captain Harris, for the purpose of reporting to Government on the facts adverted to by his Excellency, and on the measures suggested for their amelioration. The report of the Committee denied the statements of Sir John Gore as to the decreased depth of water in the harbour, adducing charts of 1794 by M'Cluer, and 1813 by Captain Keys, as well as Captain Cogan's survey of 1829, and also soundings taken by the Committee. They also proved that there was no diminution in the depth of water of the docks, the 'Asia,' eighty-four, having been floated out in 1824. drawing sixteen feet ten inches. Sir John Gore criticised the report of the Committee in a very long and heated letter, written at Port Louis, Mauritius, on the 23rd of July, to which again Captain Cogan, as President of the Committee, replied at length on the 19th of September, conclusively refuting the Admiral's statements and deductions.

Captain Cogan proceeded to Europe in June, 1835, being entrusted with a friendly mission from Seyvid Said, Imaum of Muscat, who desired to present to King William IV. his line-of-battle ship, 'Liverpool,' of seventy-four guns, which had been built at Bombay for his service in 1826. Captain Cogan possessed an intimate knowledge of the people and territories belonging to the Imaum, who then also ruled over Zanzibar and was greatly instrumental in establishing and strengthening the intimate alliance which has so long existed with that great prince and his successors, including the present rulers of Zanzibar and Muscat. At the request of the Imaum, Captain Cogan took the 'Liverpool' to England, and, by command of William IV., navigated back to Zanzibar, assisted by officers and men of the Service, the 'Prince Regent,' one of the finest of the royal yachts, as a present from His Majesty to the Imaum. It was on the representations of Captain Cogan, who, while in England, gave the Geographical Society much valuable information relative to the peoples and territories under the rule of the Sultan of Muscat, that the Society nominated that prince one of its honorary members, and sent the diploma conferring that honour by Captain Cogan. The Right Hon. Sir Alexander Johnston, in his address to the Royal Geographical Society, referred in eulogistic terms to the great services of Captain Cogan, "particularly in establishing an intimate alliance between the Imaum of Muscat and Great Britain."

In 1835 the Indian Navy squadron came into open collision with the Beni Yas,* a tribe of Arabs in the Persian Gulf, who

* The following are some details regarding this tribe and their *habitat*, derived from the Reports of Lieutenants Hennell, Kemball, and Disbrowe, Assistant Political Residents at Bushire, which are of interest as detailing the sort of employment these restless Arab tribes afforded the cruisers of the Indian Navy. Abu Thubi, or Aboothabee, the capital of the Beni Yas, is a town and fort situated just below Ras Suffan, on an island formed by a backwater, which admits boats, but is fordable at one spot during low water. The anchorage of the town is

who were only second to the Joasmi in point of numbers and importance. Already, in the years 1827 and 1833, the lawless

unsafe, vessels drawing fourteen feet of water, are obliged to lie a mile and a-half off the shore, and are completely exposed to the violence of the north-westers. Abu Thubi is one of the most prosperous town on the coast, containing about 20,000 souls, and, during the pearl-fishery, upwards of 600 boats visit the banks, each carrying from seven to fifteen men The soil is arid, and unproductive, and the water brackish, all the good water being brought from Debaye, and sold at about one keran or franc for two goat-skins Abu Thubi is consequently dependent upon other places for its supplies of provisions, and is soon reduced to great distress by anything like an effective blockade The original seat of the Beni Yas, which is divided into several families, like that of other Arabian tribes, was in Nejd, but on leaving that part of Arabia, the larger portion of the tribe being composed of Bedouins, resided in the interior, and tended their flocks and herds, but some few individuals, reduced to poverty by the loss of their cattle, took up their abode on the shores of the Persian Gulf, on the line of coast between Debaye, about seven miles from Sharjah, and a short distance from the present site of the town of Abu Thubi The first establishment took place about the year 1761 The intelligence of water having been found, quickly spread through the tribe, and before two years had elapsed, the place had increased to four hundred houses

In 1795, after the usual Arab family feuds, during which the candidates for Chiefship frequently took one another's lives, Sheikh Shakboot assumed undisputed possession of the chief authority in the tribe, and continued at its head until 1816, in which year, his eldest son, Mahomed bin Shakboot, succeeded in deposing him Mahomed remained as Sheikh for two years, when his younger brother, Tahnoon, having received a baghalah, together with a considerable sum of money, from the Imaum, returned from Muscat to Abu Thubi, and, with the assistance of his father, and goodwill of the majority of the tribe, succeeded in expelling the usurper in 1818 For some time after this event both father and son acted together as heads of the tribe, but gradually the authority of Sheikh Tahnoon became superior To this alteration in their respective relations, Shakboot appears to have submitted quietly, as he continued to reside in Abu Thubi and its neighbourhood, and was at all times employed by Tahnoon in negotiating affairs of importance Mahomed bin Shakboot, his elder brother, with some difficulty, saved his life by flight, and taking refuge in Biddah, claimed the protection of Abdoolla bin Ahmed, the Chief of Bahrein Until this period the Beni Yas had always been the close and intimate allies of the Joasmis, but the connection formed by Sheikh Tahnoon with the Imaum of Muscat, gradually weakened the friendship existing between the two tribes, until at length a total change ensued in their relations, and they became bitter enemies In 1820, the Beni Yas tribes were admitted members of the General Treaty concluded by the British Government with the Maritime Arabs of the Persian Gulf, for the effectual suppression of piracy in that sea Towards the end of 1823, Sheikh Tahnoon's brother, Mahomed bin Shakboot, having collected a body of the Monasir tribe, attacked and plundered Abu Thubi The former immediately marched with 1,500 men to relieve the town, and after an action which lasted some hours, Mahomed was forced to retreat, having lost thirty-five men In November, 1827, Sultan bin Suggur declared war against Tahnoon, on account of his continual aggressions Among these was the seizure of several Shargah pearl boats by the Governor of Debaye, who, however, was compelled, by the prompt and efficient measures taken by the officer commanding the Company's vessel of war cruising on the pearl banks, to restore both the vessels and cargo Agreeably to the arrangement previously made with the Imaum, Sheikh Tahnoon joined his Highness with a large contingent in October, 1828, and accompanied the expedition against Bahrein, which ended in failure, owing, it is believed, to a secret understanding between the Beni Yas chief and the Sheikh of Bahrein

Acts of piracy were committed by the Beni Yas tribe in July and September, 1828, which resulted in a blockade of Abu Thubi, in the following year by the Joasmis At length Sheikh Tahnoon gave refuge to some Joasmis who had plundered a boat belonging to an English subject, which resulted in the dispatch

acts of that portion of the Beni Yas, established at Abu Thubi. had demanded severe repressive measures on the part of the Hon. Company's cruisers, but they were now to receive a lesson which was not forgotten during the remaining thirty years of the existence of the Service. After the occurrence, of which we will now give a detailed account, the officers of the cruisers landing at Abu Thubi and other ports on this coast, were

of the Company's ships to enforce reparation Although the piracy was committed in May, 1832, it was not until early in the following year, owing to Sheikh Nassir's proceedings at Bushire urgently requiring the presence of the cruisers of the Gulf squadron, that the Resident's demand upon him for the delivery of the culprits, or the payment of 1,500 German crowns, was acceded to, by the adoption of the latter alternative The satisfaction thus afforded, however, put it out of the power of the Sheikh of Sharjah to excuse any further delay in making good his share of the value of the property plundered, and the Commodore of the Gulf squadron accordingly called upon him to disburse the sum of 2,000 German crowns Owing to non-compliance, the vessels of war despatched on this duty found it necessary to destroy a batil belonging to Sharjah, lying near Ejman In April, 1833, Sheikh Tahnoon's life was sacrificed to the ambition and jealousy of his two brothers, Khaleefa and Sultan, whom he had recalled from banishment at the earnest entreaty of their father Discovered in plotting against their brother, Sheikh Khaleefa, having concealed a loaded pistol under his clothes, shot Tahnoon in the side, when Sultan immediately despatched him with his dagger

The Company's surveying vessels in 1826 received much attention from this Chief, who engaged in the games with which officers and men while on shore passed away their time On one occasion an officer, seeing the Chief overhauling him in a foot race in which they had been matched, threw himself across the Sheikh's path, when Tahnoon fell headlong over his opponent Like a gentleman, however, he retained his temper and congratulated the officer on the successful ruse While Tahnoon lived, the reduction of the tribe to submission promised much difficulty to the Wahabee chief for the late Sheikh, says Wellsted, retained in his pay four hundred men, well armed and equipped, but the first act of the usurpers was to tender allegiance and the payment of tribute to Toorkey bin Saood, the Wahabee leader, who intimated to the Joasmi chief that they were under his protection, and that he would permit no aggressions upon them The oppressive and arbitrary conduct of the usurpers very soon disgusted the tribe, and a conspiracy was formed in August, 1833, for their murder, this, however, was discovered, but the discontent created by their proceedings induced two branches of the Beni Yas, the Boo Felasa and Rumsha, consisting of about eight hundred persons, to proceed to Debaye, which, after a little hesitation and delay, was given up to them by the Beni Yas governor, when they summoned the rest, who were on the pearl banks, to join them there Taking advantage of these dissensions, the Joasmi Sheikh, Sultan bin Suggur, on the 7th of September, proceeded to Abu Thubi with a combined force, consisting of seven hundred men of the Boo Felasa and Rumsha tribes in eighty boats, and five hundred and twenty of his own men in twenty-two boats, in the full conviction that the place would be taken without difficulty The threatened attack, however, had the effect of settling the disputes between Sheikh Kaleefa, Sultan, and the father Shakboot, and a force of three thousand five hundred men of the Beni Yas and Monasir tribes had been assembled in Abu Thubi The invaders were taken by surprise and suffered a severe defeat, and Sheikh Sultan bin Suggur had a narrow escape from drowning The Joasmi chief now blockaded Abu Thubi, but at length, after much plundering at sea and fighting on land, Sheikh Kaleefa sent his father, Shakboot, to Sharjah, who succeeded in concluding a peace with Sultan bin Suggur, one of the conditions being that the Boo Felasa, the branch of the Beni Yas residing in Debaye, should thenceforth be under the authority of the Joasmis At length, in the middle of 1834, the people of Abu Thubi committed acts of piracy which drew down upon them the severe chastisement detailed above.

received with tokens of respect by the lawless population, who, unlike their Joasmi neighbours, not having experienced the dire effects of British resentment, had grown aggressive, and made light of the remonstrances of the Political Agent at Bushire.

In 1834 the Persian Gulf Squadron, which was kept at a strength of four or five cruisers, consisted of only the 'Amherst' and 'Elphinstone.' Taking advantage of this weakness, the people of Abu Thubi, under the leadership of a new and lawless chief, embarked on a course of open piracy; and their first act was to attack a vessel from Muttra, and plunder her of property to the amount of one thousand dollars. The Sheikh of Abu Thubi, Khaleefa bin Shakboot, who had attained power by the true Bedouin method of murdering his brother, Tahnoon, failed to afford redress in compliance with the demands of the British Political Resident, until he was made aware, by the appearance of a vessel of war off his port, of the determination to enforce it. The predatory spirit which had from time to time evinced itself on the part of the different Arab tribes, by the occasional plunder of individual vessels, for which satisfaction and ample reparation had always, however, been exacted, now broke out into open and avowed piracy on the part of the Beni Yas, who attacked not only native vessels but likewise those under British colours. "They openly asserted to their captives," says Lieutenant (now General Sir) Arnold Kemball, "that they were determined to leave off all trade, and commence piracy; that their dwellings, constructed of sticks and cadjan mats, could be moved into the interior at will, and thus placed, with themselves, out of the power of the English. The extent of their success of course depending upon despatch, their fleets cruised for a length of time on the Persian coast, in the general track of the Gulf trade, committing the most daring depredations, attended with the greatest cruelty, involving in some cases the murder of the whole of the crews of the boats that fell into their hands. The most speedy and ample retribution was therefore imperatively necessary to deter the other tribes from following the example, and thus rendering unsafe the commerce between this Gulf and the Indian seas"

The Beni Yas chief equipped a fleet of powerful war vessels, which were sent to cruise down the centre of the Gulf in the track of the traders; one squadron, which included three of the largest size, being baghalahs of 300 tons, each carrying over one hundred men, was despatched with the avowed object of encountering the Company's cruisers, which it was calculated they could overpower in detail. The piratical chief judged that his challenge to contest the supremacy of the waters of the Persian Gulf, which had been conceded to the British flag since the destruction of the Joasmi fleets and ports in 1819,

would be taken up by the Company's cruisers; but he considered that the squadron he had equipped with guns and every other appliances for war, and manned with the picked warriors of his tribe, would be able to destroy them, and the victory, he knew, would once more raise the hydra-head of piracy throughout the Gulf, under his leadership. Khaleefa bin Shakboot showed his astuteness in his surmise that the gauntlet he threw down would be eagerly taken up by the British ships, but he made an egregious mistake when he counted on success attending his efforts to wrest from them the command of those inland waters. So certain was he of success, that he actually provided on board his ship cauldrons of hot oil, in which to throw the heads of unbelievers!

In April, 1835, on learning of these astounding proceedings, Commodore Elwon, commanding the Indian Navy squadron, directed the Hon. Company's sloop-of-war 'Elphinstone,' Captain Sawyer commanding, to proceed to sea, and cruise off the Tombs near Bassadore, with orders to bring the pirates to action That officer immediately sailed from Bassadore, and, on the evening of the 15th of April, after having twice chased some suspicious-looking craft sightward to windward, the pirate vessels sailing in close order. During the night the 'Elphinstone' worked up, and, at daybreak on the 16th, came up off the Island of Surdy, with the squadron of seven vessels in battle array. The men were ordered to quarters, and all the guns were double-shotted—first with round, and then with grape shot. As the enemy drew near, Captain Sawyer saw he had a desperate game to play, for, if once they could only grapple his vessel, they would pour hundreds of men upon his decks, and eighty British seamen, with about thirty or forty natives and marines could not hope long to maintain so unequal a conflict. "Now," said he to his men, "the first shot here is half the battle; put a third round into the quarter-deck guns, and don't fire till I give the word of command." He then steered, with a light breeze, for the enemy, and, perceiving two of the largest vessels sufficiently apart to pass through, he said to the master, "Steer straight between them." When within a few yards, the Arabs leaped up on the bulwarks, two men with grappling irons, and the remainder with sword and spear. A young officer covered one of the men with the grappling iron, and another marksman took the second, and both fell dead with bullets through their breasts. In return came a shower of spears, and then was heard the clear, calm voice of the Captain, "Steady, Ready, Fire!" From eighteen 32-pounders there poured a storm of shot, scattering death and destruction around, and making the little ship quiver from stem to stern. The two vessels were riddled like sieves, and those of the Arabs not killed or wounded, sought death by

leaping overboard. For a passing second there was a dead silence, the concussion of the salvo having produced a calm. Then was heard a storm of shouts and groans from the Arabs, mingling with the exulting cheers of the British seamen, and above the din rose the word of command from the Captain :— "First division of boarders away." In a moment the men left their quarters, prepared to cope with some hundreds of desperadoes whom they had seen swarming on the decks and bulwarks of the five remaining vessels. But the scene was now changed. The Arab crews, appalled by the dreadful lesson thus read to them, rapidly got out their sweeps, and pulled for their lives. Boats were lowered, and the Sheikh's baghalah, the largest of the squadron, was boarded, when it was found that one of the round shot had broken to pieces the cauldron of boiling oil specially prepared for the heads of the Christians, and scattered the contents around. In the cabin were discovered, paralysed with fear, and prostrate on the deck, a young Hindoo lady and her father, a merchant, whom the pirates had taken from a vessel the day before

For this gallant service Captain Sawyer* received thanks from the Bombay Government and from the British Envoy at the Court of Persia; his Highness the Imaum of Muscat also presented him with a handsome sword.

The 'Elphinstone' returned to Bassadore to report proceedings, and, on the 19th, sailed for Abu Thubi, to join the 'Amherst,' with which she fell in on the 21st, returning from that port. An officer of the 'Elphinstone' says in a letter to the Bombay papers :—"It came out that the 'Elphinstone' in her broadsides had killed one hundred and sixty men. The pirates at Abu Thubi, expressing their alarm and astonishment at the transaction, intimated that anything we wanted should be given up; at the same time they brought some vessels out, which are now going off for safety to Bassadore. The 'Amherst' and

* Captain Sawyer, who still survives, had distinguished himself on many occasions before this event He joined the Service in February, 1812, and performed good service on the eastern coast of India, at Penang in the 'Thetis' and 'Antelope' under command of Captain Tanner, up the Persian Gulf, where he held temporary command of the brig 'Vestal' in 1818, and at Berbera, on the Soomali coast, in 1827, when he received the thanks of Sir Gordon Bremer, commanding Her Majesty's ship 'Tamar' In June, 1829, he was appointed to command the new ten-gun brig 'Tigris,' and, in this vessel, as already mentioned, in the early part of August, succeeded in effecting in nineteen days the direct passage from Bombay to the Persian Gulf, against the south-west monsoon, instead of the long and circuitous route known as the Southern Passage, which was described by Captain Tanner as "a feat of seamanship then known to have been often attempted, but never before accomplished by any navigator" For this service the Bombay Government, in a letter dated the 27th of June, 1830, expressed their thanks In 1833, he was employed in the 'Tigris,' in company with another cruiser, enforcing a reimbursement from Sultan bin Suggur, the Joasmi chief, for an act of piracy committed by his people; and for the success that rewarded his exertions, Captain Sawyer was warmly commended by Commodore Pepper.

'Elphinstone' will return immediately for more of the prizes captured by the pirates, not one half having yet been given up

"Had they boarded us, all must have been put to death, or 'boiled in oil.' I am not surprised at their assurance, for it is supposed that upwards (I shall speak within bounds) of six hundred men were in the vessels, and what could one hundred and fifty do against them? They said the evening before the attack, that after they had taken us, the 'Elphinstone' should be manned by them, and turn pirate. The broadsides struck them with terror. They pulled and sailed for their lives, as no quarter would have been shown by either party. The Sheikh, a young man of six-and-twenty, is severely wounded in two places. Five of the pirate boats are still out, I suspect afraid of returning to their town, thinking they may be murdered, and they can be but sunk by us. I trust they will give up quietly."*

* The following is the official report of the action by Captain Sawyer —

"At daylight of the 16th of April, observed three buggalows, one batil, and three buggarahs, to the N W, standing S W. Turned the hands out, and made all possible sail to come up At six a m got them broad off the lee bow, and found we gained on them Beat to action and prepared to engage At seven o'clock fired the larboard bow gun, and hoisted our colours Discovered the headmost buggalow to be completely crowded with men, and having in tow a large one. She fired a gun, hoisted a flag, and dropped it three times, apparently in contempt and defiance The whole then closed, and formed, and we fired a shot, which fell rather short The leading buggalow immediately returned it, and the shot was seen to take the water about midway The whole then struck their colours, and one of the buggarahs lowered her sail, and pulled towards us, evidently with the intention of attracting our attention On minutely observing her, found she was full of men There was now no doubt of this being the piratical fleet belonging to Abu Thubi, and the Arab pilot confidently assured us they were On closing, he recognised the vessels, and declared the leading one to contain the Sultan bin Shakboot On finding we were gaining, he cast off the tow, and they lowered the sails, and closed within pistol-shot, with the other boats formed on their beam for battle We immediately stood between them, having just room to do so without touching, having the Sheikh's buggalow on the starboard, and the tow on the larboard side In passing between them we poured into each a broadside, round and grape, the guns nearly touching The crew of the Sheikh's vessel cheered, crying "Alla Akbar al Kaffir" Some were seen in the act of throwing grapnels into us, but were immediately shot About ninety or a hundred men rushed towards the head, with their long spears, which touched our quarter, for the purpose of boarding us, in which they failed, having met with a most destructive fire from small arms There must have been at least two hundred men in this vessel, and they presented a most formidable phalanx, with their towering spears Very serious damage must have been sustained by these vessels, as large splinters were seen flying in all directions Immediately after passing, about ninety men jumped overboard from the tow, and were picked up by the Sheikh's vessel, who hoisted her sail, and stood to the northward, accompanied by one of the batils, which afterwards parted. Endeavoured to close with him, but he outsailed us Shifted the bow gun to the bridle port, in the hope of being able to cripple him, but without effect, the shot falling short. The remainder of the boats hauled up for the abandoned buggalow, and stripped her of her sail, and some other small articles, and then stood to the south-west. At nine o'clock, observed the chase heaving overboard some articles which we could not make out. The wind decreasing, plied his sweeps, by which he gained.

This exhibition of the determination and power to put down piracy had the best effect; and, says Lieutenant Kemball, "very materially facilitated compliance with the demands now made for the various vessels plundered by the Chief of Abu Thubi, to the total value of 24.597 German crowns" The British demands were complied with, and one brig, seven baghalahs, two batils, five baggarahs, and the greater part of the goods on board the British baghalah 'Deriah Dowlut,' were recovered, together with upwards of 10,000 German crowns in cash and property, besides an engagement for 1,600 more on the termination of the pearl fishery, towards the liquidation of the claims made for the cargoes of the vessels destroyed and plundered. All their captives were released, and the two pirate chiefs, Mahomed bin Suggur bin Zheab, and Mahomed bin Majid, who headed the outrages upon the British flag, surrendered. The three principal Beni Yas vessels, concerned in the late piracies, were given up as pledges for the settlement of the balance due on account of the English baghalah. Add to this the seizure of their own batil at Muscat, with a valuable cargo, in compensation for the loss occasioned by the plunder of a baghalah belonging to that port, and the chastisement inflicted upon the piratical fleet, and it will be allowed that the reparation exacted was ample. The officers and men of the

Lowered the two cutters, sent them a-head to tow, and got out the longest oars for sweeps, but without effect We continued the chase until after sunset, when he rounded the eastern point of Pohor, about five miles a head of us Having lost sight of her, and night coming on, deemed it advisable to give over the pursuit in the present direction, and hauled up to the southward, in the expectation of meeting with her at daylight, which not doing, stood on for Abu Thubi, and about eight a m of the 17th, discovered the abandoned buggalow, and stood for her At ten o'clock observed a raft, with men waving flags, about five miles to the eastward Sent an officer to take possession of the buggalow, who found eight bodies on her deck, and committed them to the deep Sent the pinnace to the raft, who found nine men on it, and brought them on board On examining them, they stated they were part of the crew of the buggalow we had taken possession of, called the 'Nassir,' belonging to Congoon Had been forty days from Mangalore, when she was captured by the fleet we found her with, near Koong, four or five days ago, the crew consisted of forty originally—a few are supposed to have escaped, but the others and Nakhoda were put to death, that the mode of intended attack was to board us in passing between the two buggalows, in different points, and that they were confident of success They boasted of having large vessels of oil boiling for the purpose of dipping us in when taken They had no idea of the effect of a broadside from 32-pounders, and were completely paralysed, so much so, that they forgot to fire themselves, and immediately jumped overboard Salim states that his party threw twenty-five bodies overboard, and that the same number were taken away wounded This makes thirty-three killed in this boat alone, and it is highly gratifying to me to find that none of the survivors originally belonging to the vessel were hurt by us Two of them had been cut and stabbed by the pirates, and two others injured in the contest with them They abandoned the buggalow about four p.m, preferring the peril of a raft to again falling into the hands of the pirates, whom they expected to return The other buggalow must have suffered much more, and it is a matter of deep regret that we could not get up with her Salim states that it was the intention of the pirates, after taking the 'Nassir,' to proceed to Ras-ool-had for the purpose of committing more depredations."

'Elphinstone' received no salvage, or pecuniary emoluments, whereas had they been in the Royal Service they would have been entitled to one-third of the value of the captured vessels and property as prize money.

The engagements entered into by Sheikh Shakboot, the father and accredited agent of the Beni Yas chief, for the gradual liquidation of the amount of the claims remaining unadjusted, were confirmed by his son, and subsequently strictly fulfilled. The surrendered pirate commanders were taken to Bombay in the 'Elphinstone,' and, on the 6th of December, 1835, Mahomed bin Suggur was tried in the Supreme Court, before Sir John Awdry, for piracy in seizing on the high seas, on the 25th of March, 1835, the baghalah 'Deriah Dowlut,' having on board one hundred and thirty-five souls, and plundering her of goods to the value of 2,000 rupees. The chief was found guilty and condemned to death; but a point of law being raised, the sentence was subsequently commuted to transportation for life. As Lieutenant Wellsted, of the Indian Navy, in referring to this punishment, remarks, in his Travels, "The first part of this affair was intelligible enough to the several tribes along the coast, for we had no repetition of such attempts, but the sentence, which was carried into effect, puzzled them sorely; and, during my travels, I was repeately warned not to venture too near to, or within the territories of this tribe, as they had threatened to retaliate by boiling in oil the first European they could lay hands on"

The other pirate chief, Mahomed bin Majid, against whom, unfortunately, no prosecution could be maintained, was returned to be handed over a prisoner to Sheikh Sultan bin Suggur, to whom was left the infliction of adequate punishment. The prisoner, however, effected his escape by swimming, unobserved, from the vessel in which he was being conveyed, and succeeded in reaching the shore, off Sharjah, distant about four miles.

In the Report of the Finance Committee of 1829-30, already referred to, and in Lord William Bentinck's Minute of 1834, the efficiency of the Indian Navy, and the ability of the small cruisers to keep in check the piratical Arab tribes of the Persian Gulf, were called seriously in question; but the action with the Beni Yas conclusively proved the fallacy of the accusation. The history of the Service, from the year 1797, when the Joasmis committed their first open act of aggression against the British flag, by making a sudden attack on the Company's cruiser 'Viper,' in Bushire Roads, showed that even the small vessels of those days were more than a match for a pirate of the largest size known in the Gulf, and the capture of the little schooner 'Sylph,' by a Joasmi squadron, was solely due to the instructions of the Bombay Government, by which the hands

of the commanding officer were tied, and he was deterred from firing a shot until an open act of aggression had been committed by the enemy. These ill-judged measures necessitated the expeditions of 1809 and 1819, the expenses of which form such formidable items in the Finance Committee's Report But the fatuous nature of this Report appears in the eighteenth paragraph, wherein it is recommended that protection should only be afforded to British trade, and that thus we should cease to maintain the police of the Persian Gulf and Red Sea. Sir John Malcolm, than whom no man was equally conversant with this phase of the question, effectually disposed of so suicidal a proposal in his Minute.

After this unexpected outbreak of the piratical proclivities which it was known lay dormant in the breasts of these truculent Arabs, the Persian Gulf squadron was strengthened, and it was deemed imperative that some limit should be imposed on the extent of the cruising grounds of their war vessels. Accordingly, in January, 1836, it was personally intimated to the Arab chiefs, by Captain Hennell, the Political Resident, who went the tour of the Gulf with the Commodore of the Indian Naval Squadron, that, under instructions from the Bombay Government, the excursions of their vessels must thenceforth be confined within a line drawn from Khor es Shem, or Elphinstone Inlet, near Cape Mussendum, to within ten miles south of the island of Bomosa, or Abu Musa, (lat. 25° 53′ N, long. 55° 3′ E.), and thence onward through the island of Seir Aboneid (lat. 25° 15′ N., long. 54° 14′ E.); and Captain Hennell further informed them, that the commanders of the Company's ships-of-war had been instructed to seize any of their vessels, other than trading craft, carrying cargo found within the Persian side of this neutral ground. Upon this Sultan bin Suggur represented that he had sometimes occasion to send his war boats round Cape Mussendum to his possessions at Khor Fukaun; upon which he was informed that, previous to his doing so, he must obtain the sanction of the Commodore of the Gulf Squadron at Bassadore, who was instructed at the same time that it was desirable, if possible, that the observance of the prescribed limits should be enforced upon the Joasmi Sheikh, especially between the months of October and July, during the chief commercial intercourse between India and the Gulf At the same time it was officially intimated to the Beni Yas that, as a punishment for their recent aggressions, the cruising ground of their war boats should be limited for a period to within sight of their own coast.

Subsequently, upon the commission of some piratical acts by the sons of the Sheikh of Bahrein, whilst in rebellion against their father, the restricted line imposed upon the chiefs of the Maritime Arabs, was made applicable to Bahrein, by being ex-

tended from Hawlool (lat. 25° 40′ N., long. 25° 25′½ E.) through the island of El Kuran—the most southerly of the Biddulph group, (lat. 27° 39′ N, long. 49° 50′ E.)—to Ras el Zaur (lat. 28° 44′ N, long 48° 25′ E.), on the mainland; to this measure the Uttoobee chief, Abdoola bin Ahmed, gave his assent in a letter dated the 26th of March, 1836. Two months later, Sultan bin Suggur and Sheikh Shakboot, the father and representative of the Beni Yas chief, being at Bassadore, a cruiser was despatched to Debaye, to induce Obin bin Saeed, one of the Sheikhs of the place, to join the conference which the Resident had convoked for the establishment of a peace between the hostile tribes This chief returned in the cruiser, and was immediately followed by the Sheikh of Ejman, but notwithstanding all the arguments he could employ, Captain Hennell could only induce the chiefs to agree to a maritime truce for six months, which was duly signed by the contracting parties, who were given to understand that any infraction of its provisions would be treated as piracy. Owing to this truce, the season of the pearl fishery* passed over with unusual tranquillity, and it was renewed first for eight months, on the 13th of April, 1836, with undisguised satisfaction by the chiefs, and again on the 15th of April of the following year.

In 1838, on the Political Resident making the tour of the Persian Gulf in the Commodore's ship, Sheikh Sultan bin Suggur, the Joasmi chief, at one time considered the firebrand of the Gulf, was induced not only to express his earnest desire for a renewal of the truce, but added that it would afford him sincere pleasure if the suspension of hostilities could be changed to the establishment of a permanent peace upon the seas. This was going rather too fast to please the other chiefs, so the annual truce of eight months was extended for one of a year. In July, 1839, the 'Hugh Lindsay,' Lieutenant C. D Campbell, embarked Captain Hennell on his tour round the piratical ports, and the chiefs came on board to pay their respects to the British representative, and sign the truce. Lieutenant

* The pearl fishery yields to the chiefs of Bahrein a revenue of 100,000 tomauns The fishing boats number fourteen hundred sail, of which seven hundred are of large size, three hundred intermediate, and four hundred of small size Besides the master, the larger are manned by fourteen divers and fourteen assistants, the intermediate by nine divers and nine assistants, and the small craft by seven divers and the same number of assistants The master receives four portions, the divers two, and the assistants a settled pay of from five to six tomauns, the crews borrow from the bankers at a rate of thirty or more per cent. The Governor of Bahrein provides an escort of seven war baghalahs, for which he levies a convoy duty of two tomauns yearly from each boat So valuable is the fishery that the principal merchants of Shargah, in a private communication to the British Agent at that place, offered to guarantee to the Indian Government the sum of twenty dollars per annum for each boat if one of the Company's ships of war was deputed to guard them from aggression, but of course the proposal was declined. For a full description of the pearl fisheries, see "Wellsted's Travels," vol. 1, chap 6, p 114.

Campbell took the 'Hugh Lindsay,' which drew only eleven feet of water, close in to the beach at Ras-ul-Khymah, to the amazement and dismay of the inhabitants who had never before seen a steamer, while no ship of war had ever been able to lie within the sand banks off that place. Thence she proceeded to the other piratical ports and the small *khors*, or inlets, in Amalgavine, Sharjah, and other places, where the moral effect produced by her appearance had a most salutary influence.* The twelve months' truce was extended from year to year, and only on one occasion did the old spirit manifest itself. This was in April, 1840, when Sultan bin Suggur, immediately on the expiry of the term, attacked the Amalgavine chief by sea as well as by land, and was on the point of capturing the place when the timely appearance of a sloop-of-war with the Commodore and Resident on board, forced him to withdraw his naval force.†

At length, with the consent of all parties, on the 1st of June, 1843, the annual maritime truce was superseded by one for ten years, and finally, through the mediation of Captain Kemball, a few days before the expiration of this truce, a "Perpetual Maritime Treaty of Peace,"‡ dated the 4th of May, 1853, was agreed to, and since that date, piracies in the Gulf have been of rare occurrence, though naturally with such truculent and combustible material as is inherent in the Arab character, slight cases of aggression, occasionally accompanied by bloodshed, have almost annually occurred upon the pearl banks, which it was customary for one of the smaller cruisers of the Indian Naval Squadron to visit during the season of the fisheries A close system of surveillance has always been maintained, and annually the chiefs were visited, and if no depredations had been com-

* The 'Hugh Lindsay,' having landed Captain Hennell at Bushire, conveyed the Indian mails to Bussorah, where her arrival was very opportune in enabling her to vindicate the honour of the British flag at Mohamrah, where the Persian Governor had refused to allow the shipment of coal from the Company's depôt; however, he was quickly brought to his senses by Lieutenant Campbell laying the 'Hugh Lindsay' alongside the walls of the fort up the Karoon, being the first steam war-vessel to go up that river For his prompt action on this occasion, Lieutenant Campbell received the thanks of the Bombay Government, under date the 5th of September, 1839

† "Observations on the Past Policy of the British Government towards the Arab Tribes of the Persian Gulf" By Lieutenant A. B Kemball, Assistant Resident in the Persian Gulf (Submitted to Government on the 18th of November, 1844)

Ejman, it was also approved by the Governor-General of India in Council on the 24th of August, 1853 The first Article provides for "a complete cessation of hostilities at sea for evermore," the second promises immediate punishment to the assailant and full redress to the party aggrieved, and the third, that the signatories should abstain from retaliation, with an appeal "to the British Resident or the Commodore at Bassadore"

mitted, they received, through the captains of the cruisers, presents from the Indian Government, such as mirrors, bales of red cloth, double-barrelled guns, cutlery, and other useful articles, thus showing that it was more to their advantage to lead quiet lives, than provoke chastisement by lawless acts.

On the 6th of March, 1836, the 'Tigris,' Commander W. Igglesden, left Bombay for Torres Straits, in order to inquire into the fate of the survivors of the barque 'Charles Eaton,' which had been wrecked there, when all the crew and passengers, over forty in number, had been murdered and eaten by the savages, with the exception of five men who had reached Timor, and two who were still in the hands of the natives. Commander Igglesden's orders were to proceed first to Sydney, but, on nearing Bass's Straits, it came on to blow so hard that he bore up for Hobart Town, where he arrived on the 27th of May. Here the officers experienced great kindness from Colonel Arthur, the Lieutenant-Governor, and the officers of Her Majesty's 21st Fusiliers, and, on the 7th of June, sailed for Sydney Very bad weather was experienced on the voyage, which necessitated a stay of four weeks for repairs At Sydney they learned that the Government had despatched the colonial schooner, 'Isabella,' to the scene of the wreck. The 'Tigris' sailed, on the 10th of July, for Murray Island (lat. 90° 53′ S., long. 144° 17′ E.), where they anchored on the 28th of July. Lieutenant Kempthorne, second-lieutenant of the 'Tigris,' in an interesting paper, published in Vol. VIII. of the "Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society,"* says:— "No sooner was the anchor dropped than the inhabitants launched their boats, and immediately pulled off. In the space of a few minutes the 'Tigris' was completely surrounded by about forty naked savages of both sexes; it was with the greatest difficulty we could prevent them climbing up the sides of the vessel, and, had not the precaution been taken of having the boarding netting up, the decks would have been swarmed." A few only were permitted on board, and a brisk barter of articles was quickly instituted. A party landed from the 'Tigris,' and were well received by the natives, who were *in puris naturalibus*. The savages brought a letter from Captain Lewis, commanding the colonial schooner 'Isabella,' dated the 26th of June to the effect that he had purchased from the Murray Islanders the two survivors of the 'Charles Eaton,'—John Ireland, an apprentice, aged ten, and Charles D'Oyley, a child of three, son of Captain D'Oyley of the Bengal Artillery, who, together with his wife, was a passenger from Calcutta to Sydney. The natives also, by signs, informed

* Commander Igglesden also published a "Narrative of the late Cruise of the Hon Company's brig-of-war 'Tigris,'" in Vol. I. of the "Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society"

Captain Lewis that the crew of the 'Charles Eaton' were murdered and eaten by the inhabitants of an island about sixty miles to the northward, called by them Boydan, or Boydaney, of the group called the Six Sisters, from whom the Murray Islanders had rescued these two lads, and treated them with great kindness. It was with the utmost difficulty Captain Lewis could induce the savages to give up their charges, and young D'Oyley cried most bitterly on parting from his protectors, particularly the women, who, during the past two years had lavished their affections upon the fair-haired child. The only relic of the murdered crew that was discovered, was a gigantic figure of a man's head, adorned with no less than forty-two skulls, some terribly fractured, which were supposed to be the heads of the late crew of the barque and other Europeans. They were all conveyed to Sydney, where they received interment.

The 'Tigris' sailed from Murray Island on the 29th of July, and anchored at Half-Way Island, about fifty miles distant, where a party of officers discovered, carved on a tree, the words "Dig under." In doing so, they found a bottle containing a letter from Captain Lewis, dated the 28th of July, detailing his proceedings. On the following day they sighted the 'Isabella,' near the York Islands, and, after visiting her, landed at Double Island. The two vessels proceeded in company, and Commander Igglesden named a small islet, Grant Island, after the Governor of Bombay. Some officers landed at Wednesday Island, where the natives appeared very hostile, and at Booby Island, where records of passing ships were found in a bottle.

On the 6th of August the 'Tigris' struck on a patch of coral rock, about one mile to the north of Cape Croker (not laid down in the charts), and was only saved from going to pieces by the strength of her teak timbers The surf broke clean over the gunwale, and she lost her rudder, fore-foot, the whole of her false keel, and twenty feet of her main keel. On the following day, the 'Tigris' was steered into Raffles Bay by her head and after-sails In 1824 a settlement had been formed here (and also at Port Cockburn in Melville Island) by Sir Gordon Bremer, of H.M.S. 'Tamar,' which was abandoned in March, 1829, owing to the unhealthiness of the climate and the hostility of the natives The only remains of the settlement were the débris of the fort and some railings. The 'Tigris,' after having fitted a temporary rudder, and repaired other damages, proceeded, on the 17th of August, to Coupang, in the island of Timor, and thence to Batavia and Bombay, where she cast anchor on the 7th of November.

The impression created in 1820 by the successful bombard-

ment and capture of the strong forts of Mocha,* in which the Service took so prominent a part, was so deep and lasting that the representation of the commanders of the Company's ships always received the respectful attention of the contending factions in all the ports of the Red Sea. We will give a brief retrospect of the occasions on which matters portended trouble, but were adjusted by the British officers without having occasion to resort to hostile measures.

In 1832, during the progress of the struggle between Mehemet Ali, the great Egyptian Viceroy, and the Porte, events adverse to the stability of the government of the former were occurring in Arabia. The army of Mehemet Ali at Mecca consisted of two divisions, one of which was commanded by Zeman Agha, who having a dispute with Khourshed Bey, the Egyptian Governor of Hedjaz, raised the standard of revolt, and induced three officers, having similar grievances, to join him with their regiments. The most courageous of these, Mohammed Agha, surnamed Turki Bilmas,† a Georgian by birth, having treacherously taken Khourshed Bey prisoner, marched upon Mecca and Jiddah, which he occupied, and seized the Pasha's ships The Sultan of Turkey confirmed him as Governor of the Hedjaz; and Turki Bilmas, elated by his success, proceeded to Hodeida, which was blockaded by his squadron of six ships. After a brief resistance, the place surrendered on the 25th of September, 1832, when he marched to Zeebeed, and thence to Mocha, which fell to his arms by treachery, and thus the whole of the seaboard of Yemen came under the nominal suzerainty of the Porte. Turki Bilmas now wrote to the Sultan of Aden, demanding that stronghold, the latter promised consent, but when he despatched a mission of forty persons to obtain possession of the place, on the 17th of February, 1833, they were treacherously attacked, and twenty-seven of them murdered.

He also made an aggression on British trade, which afforded a practical refutation of the unwise proposal of the Finance Committee, appointed by Lord William Bentinck, that the

* The connection of the Indian Navy with Mocha was not always of this hostile character, for a public work of considerable utility to the town was due to the scientific attainments of an officer of the Service in the last century Mr. Abraham Parsons, who visited Mocha in 1778, gives a detailed account of the town, and describes the pier, situated "one hundred and fifty yards due west from the only gate by which goods and passengers can enter from the sea." This pier, which is built of stone, was constructed, he says, "by Captain Watson, late Superintendent of the Bombay Marine, about twenty years since" Captain Watson, it will be remembered, was the gallant and skilful officer who fell at the siege of Tanna, while in command of the expedition from Bombay directed against the island of Salsette

† Turki Bilmas, means "one who cannot speak Turkish" A full account of his proceedings and escape from Mocha on board the 'Benares,' may be found in the "Travels to the City of the Caliphs," by Lieutenant J. R. Wellsted, I.N.

police of the seas, hitherto maintained by the Indian Navy, should be abandoned. It had been the custom, ever since the time of the Mogul sovereigns, for a fleet of traders to leave Surat for Mocha and Jiddah, in the month of March, under the convoy of the Company's ships of war, and the same course had been pursued after we became possessed of Surat. Acting, however, on the 7th paragraph of the recommendations of the Finance Committee, no vessel of war was employed in 1833 to convoy the fleet of traders which carried the manufactures of Guzerat and Great Britain, to the average value of from 12 to 25 lacs of rupees. The Surat fleet arrived at Mocha at the time Turki Bilmas had obtained possession of the town, and he immediately availed himself of the windfall by seizing the vessels and fleecing the merchants. On receipt of this news at Bombay, the 'Nautilus,' Lieutenant R. Lowe, was recalled from the Cutch Coast and despatched to Mocha. On her arrival here, on the 29th of May, prompt measures were taken by her commander, and the merchants were released and the fines repaid to them. But the detention caused them to lose the season; their goods for Jiddah were transhipped into other vessels, and they lost, in addition to the interest on the capital, the profits of the voyage. Altogether, their loss was calculated at not less than £40,000 or £50,000; and for this they had to thank the Finance Committee, whose report bore this among its first fruits. Turki Bilmas, on Lieutenant Lowe's arrival, was at a place called Berk, about half way between Mocha and Jiddah, which he proposed to attack, with two ships, three brigs, and about twelve hundred men At this time the 'Palinurus' lay at Jiddah to protect British interests, and everything wore a warlike aspect, guns, stores, and troops pouring into the city, while three ships were brought by the Egyptian Government, and several gunboats were being prepared to repel the redoubtable chief and his Bedouin allies. Hearing of the arrival of the 'Nautilus,' Turki Bilmas returned to Mocha on the 22nd of July, but he yielded to the determined front shown by the British commander. At one time "the state of things was such," says a writer, "that not one of the Surat merchants thought his life in safety for twenty-four hours, and it was apprehended that the slightest attempt on the part of the 'Nautilus' to bring the Governor to reason by force, would be the immediate signal for a general massacre of all British subjects, plunder of the town, and retreat inland, so the most that could be done was to protect the vessels in the harbour." When we remember the sanguinary events that occurred at Jiddah in 1857, when the British and French Consuls, and all Christians, were massacred, we may believe that the position of affairs was most critical, and that

Lieutenant Lowe deserved great credit for his display of mingled judgment and firmness.

After his rebuff at Mocha, the star of Turki Bilmas began to wane, and he lost all his conquests as fast as he had gained them. Soon Mocha only remained to him, and Ahmed Pasha, who was sent by Mehemet Ali to recover his lost province, blockaded him by sea, while a force of twenty thousand Bedouins, of the Beni Asseer tribe, attacked Mocha by land. After a desperate resistance the great guerilla chief was reduced to extremities. At this time the Hon. Company's brig 'Tigris,' Commander Wells, and the surveying ship 'Benares,' Commander Moresby, were at Mocha; and Turki Bilmas, who made a gallant defence with his small garrison of five hundred men, attempted to reach them with the remnant of his followers, now numbering only one hundred and twenty, in some undecked boats, destitute of either oars or sails The wind was contrary, and they drifted out to sea, and were on the point of sinking, when the boats from the Company's ships rescued them, the chief being himself saved by the cutter of the 'Benares,' commanded by Lieutenant C D. Campbell. Turki Bilmas was taken on board the 'Tigris,' which sailed with him to Bombay. During this affair, a man of the 'Benares' was killed by a stray round shot, for which an apology was made by the Arab leader, who gave his warriors three days to sack the city.

Early in 1834 the 'Nautilus' was wrecked at Macour, or Emerald Island, distant twenty-three miles in a north-westerly direction from St. John's Island, or Seberjet, in the Red Sea. The natives would not suffer the crew to land, and they took to the boats, in which they suffered great want and hardships, owing to the terrific heat. At length they got possession of a native vessel, in which they proceeded to Mocha; a period of sixty-four days elapsed from the wreck of the 'Nautilus,' till their arrival at that port, during which a large number of men died of want and fatigue. Thence the officers and crew were taken to Bombay in the 'Benares,' Commander R. Moresby, and owing to the effects of climate and the crowded state of that ship, much further mortality took place among the survivors.

In the year 1835 was commenced an important undertaking the ultimate issue of which may be fraught with great consequences to this country, and our Eastern possessions; and as several officers of the Indian Navy bore prominent parts in the prosecution of the enterprise, it is necessary that we should give a brief *resumé* of its operations. The undertaking we refer to is that historically known as the "Euphrates Expedition."

Captain (the late General) Francis Rawdon Chesney, R.A.,

its projector, first turned his attention to the subject while in Egypt in 1829, when some queries by the late Mr. Peacock, Examiner of the India House, as to the relative merits of the Egyptian and Syrian routes to India, were referred to him. It should be mentioned, as showing the far-seeing sagacity of this energetic officer, that in an official report to Sir Robert Gordon, British Ambassador at Constantinople, dated from Jaffa, the 2nd of October, 1830, Captain Chesney declared the feasibility of the Suez Canal, notwithstanding the errors propounded by Napoleon's engineers as to the supposed levels of the Mediterranean and Red Sea.

Captain Chesney visited Palestine and Syria, the Harán and Decapolis, and journeyed through the Arabian desert from Damascus to El Kaim; from Anna he descended the Euphrates on a raft and by boat, and crossing the Persian Gulf, made his appearance at Bushire on the 5th of May, 1831.

Meanwhile Lieutenant Henry Ormsby, of the Indian Navy, assisted by Mr. Elliot,* had been engaged for some time on a survey of the Lower Tigris, in which Major Taylor, the talented Resident at Bagdad, took a deep interest. Lieutenant Ormsby's romantic adventures among the Arabs are told by Wellsted, in his "Travels to the City of the Caliphs," and probably no man ever possessed a more intimate knowledge of these interesting races than did this extraordinary officer. He absented himself from the Service at the age of nineteen, and for three years dwelt among them in their tents, and was as one of themselves. Wellsted says of him:—"The buoyancy of spirit with which every hardship encountered by my friend was surmounted; his courage and zealous perseverance, where others, amidst pestilence and famine, would have shrunk back, and the facility with which he filled up the variety of characters it was necessary he should assume, are perhaps unequalled even amidst the performance of the host of celebrated travellers to whom it has been the pride of Great Britain to have given birth." These wanderings were undertaken during the years 1826-30, and the Bombay Government, as a punishment for absenting himself so long without leave, struck his name off the Indian Navy list.

* The career of this gentleman was in many respects a remarkable one, and as he was associated with two officers of the Indian Navy, a brief notice in these pages is justly his due Mr Elliot, who was well known in the East as a great traveller and Orientalist, first went abroad in 1818, and entered the service of the Sultan of Turkey as a surgeon, at Vorno he was taken prisoner by the Russians and sent to Siberia, where he remained in exile two years After his release he travelled over many Eastern countries, and was one of the gentlemen who escaped from the Arabs in that fatal affair at Singar, when Lieutenant Bowater, I N, and Mr Taylor were killed He was then attached to the Survey under Lieutenant Ormsby, I N, and later was with Captain Chesney On the conclusion of this undertaking the British Government employed him to conciliate the Arab tribes of Mesopotamia and obtain geographical information of the country, and in 1837, while thus engaged, he died within three days' journey of Damascus.

His services to geographical science were, however, so considerable, and his reports* of so great value, that he was reinstated in the Service, and the Royal Society honoured him by electing him a Fellow. Like his friend Wellsted, however, his life was brief as brilliant, though he was enabled in the China war of 1840-42 to render important services to his country.

Captain Chesney returned to the Shatt-ul-Arab from Bushire, and, proceeding up the Karoon, visited Shuster; and thence journeying through Persia and Asia Minor, arrived in England in 1832. He gave important evidence before the Steam Committee of the House of Commons in 1834, in favour of the Euphrates route as opposed to the Egypt line; and, on the 16th of April, 1833, was honoured with an interview by King William IV., who took great interest in his project, and encouraged him to persevere. During the conversation, the Monarch, alluding to the serious apprehensions caused by the presence of the Russian fleet near Constantinople, as well as by the gradual advance of that power towards the Indus, which is apparently a bugbear of very great antiquity, expressed an opinion in favour of "adding a steam flotilla to the Indian Navy,"† which was to be stationed in Mesopotamian waters with the object of strengthening Persia and Turkey.

The 12th, and concluding, Resolution of the Steam Committee of the House of Commons, recommended a grant of £20,000 for an experiment to be made for communicating with India by the Euphrates, with the least possible delay; and, accordingly, Captain Chesney was nominated to organize an expedition, with Lieutenant Henry Blosse Lynch of the Indian Navy, as his second in command, the India House also contributing a further sum of £5,000.

Lieutenant Lynch entered the Service in 1823, and was employed in the Survey of the Persian Gulf. Having a classical taste, and a love for languages, neither the depressing climate nor the confined space in the miserable little brig, 'Psyche,' deterred him from applying himself closely to their study. On attaining his lieutenancy, he was appointed Arabic and Persian Interpreter to the Commodore of the Persian Gulf Squadron; between the years 1830-32, while in command of the 'Enterprise' steamer, he was employed under instructions from Sir John Macdonald, British Envoy at Teheran, in examining the southern provinces of Persia, conducting negotiations with the Arab chiefs, and examining the means of communication between the Gulf and

* Among other papers was a "Memoir on the Rivers of Mesopotamia," and "Narrative of a Journey across the Desert from Hit to Damascus." Accompanied by his friend, Mr Elliot, he quitted the Residency of Bagdad on the 2nd of April, 1831, and journeying thence to Hit, arrived at Damascus on the 27th of April. See his "Narrative of a Journey across the Syrian Desert," in Vol. II of the "Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society."

† Chesney's "Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition," 1868.

the countries on either hand. Lieutenant Lynch then proceeded to England by the 'Nautilus,' and was one of the sufferers by the shipwreck of the old brig, which had for so many years borne with credit the flag of the Indian Navy; on leaving his shipmates he crossed the Nubian Desert, on the northern limit of Abyssinia, and proceeded down the Nile to Egypt, whence he returned to England. In consequence of his great local experience and general ability, he was nominated second in command of the Euphrates Expedition, under Chesney (who was given the local rank of Colonel), the other officers being his brother, Lieutenant R. B. Lynch, of the 21st Bengal Native Infantry; Captain Estcourt, of the 43rd Regiment Light Infantry; Lieutenant Murphy, R.E., Lieutenant Cockburn, R.A.; and the following officers of the Royal Navy:—Lieutenant R. Cleaveland, and Messrs. Charlewood, Eden, and Fitzjames.* There were also two medical men (Dr Staunton and Dr. A. Staunton), and a number of skilled artizans carefully selected from the artillery and engineers.

Lieutenant Lynch was sent in advance, and, by the time Colonel Chesney had arrived in Syria with the men and material of the Expedition, had made the necessary proparations for landing at Suedia, in the Bay of Antioch. At the outset, difficulties of a political character, owing to the avowed intention of Mehemet Ali to stop the Expedition, appeared to threaten an advance into the interior, but Colonel Chesney expressed his determination to persevere at all hazards Accordingly, with the assistance of the officers and men of H.M.'s ship 'Columbine,' the stores and two flat-bottomed steamers for the navigation of the Euphrates and Tigris, were landed, and, at length, Ibrahim Pasha, son of the Egyptian Viceroy, yielded an unwilling consent to the departure of the Expedition. Meantime Lieutenant Lynch had been sent on a mission to Aleppo, and, on his return, was sent to Bir, or Birejek, to ascertain which was the best of the three available lines for reaching the Lake of Antioch from the mouth of the Orontes, and also to make the necessary preparations for the arrival of the Expedition at that place, which was the intended station on the Upper Euphrates. Lieutenant Lynch selected a site on the bank of the river, about two-and-a-half miles below Bir, where he ascertained that slips could be constructed for the two river steamers. In the meantime, the other officers and men of the Expedition were busy surveying, and, by the 22nd of May, the 'Tigris' was set up and launched in readiness to ascend the Orontes, but, as it was found that she could not stem the current and convey the heavy material by water to Antioch, she was taken to pieces

* Some of these officers rose to distinction, such as the late Major Estcourt, Adjutant-General of the forces in the Crimea, and the late Captain Fitzjames, who perished with Sir John Franklin

again. The party was now divided into four sections for the transport of the materials, and, after encountering almost incredible difficulties, Port William, on the Lake of Antioch, was reached, and preparations commenced to set up and float the steamers at that place, while depots of coal were formed at Deir and Anna on the Euphrates, to facilitate the descent and survey of that river. But it was necessary, as a prelude to action, to make the Arab Sheikhs understand that the visit was one, not of aggression, but of peace and mutual advantage, and Colonel Chesney, on recovering from a severe illness, selected Lieutenant Lynch to perform the difficult and delicate task, for which, by his diplomatic habit of mind and linguistic attainments, he was peculiarly well fitted.

On the 1st of September,* that officer set out accompanied by his brother, the younger Staunton, and Mr Elliot, who had escaped with his life when Lieutenant Bowater, I N., and Mr. Taylor had been killed by the Arabs, and who had recently joined the party. Lieutenant Lynch proceeded in the first instance to Orfah, which he reached on the second day, "the weather during the day being intolerably hot, and the nights intensely cold. From Orfah they proceeded to Harán, passing on the way the Well of Abraham, where they witnessed the cattle supplied with water out of the numerous troughs by the women, as in the days of the Patriarchs, "which did not fail," says Lieutenant Lynch, "to recall the beautiful descriptions of such scenes in Scripture." From Harán they proceeded to visit the Sheikh of the Guiess tribe, whose tents occupied both banks of the El Belik, and thence journeyed to the tribes whose *habitat* is around Racca, proceeding thence by the streams of the El Belik to the "Great River,"† as the Euphrates is called. After engaging in a skirmish‡ with a raiding party of the Aniza, in which one of the English party was seriously wounded,

* Colonel Chesney gives the date of departure of Lieutenant Lynch and his party as the 5th of September, but we have given the date which appears in Lieutenant Lynch's report on the result of his Mission, addressed to the commander of the Expedition *See* Appendix V., p 432, of Colonel Chesney's work

† Euphrates, says Sir Gore Ouseley, was styled "Great" by ancient authors, and also emphatically "the River" in the Book of Joshua and other parts of the Bible The etymology is unknown, though probably the root is the Hebrew word Frat or Perath Eight hundred years ago, Firdousi, author of the famous Persian epic, Shahnameh, or Book of Kings, relates the history of Queen Humai, and calls the river "Ab i Forât"

‡ Colonel Chesney says.—"The belief had somehow prevailed among the Arabs that Lieutenant Lynch's mission was in reality sent by Mehemet Ali with sinister objects, and they had caused a hostile feeling on the part of the Subba Arabs, a branch of the Aniza, who commenced their intended attack on their guests by wounding one of the party. The tact with which this serious affair was treated by Lieutenant Lynch, not only produced amicable relations with the tribe, but led to their rendering assistance to the Expedition, Lieutenant Lynch, with this object in view, allowing the affair of blood to remain as an unsettled claim between the Arabs and ourselves."

Lieutenant Lynch reached Deir, which was in open hostility against the Porte, its walls and houses having been placed in a state of defence by Sheikh Suleiman, who received the English party with much kindness. They arrived in time to enable Lieutenant Lynch to stay the hand of the commander of Ibrahim Pasha's troops, who had captured a large neighbouring village belonging to the Sheikh, and having burnt it to the ground, was engaged in slaughtering the wretched inhabitants of both sexes and of all ages. "We were enabled," he says, "to negotiate successfully for our suppliant friends, and after a night spent amongst the Egyptian troops, we proceeded to Deir, where we were received by long trains of women and children, singing songs to greet us on our return."

After accomplishing the great object of the mission in having arranged the depôts of charcoal on the left bank of the river, and cultivated friendly relations with the Arabs on that side of the Euphrates, Lieutenant Lynch crossed the stream, and visited the various tribes on the right bank. On his return, and during his advance, he distributed specimens of English manufactures among the Arab chiefs, and, passing through Aleppo, brought thence those eminent German travellers, Dr. and Madame Helfer.* At length he arrived in safety at the encampment at Bir, as he says, "after a circuitous route of nine hundred miles, having much cause to be thankful for the success of our dash into savage life. Already had a report reached Colonel Chesney that our party had fallen victims to Arab treachery, and our return was hailed with universal joy."

Meantime all the officers and men of the Expedition had been hard at work, and, on the 26th of September, the 'Euphrates' steamer was successfully launched sideways into the stream, the banks at the slip at Fort William being twenty-five feet high. At this point, the illness of Captain Estcourt necessitated a redistribution of the duties of the working and surveying parties, "the general superintendence having devolved upon Lieutenant Lynch, on his return from his mission to Deir." The work of transport was very heavy, one piece of the boiler of the 'Euphrates' requiring fifty men and one hundred oxen, and another thirty-six men and seventy-two oxen, to transport them to Bir. On this being completed, they commenced to set up the second steamer, called the 'Tigris.' On the 27th of February, the 'Tigris's' boiler, drawn by one hundred and four oxen, with fifty-two native drivers, besides all the men of the Expedition to assist, entered Port William, and thus was completed the work of transport Meantime Lieutenant Lynch and

* Dr Helfer, while on a scientific mission for the Indian Government, was murdered at the Andaman Islands on the 31st of January, 1840, when his heroic wife shot the assassin dead with her pistol, an act worthy the niece of Field-Marshal Von Bulow.

other officers were employed in surveying, and, upon the completion of the two steamers, the officers and men were distributed between them, as follow:—'Euphrates,' Captain Estcourt, in command; Lieutenants R. F. Cleaveland, R.N., H. F. Murphy, R.E.; Messrs. E. P. Charlewood, and J. Fitzjames, R.N; Mr. W. Ainsworth; Messrs. C. Rassam, and Seyyid Ali (interpreters); Mr. Thomas Hurst (Engineer); and Dr. and Mrs. Helfer (passengers). 'Tigris,' Lieutenant Lynch, in command; Mr H. Eden, R.N.; Lieutenant R. Cockburn, R.A.; Dr. Staunton, R.A.; Dr. A. Staunton; Messrs. W. Elliot, and J. Sader (interpreters); Mr. A. Clegg (Engineer); and Lieutenant R. B. Lynch (passenger). The party of soldiers, seamen, and natives, was equally distributed between the two vessels.

The 'Euphrates,' being first completed, commenced the descent and survey of the river, and, soon after, the 'Tigris' followed and joined her consort at Kara Bambuge, where the river Euphrates has a breadth of about 400 yards. Thence the 'Euphrates' steamed the remaining nineteen miles to Beles, on the 19th of April, the 'Tigris' soon after joining her there with the flats and rafts. After a brief stay at Beles, where the engineers, Messrs. Clegg and Hurst, were discharged, their time of service having expired, the 'Tigris' steamed down the river on the 4th of May, and the 'Euphrates' followed on the 6th, having received on board a supply of provisions from Aleppo. Both steamers anchored a little below Jiaber Castle, near Thapsacus, where Alexander the Great crossed the Euphrates. Near to a place called El Edhen, the 'Euphrates' grounded, when the 'Tigris' was recalled to assist her in getting off The descent was resumed on the 9th of May, as far as Racca and Amran, a careful survey being taken of places of interest on both banks, including Thapsacus and Susa. Thence they proceeded, the 'Tigris' leading, between cliffs varying from 300 to 500 feet in height, to the ruins of Halebi, said to have been the summer residence of Zenobia, opposite which the steamers brought up. Here Colonel Chesney received despatches from Sir John Hobhouse, directing the return of the Euphrates Expedition; he, however, resolved to keep the orders a secret, and continued the descent to Deir. On the 18th of May, the steamer arrived at the junction of the Euphrates and Khabur, the Araxes of Xenophon, where are the ruins supposed to be those of Carchemish, of Isaiah, and on the opposite bank, those of Calneh, of Genesis, with the ruined abutments of Trajan's Bridge between the two. The 'Tigris' being smaller than the 'Euphrates,' ascended the Khabur, but the water shoaling, had to return. Next morning the steamers proceeded as far as the town of Maden, near which is "Rehoboth of the Ammonites," of Genesis, and having pur-

chased a supply of wood, they proceeded on their course, intending to bring up at Anna for the night. But this day, the 21st of May, was destined to be a fatal one to many brave hearts of the Euphrates Expedition. The following despatch to Sir J. Hobhouse, written by Colonel Chesney, on the 28th of May, 1836, off Anna, gives the details of this sad catastrophe:—

"It is with feelings of the deepest regret that I do myself the honour of informing you that the 'Tigris' steamer was totally lost during a hurricane of indescribable violence, which, after the short struggle of about eight minutes, sent a fine vessel to the bottom in five fathoms water, and deprived His Majesty of fifteen valuable men, with five natives in addition.

"My reports up to the 17th instant, at Deir, will have informed you that all was going on as successfully as the most sanguine could possibly desire; we found the Arabs well disposed, and quite ready to form depôts for us of wood, charcoal, bitumen, and lignite coal, all met with in abundance and tried with complete success. In addition to these marked advantages, the survey has been carried 509 miles down 'the Great River,' which seemed in all respects favourable; in short, all was continued prosperously up to the afternoon of the 21st instant, when it pleased God to send the calamitous event, of which it is my duty to give a feeble sketch.

"A little after one p.m. on that melancholy day, the flat boats being a little ahead, and the 'Tigris' heading the 'Euphrates,' a storm appeared, bringing with it, high up in the air, clouds of sand from the west-south-west quarter. At this moment we were passing over the rocks of Is-Geria (deeply covered), and, immediately after, we made the signal for the 'Euphrates' to choose a berth and make fast, which was done more as a matter of precaution, on account of the difficulty of seeing our way through the sand than from apprehension that the squall would be so terrific. The 'Tigris' was immediately directed towards the bank, against which she struck without injury, but with so much violence as to recoil about eight yards, leaving two men on the bank who had jumped out to make fast; the wind then suddenly veered round, drove her bow off, and thus rendered it quite impossible to secure the vessel to the bank, along which she was blown rapidly by the heavy gusts, her head falling off into the stream as she passed close by the 'Euphrates,' which vessel had been backed opportunely to avoid the collision. The engines were working at full power, and every endeavour made to turn the vessel's bow to the bank; one anchor was let go, but the heel of the vessel made it impossible to get the other out. She was then nearly broadside to the wind, with the engines almost powerless, and the waves,

rising to the height of four or five feet, forcing their way in at the windows. Lieutenant Cockburn, the Messrs. Staunton, and some of the men, made ineffectual attempts to keep out the water, for the fate of the vessel was already decided; and the forepart of the deck being under water, Lieutenant Lynch came to report that the 'Tigris' was sinking, and the word was immediately passed for all to save themselves. At this very instant, a momentary gleam of light faintly showed the bank at the apparent distance of eight or ten yards; and as there seemed every probability that the stern would touch it before she went down, Lieutenant Lynch encouraged the people to remain steady until they reached the land. All were on deck at this critical moment, some were clinging to the ropes of the awning, the paddle-boxes, and funnel, but the majority were close to the tiller, and all behaving with the most exemplary obedience, until the vessel went down all at once, and probably within half a minute after we had seen the bank for an instant. Lieutenant Lynch, who was at my elbow, dived out under the starboard ridge-rope at the moment when there was about four feet of water on the deck, and I had the good fortune to get clear in the same manner through the larboard side, without having seen anything whatever to guide me through the darkness worse than that of night.

"When it cleared a little, I found around me Lieutenant Lynch, Mr. Eden (both greatly exhausted), Mr. Thomson, the Messrs. Staunton, and several of the men; the hurricane was already abating fast, and as the distance from the vessel to the shore was very short, we indulged the hope that the rest of our brave companions had reached the bank lower down. For an instant I saw the keel of the 'Tigris' uppermost (near the stern); she went down bow foremost, and having struck the bottom in that position she probably turned round on the bow as a pivot, and thus showed part of her keel for an instant at the other extremity; but her paddle-beams, floats, and parts of the sides were already broken up, and actually floated ashore—so speedy and terrific had been the work of destruction. From the moment of striking the bank until the 'Tigris' went down, it scarcely exceeded eight minutes, whilst the operation of sinking itself did not consume more than three minutes; indeed, the gale was so very violent, that I doubt whether the most powerful vessel, such as a frigate, could have resisted, unless she was already secured to the bank; and for this, in our case, there was little or no time, as it was barely possible, in the position of our consort, to make fast and save the vessel. I had little or rather no hope that the 'Euphrates' could have escaped; but the intrepid skill of Lieutenant Cleaveland and Mr. Charlewood enabled them to get out two anchors in the very nick of time, and by the united means of two hawsers, and the engines

working at full speed, the vessel maintained her position at the bank until the storm abated (as the enclosed letter from Captain Estcourt will explain more fully) and as it required all the power of a fifty-horse engine in the case of the 'Euphrates' to keep her hawsers from snapping, I infer that the twenty-horse of the 'Tigris' would not have been sufficient to enable her to keep the position at the bank, even if the officers had succeeded in securing her alongside of it.

"Lieutenant Lynch and Mr. Eden continued cool and collected until the last minute, nor were any efforts wanting that skill or presence of mind could suggest to save the vessel in the first instance, and the lives in the second, when the first had failed; nor could anything be more exemplary than their conduct and that of all on board. Scarcely was a word spoken, not a murmur was heard; and death was met with that exemplary degree of intrepidity and resignation which have been displayed by every individual throughout the arduous and trying service in which we have been engaged since January, 1835."

This terrible calamity cost the lives of two officers,* thirteen Europeans, and five Natives, but in no way damped the determination of the survivors to continue the survey and descent of the Euphrates until success was achieved, notwithstanding the loss of one steamer, with valuable instruments and stores, a large portion of the party, and all the money. The survivors of the 'Tigris'† were sent to England from motives of economy, and the remainder of the Expedition continued the descent of the river in the 'Euphrates.' Passing by Hillah and the remains of Ancient Babylon, and past the Lamlum marshes, the steamer brought up off Koorna, at the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, on the 18th of June, and, on the following day, reached Bussorah, forty-three miles distant. As there were no

* Lieutenants R B Lynch, B N I, and R Cockburn, R A, one interpreter, one engineer, five men of the Royal Artillery, one of the Royal Sappers and Miners, five seamen, and five Natives Lieutenant Cockburn had on that morning sought for leave to spend the day on board the 'Euphrates,' but failing to meet Lieutenant Lynch, his commanding officer, returned to his own vessel He was a most active and indefatigable young officer One of the survivors, Mr Taylour Thomson, is now Chargé d'Affaires and Consul-General in Chili. Mr (now Captain) Henry Eden, R N, still survives A memorial to the officers and men who were drowned on board the 'Tigris,' on the 21st of May, 1836, has been erected at the British Vice-Consulate at Marghill, near Bussorah

† The Bombay Government being desirous of raising the 'Tigris' and taking the 'Euphrates' to Bombay, Commodore Pepper, then commanding the Persian Gulf Squadron, detached Lieutenant Sharp, commanding the 'Tigris,' with his first-lieutenant, Griffith Jenkins, and thirty men, to take the necessary measures. The party proceeded to Bagdad, but, after consultation with Colonel Taylor, it was found that it would be impracticable to raise the 'Tigris,' of which no trace had at any time been discovered, they were, however, about to carry out their instructions regarding the removal of the 'Euphrates,' when orders came to countermand them, as the Court of Directors had purchased her of the British Government, and intended that she should remain in Mesopotamia.

means of refitting here, Colonel Chesney steamed down the Shatt-ul-Arab, and crossed the head of the Persian Gulf to Bushire, where he found the Hon. Company's sloop of-war 'Amherst,' and the Hon. Company's schooner 'Cyrene,' "from both of which," he says, "we were greeted by hearty cheers as we passed to our anchorage close to the Residency."* The necessary repairs were taken in hand, the Indian Navy giving every assistance, when the practicability of returning to the Shatt-ul-Arab for the purpose of continuing the survey, was seriously imperilled by the seamen claiming their discharge in accordance with the terms of their agreement. In this dilemma, Commodore Pepper, commanding the Persian Gulf squadron, issued orders that men might be permitted to volunteer into the 'Euphrates,' and on Colonel Chesney proceeding on board the 'Elphinstone,' every man expressed his readiness to join the Expedition. On the 25th of July the 'Euphrates' quitted Bushire in tow of the 'Elphinstone,' which left her at the mouth of the Shatt-ul-Arab, when she steamed up to the Residency at Marghill, where, shortly before, Lieutenant Murphy, R.E., had expired after a severe illness.

Colonel Chesney now took the steamer up the Tigris to Bagdad, where she arrived on the 30th of August, 1836, and commenced his return voyage on the 5th of September At Mohamrah, where he arrived in eleven days, he took on board the Indian mail from the 'Hugh Lindsay,' and reascended the Euphrates as far as the Lamlum marshes, whence, on the 30th of October, he despatched Mr. Fitzjames and two other gentlemen by the overland route to England with the mail. On the 8th of November, the 'Euphrates,' having broken down

* In his Report to Sir John Hobhouse, drawn up while at Bushire, Colonel Chesney expresses his opinion that "every man who has descended the river with his eyes open, must consider the Euphrates navigable throughout the year with proper-sized vessels, and also that there is an ample supply of fuel along the banks of different kinds,"—coal, bitumen, and wood In his opinion, the only difficult piece of navigation, owing to the narrow and sharp turnings, is at the Lamlum marshes, an extent of forty miles, and this may be overcome either by ascending the Tigris to Bagdad, and crossing thence to the Euphrates by a canal which should be constructed by cutting for about eighteen miles through the marshes, or by placing a vessel of small size expressly suited to the windings The first would increase the distance one hundred miles, the second is one of the easiest tasks, and the third is the one to which Colonel Chesney gives the preference. "In this view of the matter," he says, "one small vessel, with two rather larger and more powerful than the 'Tigris' was, would be required to open the river for a permanent line of mails, with speed, economy and safety" Colonel Chesney, having called upon his officers to give their written opinions, Lieutenant Lynch stated that the river is navigable from Bir to the sea at all seasons, and the supply of fuel depends on the continuance of friendly relations with the Arabs. Lieutenant Cleaveland did not doubt that steam vessels of a right construction could make rapid voyages up and down the Euphrates at any season, and calculated that the communication from Bombay could be accomplished in forty-six days and out in forty-one, taking the lowest average. Messrs. Fitzjames and Charlewood were of opinion that at the lowest seasons the river could be navigated, or easily be made navigable.

in the attempt to ascend the river, brought up at Mohamrah alongside the 'Hugh Lindsay,' Commander J. H. Rowband, on board of which the necessary repairs were effected; and, as the funds voted by Parliament would cease to be available for the Expedition on the 31st of January. 1837, and his instructions directed him to place the steamer under the orders of the Bombay Government, Colonel Chesney surrendered the command to Major Estcourt, and proceeded to Bombay in the 'Hugh Lindsay,' which left Bushire on the 17th of November, and reached Bombay on the 1st of December. Lord Auckland having decided to postpone the opening of the overland route through Mesopotamia, and to abandon his intention of placing steamers on the Indus, Colonel Chesney, having nothing further to do, volunteered to proceed to England with important despatches relating to the outbreak at Mangalore, which the 'Hugh Lindsay' was about to take to Bussorah, for despatch by dromedary dâk to Aleppo. The 'Hugh Lindsay' sailed on the 28th of April, and, on the 14th of May, was alongside the Hon. Company's brig 'Tigris' at Bussorah Creek. Here intelligence was received that the Directors proposed to send out some iron steamers to open a mail communication to Europe by the Euphrates On the day after his arrival, Colonel Chesney commenced his long journey to England, and delivered his despatches at the Board of Control on the 8th of August. He was accompanied as far as Zobeir, in the desert near Bussorah, by Lieutenant C. D. Campbell, of the 'Hugh Lindsay,' "who," he says, "had rendered me the very material service of laying down the compass bearings to Damascus—viz, north-west by west-half-west—to aid me in directing my course by day, and had also ascertained that the stars Castor and Pollux would be above the horizon to serve as my unfailing guides by night."

During Colonel Chesney's absence in India, Major Estcourt ascended the Karoon river to Ahwaz—the ancient Aginis—beyond which navigation was impossible; returning to Mohamrah, the 'Euphrates' steamed up the Tigris to Bagdad, and, passing through the bridge of boats which spans the river at the historic capital of Haroun-al-Raschid, proceeded twenty miles up the stream, when an accident to the rudder necessitated her return. It was now the 3rd of January; and, as the period for making over the steamer to the Bombay Government had almost arrived, she was left in charge of Mr. Hector, a British merchant at Bagdad. The seamen borrowed from the Persian Gulf squadron were sent down the river, and Major Estcourt prepared to proceed overland to England with the remainder of the officers and men. At this time an order was received from the Bombay Government to continue the Expedition, but, as it was no longer effective in point of men,

Major Estcourt decided on carrying out the previous orders of the Home Government, and, accordingly, started on the 24th of January for Damascus and Beyrout, whence he and his party sailed for England. Colonel Chesney succeeded in obtaining promotion for the four Royal Navy officers who had served under his command; Major Estcourt received a brevet lieutenant-colonelcy, and Mr. Taylour Thomson a diplomatic appointment at Teheran; but his second in command, Lieutenant Lynch, I.N., being a member of a seniority Service, received no reward for his services and exertions.*

In 1838, Commander J. C. Hawkins, commanding the 'Clive,' proceeded up the River Euphrates in the steamer of the same name, with a portion of the crew of his ship, as far as Hit, five hundred miles from Bussorah. In a letter, dated "Hillah, 24th of March, 1838," he says that the steamer passed the Lamlum marshes, a distance of three hundred and fifty miles, which she had accomplished in six days. "It was not without difficulty and hard labour," he adds, "we succeeded in passing the tortuous windings and frequent strong rushes and eddies of the river in these celebrated marshes." He left Hillah on the following day, and, on the 30th, reached Hit, thus "running upwards of five hundred miles against a rapid current, in some places very difficult, and only steaming twelve hours in the twenty-four."

On Colonel Chesney's return to England, Lieutenant Lynch, who had remained in charge of the postal service across Syria, from Bagdad to Damascus, assumed command of the 'Euphrates' on the part of the Bombay Government, and succeeded in ascending the Tigris to a higher point than had ever yet been achieved; this was to Koot Abdullah, near Mosul, thereby proving the navigability of the river so far, during the freshes, by steam vessels. He also made the passage of the Seglowiyah canal,† between the Tigris and Euphrates near Bagdad, which was soon after destroyed by Ali Pasha.

* Though Colonel Chesney, after much trouble, succeeded in obtaining promotion for those belonging to the Royal Services employed under him, and payment of their expenses, his own he did not receive, and the brevet of lieutenant-colonel was conferred on him in 1838, four years later than the time recommended in Sir John Hobhouse's Minute. He received no recompense, either honorary or pecuniary, from Government for his great services and untiring energy, but lived to refuse, as coming thirty years too late, the honours which would have been gratefully received when he returned from the East, indeed, he had much difficulty in recovering the sums actually expended by him in the production of his noble and comprehensive work recording his labours and researches, undertaken at the request of the Government. He died early in 1872, aged eighty-two years, honoured by all the scientific societies, but neglected by the British Government.

† According to a Memorandum by the late Lieutenant B. Bewsher, I.N., there are seven canals of considerable size between the two rivers, about seven to fifteen yards broad and from six to ten feet deep in the high season. These canals all drain the Euphrates. Seleucia is also placed at the mouth of a canal which once connected the two rivers, and is the famous Nahar Malka of Pliny.

He says,* "In travelling, during the autumn of 1837, along the whole course of the Tigris from its sources in the mountainous regions of Armenia to the city of Bagdad, I have bestowed much attention on the examination of the river, fixing its chief points by astronomical observations, and laying down others by a prismatic compass, checked, whenever it was possible, by cross-bearings. Throughout a great part of my journey, the track led me over ruins, at one time amidst the remains of ancient palaces, at another over the ruins of modern huts; yet the river is ever a fine stream, and flows through a beautiful, fertile, and populous country. More pressing duty at the present moment does not admit of computing the greater part of my observations; but the tract between Bagdad and Sammarrah, comprising Opis, the Median Wall, and Sipárah on the Euphrates, as having reference to many interesting topics I have taken pains to examine with accuracy." On the 25th of July, 1839, Lieutenant Lynch transmitted from Bagdad to Sir John Cam Hobhouse, President of the Board of Control, under whose immediate orders he was serving, a map of the whole source of the Tigris, between Ctesiphon and Mosul, which was on the scale of twelve inches to a degree. He writes:— "Chains of triangles connect Nineveh to Bagdad, Bagdad to Babylon, Babylon to Ctesiphon, Ctesiphon to Bagdad, and the mountains of Hamreed in two points, namely, where the Tigris bursts through them to the north and Diyaláh to the north-eastward. Most of the principal points within the range of these are fixed either by an extension of the trigonometric chains or by latitudes and true bearings checked by longitudes: the great canals also have been touched by our work sufficiently to show us their direction and position. As we work, the field instead of being diminished appears to extend; and I have been obliged to leave with regret the tracing of the splendid canals and rivers and the filling-in of the villages and ruins for more favourable times. This, however, will be my first object with the extension of our triangles along this river towards Bussorah, and a careful survey of that part of the Euphrates between the Saklawiyáh Canal and the lower part of what was Babylonia, to show the heads of the canals that ran from it towards the Tigris, and once rendered it, what its ruins attest, a splendid garden." Lieutenant H. W. Grounds, who, with Lieutenant M. W. Lynch, assisted Lieutenant Lynch in his researches, also wrote an interesting paper on his exploration of the country between Bagdad and the Hamreed Hills.†

* "Note on a part of the River Tigris, between Bagdad and Sammarrah." By Lieutenant H Blosse Lynch, I N (Vol IX of the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society") Accompanying the Memoir is an admirable map of the Tigris between Bagdad and Mosul, reduced from his map submitted to the Board of Control.

† "Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society," vol. vi., p. 407.

The Court of Directors, anticipating important results from the navigation of the rivers of Mesopotamia, in 1839 despatched round the Cape three new iron vessels, manufactured by Messrs. Laird and McGregor, which were shipped in pieces in England on board the 'Urania' and, under the directions of Commander Lynch, were put together at Bussorah; and thus, by the spring of the year 1840, four steamers bearing British colours were floating on the classic waters of Mesopotamia. These were the 'Assyria,' Lieutenant C. D. Campbell, who volunteered for the duty and joined on the 6th of May, 1840; the 'Nitocris,' Lieutenant Felix Jones, who also joined from the Gulf Squadron; the 'Nimrod,' Lieutenant H. W. Grounds; and the 'Euphrates,' Lieutenant Michael W. Lynch, also of the Service. On the 10th of July, Lieutenant H. B Lynch proceeded to England on sick leave, when he was succeeded in the command by Lieutenant Campbell, an officer possessing scientific attainments of a high order, who had already earned distinction as a surveyor. Great sickness now prevailed among the crews, and several men and two engineers died. From July to October the steamers were employed running mails between Bussorah and Bagdad. On the 11th of January, 1841, Lieutenant Campbell started with a party from Bagdad overland to Anna, to explore the Euphrates at its lowest state. From Anna the party descended the river in boats to Hillah, whence they returned to Bagdad by land, arriving there on the 3rd of February. During Lieutenant Campbell's absence, Lieutenant (the late Captain) W. S. Selby had joined the flotilla and taken the command of the 'Assyria,' Lieutenant M. Lynch's health having broken down, owing to the effects of hard work while assisting his brother in his survey of the upper waters of the Tigris. Lieutenant Lynch died at Diabekr on his way to England, one of several officers of the Service who have perished in the cause of science and civilisation. Leaving the 'Euphrates' laid up at Bagdad, Lieutenant Campbell proceeded to Bussorah, surveying the Tigris to its junction with the Euphrates at Koorna, and also exploring the Hie and the Hud. On the 1st of April, 1841, he commenced the ascent of the Euphrates to Beles with the steamers 'Nitocris' and 'Nimrod,' an undertaking that had never before been attempted, though Commander Hawkins had succeeded in reaching as high as Hit. After surmounting difficulties of no ordinary nature, which constantly taxed his ingenuity and seamanlike skill, Lieutenant Campbell, assisted by Lieutenant Felix Jones, an officer highly distinguished both as a diplomatist and a surveyor, and Lieutenant H. W. Grounds, succeeded in reaching Anna on the 7th of May, and Beles on the 31st of May, 1841. The "Morning Chronicle," of the 10th of August of that year, announces that event as "the completion of an enterprise of

much danger and difficulty, which had generally been looked upon as impracticable, and which in all probability nothing but British skill, intrepidity, and perseverance would have been able to accomplish." "The actual distance of the voyage up the river," continues the 'Chronicle' "was eleven hundred and thirty miles; the ascent occupied two hundred and seventy-three hours, or about nineteen and a half days. The average rate of sailing was three miles and seven furlongs an hour. The Tigris and Euphrates have now been opened to vessels of considerable burden, and the ascent and descent of these noble streams may be made available for the purposes of commerce, as well as of civilisation; although the success of this splendid experiment reflects honour on the British name alone, the advantages which may be derived from it will be shared with us by many nations, and, it is to be hoped, by the inhabitants of the once famous regions watered by the great rivers of Mesopotamia. The behaviour of the crews was most exemplary, and not a single casualty occurred during the whole voyage."

Of this ascent of the Euphrates, the Right Hon. H. A. Layard, who took a less sanguine view than Colonel Chesney of its navigability, says in his "Nineveh and Babylon" (chap xxi. page 474), "The expedition under Colonel Chesney, and the subsequent ascent of the Euphrates, by far the most arduous undertaking connected with its navigation, but accomplished with great skill by Captain Campbell, of the East India Company's Service, have proved that for ordinary purposes this river in its present condition is not navigable, even in the lower part of its course."

The following is a copy of the letter of thanks Lieutenant Campbell received from the Secret Department of the Court of Directors:—

"East India House, London, August 27, 1841.

"The President of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India having transmitted to us a copy of your letters of the 1st and 17th of June, and of the enclosure to the former letter, we have to express to you our congratulations on your achievement of the ascent of the Euphrates, and our satisfaction at the whole of your conduct whilst engaged on this service.

"You will communicate to the officers and men our thanks for the ability and goodwill with which they performed their arduous duties.

"We are, your loving friends,

"(Signed) "GEORGE LEGATT,
"J. L. LUSHINGTON.

"To Lieutenant C. D. Campbell, I N.,
Commanding the Flotilla on the Euphrates."

After the obstructions and dangers experienced in Colonel Chesney's descent of the river, with a favouring current to assist him, it required courage, perseverance, and skill, to effect its successful ascent. For all these qualities, Lieutenant Campbell was eminently distinguished, while his knowledge of Arab character, his patience and equanimity, enabled him most effectually to conciliate the wild inhabitants of the banks of the Euphrates; and thus it happened that the ascent of the "Great river," made against the first rush of the annual rise from the melting snow, was unattended by any serious accident or regrettable occurrence, a circumstance the more remarkable as the 'Nitocris' and 'Nimrod' were armed with long iron 9-pounder pivot guns, and carried two months' provisions and ammunition. The steamers remained at Beles until the 15th of September, 1841, and their presence acted as a diversion against Ibrahim Pasha in Eastern Syria, and in other respects exercised considerable influence during the war with Mehemet Ali. While here, Lieutenant Campbell sent Lieutenant Felix Jones across the Syrian Desert and Lebanon to Beyrout, where he communicated with the British fleet, whence he obtained stores. Having connected the river Euphrates and Mediterranean by chronometric measurements for longitude, Lieutenant Jones returned to Beles by another route, through Northern Syria. Lieutenant Campbell also visited Aleppo, Scanderoon, and the depôt of stores left by Colonel Chesney at Bir; he also surveyed the river between that place and Beles, and visited the various tribes on the banks.

During the absence of Lieutenant Campbell at Beles, the remaining steamers, 'Euphrates' and 'Assyria,' were placed under the command of Lieutenant W. B Selby, an enterprising officer who explored the river Karoon, the river of Dizful, the Kirkhah, the Hie, and the Bamisheer. He ascended the Karoon to Shuster, both by the main body of the river and by the Aub Gargar, or artificial canal; he fully established the practicability of the navigation of the Bamisheer, and proved the possibility of communicating by steam between the Euphrates and Tigris by the Hie. These were among the most important results of the Expedition, and should the advances of civilization in no distant future cover the rivers of Mesopotamia with steamers for commercial and other purposes, the extensive surveys and researches of Lieutenant Selby, and of that accomplished surveyor, Lieutenant Felix Jones, more particularly in later years, will receive from posterity the acknowledgment that has been denied to them by their "Honourable Masters" and by the Government of the Queen. A writer in the "Bombay Times" of December, 1843, speaking of Lieutenant Selby's surveys at this period—and the passage was endorsed by the late Sir Roderick Murchison, in his address to

the Royal Geographical Society on the 27th of May, 1844—says:—"Lieutenant Selby, by his courage, his perseverance, and his scientific knowledge, was admirably calculated for an expedition of this nature. He has connected by scientific observations the course of the Eulæus, the Choaspes, the Coprates, and the Pasitigris, with the range of mountains forming the great chain running to the east of Shuster, and with the rivers Euphrates and Tigris. He has proved the practicability of rivers, the course of which was hitherto almost unknown." "Such are the terms," said Sir Roderick Murchison in conclusion, "in which this important expedition is announced, and they are certainly such as Lieutenant Selby's successful efforts eminently warrant." His career of usefulness was, however, temporarily cut short, and his life nearly terminated, by some severe wounds he received in an encounter with an overpowering force of Arabs of the El Meidan tribe, on the western bank of the river Tigris, below Bagdad, when he exhibited a reckless gallantry such as we read of in the pages of romances of the G. P. R. James type. The affair took place in the month of June, 1841, during the absence at Beles of Lieutenants Campbell, Jones, and Grounds, when Lieutenant Selby was in temporary charge of the depôts on the river Tigris; and the wounds he received were of so severe a nature that Assistant-Surgeon Ross, of the British Residency at Bagdad, invalided him to England.

On the 20th of August, 1841, Commander Lynch* reassumed the command of the Expedition at Beles, and, on the 1st of September, commenced the descent of the river, when, owing to the unfavourable time of the year, one of the steamers, the 'Nimrod,' was sunk by a snag, on the 16th of February, 1843, but was raised after much difficulty.

Meanwhile, between the 1st of September and the following April, Commander Lynch and his assistants utilized the time in continuing the survey of the river. He says in his "Memoir, in three parts, of the River Euphrates:"†—"The survey of the river Euphrates was commenced in the month of October, 1841, in the steam vessels 'Nitocris' and 'Nimrod,' under the command of Commander H. Blosse Lynch, assisted by Lieutenants

* He attained the rank of commander on the 21st of February, and had already received the insignia of a "Knight of the Lion and Sun" from the Shah of Persia, an order of Chivalry instituted by his predecessor in 1800, in honour of an Englishman—Sir John Malcolm—who was twice "Elchee," or Envoy, at his Court. The Euphrates and Tigris Steam Navigation Company (Limited), who have placed a line of steamers between Bussorah and Bagdad, have recently commemorated the great services of Captain Lynch as one of the pioneers of steam navigation on those waters and the first surveyor of Mesopotamia, by naming a fine steamer, 220 feet in length and 600 tons burden, the 'Blosse Lynch' after him.

† *See* "Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society," vol. vi. pp. 169-186, for the Memoir which was communicated by Government.

Campbell, Jones, and Grounds, I.N. A series of chronometrical measurements connect the river at the light station below Beles with the Mediterranean at Sawediah and Alexandretta, and with the cities of Aleppo and Antioch. The chart shows the river in its lowest state, and is constructed from trigonometrical measurements from a base line measured on the level plain between Beles and Jiaber * The astronomical positions were determined by single and meridian altitudes of sun, moon, and stars, and lunar distances. The scale of the chart is one inch to a geographical mile taken at 2,025 yards. At Deir the trigonometrical survey of the river was given up for the season, the water having risen nearly two feet, and rising daily, rendering the examination of the shoals comparatively useless. Below Deir the operations of the survey were limited to fixing astronomically the principal points of latitude by meridian altitude of the sun, moon, and stars, longitude by chronometer and lunar distances from the sun and stars. True bearings deduced from observations of the sun's azimuth. The delineation of the river was carried on in both vessels by dead reckoning. The soundings are of little value, as they remain constant only for the day or hour in which they are taken."

It was not until the 29th of April, 1842, that the 'Nimrod,' having Commander Lynch and Lieutenant Campbell on board, arrived at Anna, when these officers hired two boats, and pushing on for Felugia, landed and rode thence to Bagdad. Upon their departure Lieutenants Jones and Grounds conducted the 'Nitocris' and 'Nimrod' down the river to the Persian Gulf, which was reached in the spring of 1842.

The result of this descent of the Euphrates, so far as regarded its navigability by steamers drawing even three or four feet of water, at all seasons of the year, was considered a failure; and the Court of Directors, who had already resolved upon withdrawing one or two of the steamers, determined upon abandoning the Expedition entirely. Accordingly, in June, 1842, Lieutenant Campbell proceeded to Bushire with three of the vessels, and, in the following September, the 'Semiramis' arrived and took the steamers, with the officers and crews, to Bombay. Commander Lynch also returned to Bombay, Lieutenant Felix Jones remaining behind in the 'Nitocris' to protect British interests at Bagdad, and continue the survey of

* He says —

"The old castle of Jiaber, built on an isolated hill of the desert range of the left bank, is about eighteen miles below Beles, and forms a fine object over the valley At a great distance both above and below, it is 369 feet above the level of the river, and was formerly just over the stream, which has now left it, and is 1,000 yards distant The ruins are of the Saracenic age, but there are evidences of much older building in the brickwork of the foundations, and I am led to suppose that Jiaber has been an important military station long prior to the age its present ruins would appear to indicate, it is now entirely deserted, but has been occupied within the last sixty years."

the country between the two great rivers. This closes the record of the Euphrates Expedition,* though officers of the Indian Navy, borne on the books of the armed steamer 'Comet,' which worthily upheld the British name, were employed in surveying these classic lands up to the date of the abolition of the Service, when the "Surveyor of Mesopotamia" and his assistants ceased to be drawn from its ranks. During this period of upwards of a quarter of a century these accomplished surveyors and draughtsmen still further exalted the reputation of the Service, by their patient and assiduous labours in mapping out and exploring these "cradle lands."

In 1836 the 'Atalanta' steam sloop of 617 tons and 210 horse-power, armed with four heavy guns, was launched at London, and sailed from Falmouth on the 29th of December, for Bombay. The 'Atalanta' made Teneriffe in eight days, having encountered terrific weather, during which she carried away the paddle-boxes, and jib-boom, and arrived at the Cape in thirty-five days from England, and at Bombay on the 13th of April, having made the passage in one hundred and six days.† Her arrival was most opportune, for the Government had just

* The results of the Expedition may be briefly summarised as follows — (1) The descent of the river Euphrates from Bir to Bussorah by Colonel Chesney, during which the 'Tigris' was lost (2) The navigation of the river Karoon from Mohamrah to Ahwaz. 'by the steamer 'Euphrates' under Major Estcourt. (3) The ascent of the river Tigris as far as Bagdad and twenty miles higher up by Colonel Chesney (4) The ascent of the Tigris to Koot Abdullah, near Mosul, by Captain Lynch (5) The passage of the Seglowiyah canal by the same officer (6) The ascent of the Hud by Lieutenant Campbell (7) The ascent of the Euphrates from Bussorah to Beles by Lieutenant Campbell (8) The passage of the Hie by Lieutenant Selby (9) The ascent of the Kirkhah by the same officer (10) The ascent of the Karoon from Mohamrah to Ahwaz, and subsequently from Mohamrah to Shuster, also of the Aub Gargar, or artificial canal, and of the river of Dizful, by the same officer. (11) The navigation of the Bamusheer from Mohamrah to the sea by the same officer (12) The descent of the Euphrates from Beles to Bussorah, partly by Captain Lynch, and partly by Lieutenants Jones and Grounds Speaking generally, it may be said that the chief result of the expedition was that the Tigris was proved to be navigable all the year round as far as Bagdad, and during the freshes, as far as Mosul for steamers of very light draught, but that the Euphrates was not navigable throughout its course at all periods of the year by vessels of the draught of these steamers

† The following are the dates of her arrival and departure from the various stations for taking in coal —Arrived at Teneriffe, Jan 6, left, Jan 11 Arrived at Mayo, Jan 15, left, Jan 21. Arrived at Fernando Po, Jan 31; left, Feb 5. Arrived at Cape of Good Hope, Feb 19, left, Feb 28 Arrived at Mauritius, March 16; left, March 26 Arrived at Cochin, April 7, left, April 9. Arrived at Bombay, April 13 Being a period of seventy, or rather sixty-eight complete days at sea, during the whole of which the vessel was under steam, aided occasionally by her sails Her average consumption of coals did not exceed fifteen tons per day, while that of the 'Hugh Lindsay' was nearly seventeen, besides severe weather in the Bay of Biscay, a three days' gale of wind was encountered between the Cape and the Mauritius, so that the performance was considered as very satisfactory The detention of thirty-six days at the several ports was entirely occupied in taking in coal.

received intelligence of the outbreak of a formidable insurrection in the Canara country, and an attack on Mangalore by an insurgent force of five thousand Coorgs and Moplahs, who, however, were driven off. Immediately on receipt of this news at Bombay, Her Majesty's ship 'Winchester' proceeded to Vingorla and embarked two hundred of the Queen's Royals and four hundred of the Company's troops; the 'Hugh Lindsay' took on board two hundred of the 6th Regiment, and a company of Artillery, with 9-pounders; and the 'Atalanta' embarked the 23rd Native Infantry. The two former left Bombay on the 13th of April and reached Mangalore in fifty-seven hours, and the 'Atalanta' followed on the following day and anchored in the roads in fifty hours. On their arrival it was found that the place had been relieved by troops from Cannanore, but a large field force was required for ulterior operations, and a squadron of vessels of the Indian Navy was employed on the coast, Commander Lowe being agent for transports, with Lieutenant Robinson as his assistant.

The second steam-ship despatched from England for service in the Indian Navy, was the 'Berenice,' built at Glasgow, of 756 tons burden and 220 horse-power, and carrying a battery of four 68-pounders, or, to speak more correctly, 8-inch guns throwing hollow 56-lb. shot. On the 22nd of February, 1837, the Court of Directors gave a grand banquet to Captain George Grant,* who was nominated to the command, and his officers, at which were present a distinguished company, including Lord Clare, and Admirals Sir Charles Adam and Sir Pulteney Malcolm The 'Berenice' left Falmouth at eleven p.m. on the 16th of March, touched at Santa Cruz (Teneriffe), Mayo (Cape de Verd Islands), Fernando Po, Cape of Good Hope, and Port Louis (Mauritius). The run of upwards of twelve thousand miles was made at an average rate of eight miles an hour, and the 'Berenice' anchored at Bombay on the 14th of June. Captain Grant† reported that she was an excellent sea boat, and stood well up under canvas in heavy weather; also that on her arrival at Bombay she was in as efficient a state as when she left Falmouth, and could be got ready for sea in a few hours. The 'Berenice' made a quicker passage by five days, under steam, than the 'Atalanta,' and by eighteen days on the whole voyage, she having been eighty-eight days‡ on the passage, including twenty-four days' de-

* Captain Grant was the same officer who had done such good service on the Guzerat coast between the years 1812-20.

† Soon after his arrival at Bombay, Captain Grant's health failed, and on the 11th August he was granted furlough to Europe, and retired on the Senior List with a pension of £800 a-year, which he enjoyed until his death in the year 1874.

‡ The following are details of the voyage of the 'Berenice':—Falmouth to Santa Cruz, seven and a-half days, Santa Cruz to Mayo, four days nine hours;

tention at the various ports, and the 'Atalanta' one hundred and six days, including thirty-six days' detention.

The 'Berenice,' 'Atalanta,' and 'Hugh Lindsay,' were employed during the year 1837 in the transport of mails and passengers between Suez and Bombay, from which date the communication was regularly maintained. In 1838 it was recorded as an extraordinary feat that English intelligence of the 7th of March was received, per the 'Atalanta,' in forty-one days at Bombay, and fifty-four at Calcutta.

The third steamer built in England for the Indian Navy was the 'Semiramis,' of 720 tons and 300 horse-power, which made her trial trip from Purfleet to the Nore on the 21st of October, 1837, under command of Captain George Barnes Brucks, who was accompanied by the Court of Directors, and Captain Oliver, R.N., the newly nominated successor of Sir Charles Malcolm as Superintendent of the Indian Navy. Sir James Carnac, the Chairman of the Court, stated in the course of his speech at the customary dinner, that Captain Brucks had been selected for the command on account of long and valuable service, as well as his scientific attainments, and he mentioned "his elaborate and valuable surveys, charts of which had long been published for the public benefit." Sir James associated with the toast, Captain Lawrence, the "father of the Indian Navy" (who was present) and Captain Houghton. He observed, he had had much intercourse of late with officers of the Indian Navy, and had found them "second to none in intelligence, talent, and scientific knowledge." He then proposed the health of Captain Brucks, and the Indian Navy. Captain Brucks, in returning thanks, "ascribed his pursuit of, and the knowledge he had of, steam affairs, to the encouragement he had met with from Mr. Loch, the Director, the kindness of the Chairman, and others in the Direction. Though he had no enemies of his country to contend with, yet there was an enemy to steam navigation in India he was ready to meet, and he would stake his professional reputation he would conquer, with the steamers possessed by the Company; he meant that bugbear of Bombay imagination, the south-west monsoon."

The 'Semiramis' arrived at Bombay in April, 1838, with her boilers in a bad state, and her engines in want of repairs. However, she was urgently required to transport troops to the Persian Gulf, and, accordingly, Captain Brucks proceeded thither towards the end of May, 1838. On his return he undertook to do battle against the south-west monsoon, which he had described as "the bugbear of Bombay imagination." That a

Mayo to Fernando Po, fourteen days two hours, Fernando Po to Table Bay, fourteen days three hours, Table Bay to Port Louis, twelve days two and a-half hours, Port Louis to Bombay, thirteen days and a-half hour. Greatest run in one day 252 miles.

passage could be made with a sufficiently powerful steamer has long since been proved, and the steam frigates of the Indian Navy, and the ships of all steam companies trading in the East, think no more of crossing the Arabian Sea in the south-west, than in the north-east, monsoon: but Captain Brucks, a hardy seaman of the old school, in whose vocabulary "impossible" was an unknown term, miscalculated the power of the engines of his ship to force her through the mountainous sea and high wind that prevails between the months of June and September. Having patched up the boilers of the 'Semiramis,' he quitted Bombay, with the mails for Suez, on the 15th of July, and, for eight days, strove his utmost to fulfil his pledge to take his ship to the Red Sea. But all was in vain, and, after splitting his fore and aft sails and shipping "blue seas," which threatened to put out the fires, or swamp the ship, he felt himself reluctantly compelled to adopt the advice of his officers, and bore up for Bombay, where he arrived on the 26th of July. The 'Semiramis' started with 399 tons of coal, and, on the 23rd, when she turned back, had made less than six hundred miles, or about half the distance, while she had in her bunkers only 152 tons, instead of 183, the computed quantity, and the state of her boilers would not admit a greater pressure than 3½ lbs.

Thursday, the 15th of June, 1837, will long be memorable in the annals of Bombay for the occurrence of a hurricane, described as "the severest within the memory of man" The wind was at its height about ten a.m., when it veered round to S.S.E., with heavy rain, and all the vessels in the harbour, numbering some fifty sail, drove from their moorings and fouled each other, or were driven ashore; so great was the destruction that only about half a dozen escaped without injury. The Hon. Company's receiving ship 'Hastings' was blown against the old Bunder head opposite the dock pier, and, at one time, had seven feet of water in her hold. Nothing saved her from becoming a total wreck but her marvellous strength, and an eye-witness wrote:—"Some idea may be formed of the manner in which she laboured, from her having destroyed a large portion of the old Bunder pier, to which she is so near that one might step with ease upon her deck from the shore. The steamers 'Hugh Lindsay,' Lieutenant Campbell,* and 'Berenice,' Captain Grant, which latter had just arrived from England, were driven against each other, and were greatly shattered, and the brig 'Aurora' was seriously damaged. Among the merchant ships the havoc was much greater, while

* Lieutenant C D Campbell, who was in charge of the 'Hugh Lindsay' at the time, received a letter of commendation for his conduct on this trying occasion from Sir Charles Malcolm, who said, "Your personal conduct was such as to merit the greatest praise both for courage and coolness."

on shore upwards of four hundred native houses were destroyed, roofs of houses torn off, trees blown down, and buggies capsized." An officer on board the 'Buckinghamshire,' which lay, at this time, in the harbour, sends us an extract from that ship's log, from which we take the following passage:—"Counted sixteen ships on shore from Mazagon to the new Bunder (Apollo pier) and one near the gun-carriage manufactory at Colaba, making a total of seventeen."

In September, 1837, Captain R. Cogan proceeded to England on retirement, and, in the following December, Commanders Rose and Igglesden also finally quitted India. Captain Cogan had only sailed from Portsmouth on the 25th of October in the previous year, in command of the royal yacht, 'Prince Regent,' which King George IV. had presented to the Imaum of Muscat. Lord Elphinstone, the newly appointed Governor of Madras, proceeded to India in the 'Prince Regent' which touched at Rio and the Cape, and anchored at Madras on the 5th of March, 1837, when his lordship landed. Captain Cogan then proceeded to Bombay, where he arrived on the 8th of April, and thence sailed for Zanzibar, where he delivered the King's present to the Imaum, who received him as an old and valued friend, and sent him to Bombay, with his officers and crew, in his Highness' frigate 'Piedmontese.' Captain Cogan reached Bombay on the 24th of June, and, having fulfilled the mission of his Sovereign, took a final leave of the Service in the September following.

In 1837, a select Committee* of the House of Commons,

* Lieutenants Waghorn and Wellsted were examined before this Committee regarding the question of the most suitable coal depôts, and, while the former stated that "Mocha is the best place that can be found in the Red Sea, and the only depôt required," and "the place for everything," Lieutenant Wellsted gave his opinion, "most decidedly," that "Mocha cannot be made a station, for during nine months of the year the southerly winds blow with such violence that you can only communicate with the shore at intervals, and it is an open roadstead" Again, in opposition to Waghorn, who declared that the harbour in Camaran Island, about thirty miles to the northward of Hodeida, is "good for nothing," and "altogether useless," having a bar across the entrance all round, Wellsted said, that "the best station between Socotra and Suez is Camaran, which is a good harbour, is partially susceptible of cultivation, and that there is not any difficulty in the navigation into the harbour, the width of the channel being a mile and a half" Both these officers spoke from actual observation and experience, Waghorn, as he stated, having been at Camaran "dozens of times," and Wellsted having been professionally employed for three years in surveying the Red Sea, it is certain, however, that there is an excellent harbour in Camaran Island, where shelter from all winds is found, and though the entrance is narrowed to less than four cables, this is of no account to a steamer Their opinion exemplifies the dictum as to doctors disagreeing. Speaking of the relative merits of the various ports for coal depôts, Lieutenant Wellsted said in his evidence, "that he had surveyed the island of Socotra in 1834 that it has two harbours, one available in the north-east monsoon, and one in the south-west, but there is no single harbour sheltered in all seasons The water in these bays is perfectly smooth, they are easy of access for any sized vessel, with no danger in the vicinity Good fresh water is obtainable there. The detachment of troops left the island in consequence of the insalubrity of the station they occupied, the mountains over the station, seven miles from the

appointed to inquire into the best means of establishing steam communication with India, assembled under the presidency of Lord William Bentinck, the late Governor-General, and much interesting and important evidence was adduced from the examination of experts, including many officers of the Indian Navy. Lord William Bentinck was himself the last witness examined, and proposed that the Indian Navy, which, he stated, cost £100,000 per annum, should consist of five steamers, allotting three to the packet service and two to the general service; and he reiterated his opinion that the whole should be placed under the Admiralty, and the Royal Navy should undertake the duties hitherto performed by the Company's Service.

On the 25th of August, 1837, the 'Berenice' left with the first mail on the monthly system, but broke her shaft and put back; the 'Atalanta,' which had conveyed one to the Persian Gulf, proceeded to Suez in the following month, and from that date, except during the prevalence of the south-west monsoon, the mail service was regularly maintained. But this boon was given to the public well-nigh at the cost of the efficiency of the Indian Navy as a war marine In taking this step the Court showed the cloven hoof of a commercial corporation, from the exigencies of which the legislation of 1833 had freed them; had they consulted only the best interests of the Service, they would have

beach, are as healthy as England The coals could be put in hulks In the passage from Bombay to Mocha, in the south-west monsoon, sailing vessels never attempt to go straight across, but run down to the south of the Line, and get the south-east trade, and shape their course to the westward by the Seychelles, run into about the longitude of Socotra, and then go due north for Cape Gardafui; the average voyage would be about forty days Our steamers go across the Arabian Sea, from Bombay to Muscat, at all seasons, and the average passage is twenty-one days during the south-west monsoon, there is more importance attached to that monsoon than it deserves There would be no difficulty in a steamer like the 'Berenice' passing during the south-west monsoon from Bombay to Socotra Quitting Bombay, she should be put on her starboard tack, set sails, and run down to latitude 8° or 9° north, thence steam to the westward into 52° longitude, and then shape the course for Cape Gardafui At some period of the monsoon, about two months, it would be practicable to go direct from Bombay to Socotra Macullah is the best place for a depôt that can be selected in the north-east monsoon, in the south-west it cannot be approached Aden would answer very well for a depôt in both monsoons, having two harbours In the south-west monsoon you cannot look to the Arabian coast for coals, with a depôt at Socotra, none will be needed on the Arabian coast outside the Straits of Babelmandel There is no difficulty in a steamer, of power like the 'Berenice,' going through the Straits up to Suez at any season of the year"

Mr Peacock, of the India House, who had been examined before the Steam Committee of 1834, was of opinion "that Camaran Island is a very much better station than Mocha, which will not do for these steamers, because no vessel drawing more than ten and a-half feet of water can go into the inner anchorage, and the water is exposed to a great swell The 'Atalanta' draws sixteen feet. The best depôt between Suez and India is the island of Perim, in the Straits of Babelmandel, the next the island of Camaran, his opinion was not favourable to Socotra, and he did not see that we want it Mocha is decidedly bad"

Sir John Hobhouse, President of the Board of Control, spoke of the proposal

invited tenders for the conveyance of the mails from mercantile firms, and maintained a small and efficient navy for war purposes only. By maintaining regular ships-of-war, and also armed steamers for passenger traffic, and making the officers interchangeable, they impaired the efficiency of both officers and ships, and it was pitiable to see smart lieutenants—brought up in the only school in which practical seamen can be trained, the smart ships and brigs which had hitherto formed the pride of the Service—striving to cleanse the smoke-begrimed decks and rigging of their ships, and to make their crews serviceable. But their efforts were vain, for passengers crowded the decks and interfered with the working of the guns at quarters, while their requirements as to luggage sadly tried the tempers of the officers.* Such midshipmen as had passed their examinations, were ordered to serve in these steamers as lieutenants—but without the rank and pay—so that the Service generally suffered from the demoralising effects of lax discipline, and interruption of those drills below and aloft which are necessary to maintain officers and men in a state of efficiency in a war marine. We shall presently see what bitter fruit this unsound and short-

then under consideration of the Court, to convert the Indian Navy into a steam flotilla for navigating the Indus and other rivers He stated, that "it having been estimated that the expense of a monthly communication between Bombay and Suez by four steamers of 200 horse-power, would not exceed £88,000 per annum, on the 2nd of June a despatch was sent out to the Indian Government, stating the arrangement which the Court had made with His Majesty's Government, and desiring that it might take effect forthwith, adding, that with that view, the Court would direct the Bombay Government to send the 'Hugh Lindsay' to Mocha, for the purpose of her being regularly employed in conveying the mails between that place and Suez, and to despatch the 'Atalanta' and 'Berenice' in alternate months to Mocha The Court further expressed their intention in the despatch, to adopt measures for providing a fourth steamer, that they would immediately contract for coals for consignment to Mocha and Bombay, and that they intended to try the plan of supplying Suez with coals *viâ* Alexandria The Governor-General also recommended, with a view to the larger plan of communication with the three Presidencies, to send the 'Atalanta' or 'Berenice' round from Calcutta to Madras, thence to Ceylon, and thence to Socotra, and up the Red Sea to Suez, to ascertain practically what objections there may be to that route" Captain Brucks, shortly before proceeding to India in command of the 'Semiramis,' also gave evidence, in which he stated that it was quite practicable to make the south-west passage from Bombay to Socotra, though not advisable, because the vessels would be greatly strained He was prepared to make the passage in a vessel of sufficient power—say of between 750 and 800 tons Captain Brucks expressed a favourable opinion regarding Socotra as a coaling station, and preferred Perim to Camaran, though only one station would be necessary between Bombay and Suez He advocated the employment of steam-vessels as ships-of-war, though a small squadron of sailing vessels would also be necessary The veteran statesman, the Hon Mountstuart Elphinstone, also gave evidence as to the urgent necessity of establishing constant and regular steam communication between England and India.

* In 1838, lieutenants serving in steamers were granted two rupees a day batta, but this boon, which was but a small set-off for all the additional labour and discomfort they had to undergo, was cancelled a few years later In this year also the allowances to captains of steamers from passage-money of passengers, were reduced from 400 to 300 rupees.

sighted policy bore, and the reader will then learn that the Court of Directors, which ordered this course, took no blame to itself for the evil results, which a little knowledge of naval affairs, or consideration for the *esprit de corps* to be found in all military services, would have obviated.

In the early part of the year 1837,* the Service was again believed to be almost *in articulo mortis*, and a state of uncertainty prevailed, which had a most detrimental effect on its discipline. It had long been known that the Court of Directors were undecided as to its future, and the general belief was that it would be either abolished, or converted, according to Lord William Bentinck's plan, into a steam-packet service. A scheme was sent from Bombay for remodelling the Service, which betrayed incompetence in its conception; for it was proposed, while greatly reducing the *personnel*, to make it into a steam service with vessels of between 250 and 500 tons, which were to undertake duties that a very small knowledge of steam navigation showed could only be performed by ships

* Among important General Orders relating to the Indian Navy, issued by the Governor in Council during the year 1837, was the following, regulating the appointment of medical officers to the Service, under date March 7, 1837 —

"All assistant-surgeons who have served not less than one or more than four years, shall be eligible for duty in the Indian Navy Such assistant-surgeons shall be called on to serve in the Indian Navy according to their standing, commencing with the juniors The period of service in the Navy is not to exceed two years, unless at the desire of the party, but an assistant-surgeon completing four years' service while attached to the Indian Navy, should be relieved as soon after as possible provided he wishes it, and shall have served one year on board a cruiser"

Under date the 30th of November, the pay of assistant-surgeons was fixed at 306 rupees per mensem while afloat, and 206 while on shore, exclusive of house-rent

Under date the 3rd of April, 1837, the following rules were published respecting the engagement of passages on board the 'Hugh Lindsay,' or other Government steam-vessel —

"Three lists, one for each Presidency, shall be kept in the office of the Superintendent Indian Navy, in which the names of all persons applying for a passage shall be registered, one third portion of the available accommodation being allowed for each list, any person desirous of engaging a passage is required to deposit in the hands of the paymaster at the Presidency, one-third of the amount of the regulated passage-money, and on the production at the office of the Superintendent of the Indian Navy, of a certificate of his having done so, his name will be registered on the list for the Presidency to which he may belong The applicants will stand in their respective Registers, according to the order in which they pay their deposits, those who stand first will be allowed priority of choice of accommodation, the order in which the first in each list shall have priority of choice, shall be decided by lot Should any of the three lists not be full by the tenth day previous to that fixed for the departure of the vessel, the deficiency shall be made up from either of the other lists, if there are supernumerary applicants therein, or alternately from both, should there be supernumeraries in two of the lists The paymaster of the Presidency is authorized to receive deposits from persons desirous of eventually securing passage at any period in anticipation, even though the arrangements for the despatch of the vessel may not have been officially announced"

On the 11th of August, 1836, some important Orders were issued by Government for the regulation of the Pay Department of the Indian Navy.

of greater size and horse-power. The officers of the Indian Navy became acquainted with this plan, and, as the suggestions were said to include a reduction in the pensions of the officers who were to be turned adrift, a large number memorialised the Court. To these Memorials the following reply was received from England, and published by the Government:—

"Marine Department, Bombay Castle, Nov. 21, 1838.

"The Hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to publish, for information, the following extract, paragraphs 1st and 2nd of the Court's letter, dated the 18th day of June last. Letter from, dated the 16th of October. 1837.—Forwarding Memorial from Commander W. Rose, respecting the effect upon the officers of the Indian Navy of its conversion into a steam service, stagnation of their promotion, suggesting the option of retirement, &c.; and Letter from, dated the 28th of February, 1838—forwarding Memorials to the same purport from twenty-five officers of Indian Navy· viz., Commander J. H. Rowband; Lieutenants H. Warry, P. Powell, T. G. Carless, R. Ethersey, F. D. Winn, G. B Kempthorne, F. Whitelock. T. W. Dent, S. H. Buckler, W. Jardine, A. Offer, J. Sheppard, J. P. Porter, and H. C. Boulderson; Midshipmen A. E. Ball, C. Hewitt, A. M. Grieve, W. B. Selby, D. Scott, A. H. Gardner, C. H. Berthon. J. S. Grieve, A. Whitburn, and J Roberts.

"1.—The Memorialists appear to have been betrayed by the vague announcements of the public press into the belief that the measures in progress with regard to the Indian Navy, not only detrimentally affected their interest, but virtually concerned the character of the Service to which they belonged; and, making every allowance for men whose anxious feeling had been aroused by the unsettled and apparently insecure state of the Service for some time past, we are not unwilling to view the conduct of the Memorialists with indulgence, on the ground of their former services, although we cannot but characterize their mode of proceeding as most unmilitary.

"2.—With regard to the Memorialists themselves, we do not feel it necessary to enter upon their merits further than to observe that, in the option of retirement from the Company's Service offered by our despatch in this department, dated the 9th of May last, a remedy has already been provided by us for the chief causes of complaint."

At length, the Court having arrived at a determination regarding the future of the Indian Navy, in 1838 the following Order was published at Bombay:—

"The Superintendent publishes, for the general information of the Service, the following extracts from the letters of the Hon. Court of Directors, under dates the 28th of February and the 9th of May last, relative to the substituting steam for sail-

ing vessels in the Indian Navy:—'The conveyance of mails for packet service being provided for, the remaining purposes for which the Indian Navy would be required for are, against an enemy in case of war, for the transport of troops, stores, and treasure, the protection of the trade from piracy, and for surveying; and as we have no doubt that all these objects would be attained more effectually by steam than by sailing vessels, it is our intention to effect the arrangement with the least possible delay, and, as a first step towards it, we have resolved to build two suitable steam vessels of war. We shall hereafter take into consideration the alterations which may be necessary in the establishment of officers, consequent on the substitution of steam vessels for sailing vessels in the Indian Navy; in the meanwhile, we think it desirable that an opportunity should be afforded to the officers, if possible, of obtaining information and experience upon the subject of steam navigation and marine engines, which will, in the altered state of the Service to which they belong, be expected of them, in addition to the ordinary acquirements of a Naval officer, and you have our authority to make such arrangements as may appear to you calculated to encourage and facilitate the attainment of the desired qualification.

"The establishment of our steamers employed as vessels of war must, of course, differ in grade as well as in number from the establishment of our steamers employed as packets, and the same difference exists in the Royal Navy. The accommodation for the officers in the packets cannot, consistently with the purposes of such vessels, be as convenient as they are in vessels of war; but, so long as the officers employed are members of the same Service, and have relative rank, according to seniority, in the Indian Navy, there can be no distinction between the commander and officers of a war vessel and of a packet, except that which naturally arises from the date of respective commissions; but, in order to remove any ground of complaint on that head, we direct that the command of the steam vessels, when employed as packets, be restricted to lieutenants, unless an officer holding the rank of commander shall be desirous of such command, due regard to be had in cases of seniority, when combined with efficiency. We, however, positively interdict the employment of mates of merchantmen, or any other than commissioned or warrant officers of the Indian Navy, in any situation of command or responsibility on board any of our vessels, except in the engine room.

"In the event of any of the officers being desirous of quitting the Indian Navy, in consequence of the altered condition of that Service, we have resolved to permit them to retire from it, upon the following scale of pensions; provided, however, that the total number of the officers who may be desirous of availing

themselves of this permission do not exceed one-third of the present strength of the Indian Navy, and that preference be given to the senior grades, viz.:—

"To the captains, £360 per annum, the amount of the retired pay fixed for that rank by the regulations, without prejudice, however, to succession to the pensions of the Senior list as vacancies occur therein. To commanders, £360 per annum, the present retiring pay of captain, but without further prospect. To lieutenants, who have actually served fifteen years in India, £290 per annum, the present retired pay of commander, but without further prospects. To lieutenants, who have not actually served fifteen years, £190 per annum, being the retiring pay of lieutenant after twenty-two years' service, without further prospects. The offer of retirement is to be made to each captain, commander, and lieutenant, who must signify his determination thereon within three calendar months from the receipt of such offer. You will forthwith promulgate this arrangement, but you are not to make any promotions on the vacancies occasioned by its operation, until you shall have received our further instructions."

In accordance with the terms of the Court's retirement scheme, the following Government Order was published:—

"Bombay Castle, April 4, 1839

"The Hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to announce, that the future establishment of the Indian Navy has been fixed by the Hon. the Court of Directors, as follows, viz.:—Four captains, eight commanders, forty lieutenants, and forty-eight midshipmen The privilege of retiring from the Service on the terms specified below, is conferred on thirty-four officers, holding the rank of captain, commander, and lieutenant; the preference being given to the seniors of the Service." (Here follow the terms of retirement specified in the Court's letter.)

A large number of officers availed themselves of the Court's offer, as to retiring on the pension of the rank next above that to which they had attained, and the following notification was published by the Bombay Government:—

"Bombay Castle, July 1, 1839.

"The following is a list of the officers of the Indian Navy who retire from the Company's service, under orders of the Hon. the Court of Directors, dated the 9th of May, 1838, published in General Orders, under date of the 4th of April last:—

"Captains: G. Grant, R. Cogan, E. W. Harris, J. Sawyer, W. Rose. Commanders: J. H. Wilson, W. Denton, J. Houghton, R. Lloyd, J. H. Rowband. C. Wells, T. E Rogers. Lieutenants: H. Warry, P. L. Powell, C. Sharp, G. Boscawen, J. R. Wellsted, F. D. Winn, J. L. Pruen, R. D. Swan, J. Wood,

F. Whitelock, J. J. Bowring, J. F. Prentice, J. Buckle, C. F. Warden, T. W. Dent, S. H. Buckler, J. Sheppard.

"Such of the officers above named as are still performing duty in the Indian Navy will be relieved as soon as arrangements for that purpose can be made, and their retirement will be considered as taking effect from the date of their relief, when promotions will be made to fill the vacancies"

These retirements created a flow of promotion, and during the year 1839, the following cadets, called "Volunteers," joined the Service:—Messrs. C. Eden, H N. Garrett, A. Foulerton, G. N Adams, A. Timbrell, H. O. Cook, F Pratt, J. H Disbrowe, J. Tronson, R Ritherdon, M B. Worsley, H. Batt, A. J. Smith, H Ralph, F W. Hopkins, A. M Melvin, Miles Patrick, R. A. Stradling, C. G Constable, C. N. Nixon, T S H. Twynam, D. R Dakers, J. G Fullton, W. L King, F. W. Nott, H. A. Fraser, B. H Crane, E G. Reynolds, N. F Hunt, R. Barker, E Peevor, W. H Marston, T. C. Barker, J. Thomas, J. Soady, H. W. Etheridge, E. Bode, A. W. Chitty, E. Giles, and C. A Sandeman. Within a few years, Messrs. Eden, Ralph, Garrett, and Soady were drowned at sea; many others died in the Service, or were invalided, from effects of climate; and of forty officers only the following fourteen survived to be pensioned off on the abolition of the Service within twenty-four years, when their average ages could not have exceeded forty years, viz :—Messrs. Foulerton, Adams, Tronson, Worsley, Batt, Hopkins, Stradling, Constable, Twynam, Fraser, Peevor, Etheridge, Chitty, and Giles.

As concerned the paragraph of the Court's letter relating to the command of the steam packets, the Superintendent published an order, dated the 9th of November, 1838, notifying the directions of the Governor in Council, that lieutenants should be appointed to the command of the steam packets, "unless a commander shall specially apply for the appointment." "This arrangement," continued the order, "to be accompanied by placing passed midshipmen in charge of watches" Such midshipmen were to receive two rupees a day, in addition to their pay, and midshipmen who had not passed their examination were to receive an addition of twenty rupees a month.

In consequence of the partial transformation of the Indian Navy into a steam Service, it was necessary that a suitable staff of engineers should be appointed, and, accordingly, by an Order of the Governor in Council, dated the 21st of November, 1838, regulations were issued relative to the appointment and allowances of this class of officers.* In March, 1839, eleven en-

* The following is the Order referred to above —

"Regulations as to the appointment, allowances, &c, of engineers in the East India Company's Naval Service All engineers are to be appointed by warrant, in the same manner, and under the same regulations as the warrant officers of

gineers arrived from England for the service of the steamers of the Indian Navy.

The steam department was first established in the Dock-yard, under the superintendence of Major McGilivray and Captain (now Lieutenant-General) H. B. Turner, Bombay Engineers, assisted by Mr. D. McLaren. Captain Turner designed and constructed the steam factory, and, under his superintendence, the iron vessels 'Ariadne' and 'Medusa,' sent out from England for the China War, and others for the purpose of opening up the navigation of the Indus, were put together, and the earlier steamers employed in commencing and maintaining the communication between Bombay and

the Indian Navy Engineers are to be distributed into three classes, with the denomination of First Class engineers, Second Class engineers, Third Class engineers The classes are to rank relatively in that Order, and the engineers to rank with each other according to seniority on the official list of their class. They are to have rank on board ship relatively with boatswains, gunners, and carpenters. No person will be deemed eligible for an appointment as engineer in the East India Company's Naval Service, or for promotion to the higher classes, until he shall have passed an examination before a competent engineer, or some other officer to be appointed for that purpose, or until he shall have produced a certificate to the same effect from a respectable and competent engineer, as to his qualification for such class, as hereafter stated, viz —

"Qualification for First or Chief Engineer —No person will be considered qualified to hold the warrant of a First Class engineer who is not able to keep accounts, and to make notes in the log, of every particular of the working of the engines and boilers He must be thoroughly acquainted with the principles upon which the machine works in all its parts, and capable of setting right any defects which may arise in the engines or boilers, and also to adjust the length of the various rods and motions, slide-valves, and eccentrics He must have been at sea as an engineer, and be capable of working, starting, and stopping the engines, &c, and able to make rough sketches, correct in proportion, of any part of the machinery He must be able and willing to exert himself practically as a workman upon occasion, either in driving, packing, or repairing the engines He must be willing to instruct in his art such lads, European and Native, as the Court or the Indian Government may place under him as apprentices, receiving as a premium with each 1*s*. per diem, for so long as such apprentices shall remain under instruction, upon production of a certificate from the commanding officer under whom such engineer may be serving, that the apprentices have been duly instructed

"Qualification for Second Class Engineer —He must be equal in education to the first engineer, and but little inferior in mechanical acquirements, with the exception of the nicer points of adjustment of slides, &c, and his improvement in all such points of knowledge will be the road to his succession to the post of first engineer

"Qualification for Third Class Engineer —He must not be inferior in education to second or first engineers, and will be selected either from the senior class of apprentices, or appointed direct into the Service from a factory He must be accustomed to engine work, and acquainted with the principles of the engine, with the names of its parts, their several uses and effects in procuring motion; and, if found qualified, he will be eligible for promotion to the higher grades, as vacancies occur.

"Employment of Engineers on Shore —An engineer of either class may be required to perform duties on shore, or to make repairs of machinery in the Mint, or in any factory, or on board other steam vessels than that to which he is attached.

"Pay of Engineers.—First Class engineers, for the first three years, £200; from

Suez, were built. In the year 1843, the steam factory was formally handed over to the charge of Mr. Ardaseer Cursetjee, who had been sent out two years before by the Court of Directors as Chief Engineer and Inspector of Machinery, with Mr. McLaren as his assistant, Captain Turner returning to his duties as Mint Master and Dockyard Engineer. In 1857 Mr. Ardaseer Cursetjee retired on a pension of 400 rupees per mensem, after having served in the builders' and engineers' department for nearly thirty-six years. Mr. McLaren was appointed to succeed him as Chief Engineer and Inspector of Machinery, Mr. J Mackinlay being nominated Assistant. They carried on the duties of the steam department till February, 1862, when Mr McLaren retired through ill-health, on a pension equal to one-third of his salary. Mr. Mackinlay was then appointed head of the department, and remained as such until

the fourth to the seventh year inclusive, £250, from the end of the seventh year, £300 Second ditto, for the first three years, £150, from the fourth to the seventh year inclusive, £175, from the end of the seventh year, £200 Third ditto, for the first three years, £100, from the fourth to the seventh year inclusive, £125, from the end of the seventh year, £150 With an additional allowance of 2*s* 6*d* a day for such period as the steam is up, or the engines working, or while employed repairing machinery in any factory, mint, or workshop ashore, or on board any other steamer than that to which he is attached, or while employed in fitting the engines to any steam vessel The chief engineer to be allowed 1*s* a day for each apprentice placed under his tuition, during the period such lads are taught by him, on production of a certificate from the commanding officer of the steam vessel Pay is not to commence till the parties have arrived in India

"Outfit and Passage Money —Engineers of all the three classes will be provided with a passage to India at the expense of the East India Company at the commencement of their engagement, and on their quitting India, at the termination of their service, they will have a free passage home, provided their conduct has been satisfactory to the Government, of which a certificate must be produced, excepting in the case of any engineer who may give up his employment before he shall have completed a period of five years' service, or who may have been dismissed the Service The following allowances will be made for an outfit, viz —First Class engineers, £50, Second Class engineers, £35, Third Class engineers, £20

"Allotment of Family Money —Engineers of either class may allot any portion, not exceeding half of their salaries, for the benefit of their families in England

"Furlough —An engineer of either class, after five years' actual service in India as such, may be allowed a furlough, or leave of absence, not exceeding two years on the whole, on account of his private affairs, receiving, during such leave of absence, an allowance equal to one-third of his salary. An engineer who is compelled to come to England upon medical certificate, although he may not have served five years, will be granted an allowance of one-third of his salary during such certified sickness, provided that his sickness do not occasion a longer absence from India than two years in the whole; but the medical certificate must be renewed every three months during such absence

"Pension.—After ten years' actual service in India, the following pensions will be granted to such engineers as shall have conducted themselves to the satisfaction of the Government abroad, and shall produce to the Court a certificate to that effect, viz —A First Class engineer, 2*s* 6*d*. per day; a Second Class engineer, 2*s*. ditto; a Third Class engineer, 1*s*. 6*d*. ditto.

the abolition of the Service, Mr. C. Bannerman being his assistant.* The duties of the department were to keep the vessels of the Indian Navy in efficient order, place machinery from England into vessels built in the dockyard, make boilers for the different ships, to replace those worn out, and put together the iron river steamers sent from England in sections. In 1841, the number of European engineers, boiler makers, and others employed afloat and on shore, was about one hundred and fifty, and between four and five hundred Native artificers; but these numbers increased yearly, especially the Native portion. The steam factory was also a training school for engineer apprentices, and others, and did good service in training up skilled labour for all the Presidencies of India, as well as for the Mercantile Steam marine, for mills, dockyards, and railway companies.

Not the least important change in the transformation of the Service, now in progress, was the retirement in July, 1838, of Sir Charles Malcolm from the post of Superintendent, which he had held for a period of ten years, and the appointment, as his successor, on a reduced salary of £2,500 a year, with house allowance, of Captain Robert Oliver, R N Sir Charles Malcolm attained the rank of rear-admiral in 1837, and when the Court of Directors decided upon their new scheme for the conversion of the Indian Navy into a steam marine, irrespective of considerations arising from his rank, it became necessary that an officer should be appointed who possessed special knowledge of the new motive power which was destined to revolutionise the navies and mercantile marines of the world. Sir Charles Malcolm accordingly retired on a pension of £200 a year, and was succeeded by Captain Oliver, who was an officer of the old school, a first-rate seaman, and zealous in his public duties, but somewhat rough and deficient in tact or temper Thus it happened that, though he was a good "steam-officer"—a rare qualification in those days—and had commanded more than one of His Majesty's steamers, the selection was not a very wise one for the responsible and difficult post of Superintendent, particularly in this period of transition and uncertainty.

The following estimate of the public character of Sir Charles Malcolm is by an old and distinguished officer of the Indian Navy, who served throughout his administration, on whose judgment and impartiality we can place strict reliance:—"In

* The following is the length of service of the heads of the Steam Department —

Mr Ardaseer Cursetjee (retired in 1857), Builders' Department, nineteen years, Steam Branch, seventeen years, total, thirty-six years.

Mr McLaren (retired in 1862), twenty-four years

Mr Mackinlay (retired in 1871), twenty-two years (and eight years in Bombay Marine after the abolition of the Service)

Mr. Bannerman (retired in 1867), twenty-two years (and four years in Bombay Marine)

his earnest desire to raise the tone of the young officers Sir Charles Malcolm stopped their being allowed ship's grog, and substituted wine, which he procured from a firm—'Sholton and Malcolm'—on favourable terms, and also got the officers the privilege of obtaining outfit and uniform at prime cost from England, through the Army Clothing Department. These were well meant acts, but raised the first cry of jobbery against him, which was the chief reproach he ever had to his name; and though it was a slander, yet he showed weakness in taking the part of the firm he had patronized, when they evidently did try to screw out of the officers a profit by supplying inferior articles; and it ended by a great row, and his giving up the pet scheme under the advice of Government. He was a fine, gentlemanly, kind man, and was certainly the greatest friend we ever had; his rule was just and mild, but dignified; the transition of the old to the new style of things was wisely and gradually done, and with much tact and discrimination. He also fostered and established the scientific branch of the Service on a sound footing; infusing a tone of zeal and enthusiasm that had the happiest effect, and was able to work wonders by his personal and kindly influence. Latterly he fell into bad health, and had less cordial support from Government. He showed weakness in his administration from failing powers, and was superseded when it was decided to introduce steam into the Service more generally."

The contrast between the character of the first Superintendent and that of the second, was very marked Captain Oliver was a seaman of the Benbow school, caring little for dress and those amenities in his intercourse with the officers of the Service, which go so far to smooth the rough path of daily official routine. Having at heart the welfare of the Service, the blunt and outspoken expressions to which he gave utterance, when excited, offended those who had served under his courteous predecessor. But those best qualified to judge, from an intimate knowledge of the man, assert that, disguised under a rough exterior, he was possessed of a kind heart, while as to his honourable sentiments there could be no doubt. He was less imbued with a love of scientific research than was for the advantage and reputation of a Service, which had ever been the nursery of scientific talent, but then those only were to blame who placed over such men as Ross, Moresby, and Haines, an officer their inferior in every acquirement necessary for the occupant of such a post, save seamanship, and a knowledge of steam. Captain Oliver conducted the duties of Commander-in-chief of the Indian Navy to the best of his ability and to the satisfaction of Government; he was, unquestionably, a conscientious and zealous servant, and, though the efficiency of the Service was sacrificed to the exercise of a misplaced economy,

which it was his especial mission to promote, yet he practised in his own office what he inculcated upon his subordinates, and never spared himself or grudged time or labour in the public service. He was doubtless animated by a sincere desire to improve the Service, and though a bluntness of manner, which at times degenerated into positive rudeness, gave offence to some of the senior officers, this was probably more his misfortune than his fault, and it must be placed to his credit that he strove, and not unsuccessfully during the early years of his administration, to lead the young officers to look up to him and trust him as their friend.

Captain Oliver, who succeeded Sir Charles Malcolm on a reduction of more than one third his salary, entered upon his duties in July, 1838, but his predecessor did not leave India until the 2nd of January, 1839, when he embarked, with his family, in the 'Atalanta,' and proceeded to Cosseir, where, by orders of the 21st of May, 1838, all the Company's steamers were directed to touch.

The following Government Order was issued on the retirement of Sir Charles Malcolm, and the assumption of office by his successor:—"Bombay Castle, July 2, 1838. Captain Robert Oliver, R.N., who has been appointed by the Hon. the Court of Directors to the office of Superintendent of the Indian Navy, having arrived at this Presidency by the Hon. Company's steamer 'Berenice,' will take upon himself the duties of Superintendent of the Indian Navy from this date accordingly. The Right Hon. the Governor in Council requests Rear-Admiral Sir C. Malcolm will accept his cordial thanks on the occasion of his quitting the important office of Superintendent of the Indian Navy, in which he has, for the last ten years, faithfully and zealously watched over and advanced the interests of the honourable and scientific corps under his command, and ably assisted Government in his station. During this period he has been eminently successful in elevating the character of the Service, and in encouraging and promoting the scientific objects in which its enterprising officers have been engaged. Geography and navigation have received many interesting and valuable additions in the surveys and researches carried on during his superintendence, in which much is attributable to his judicious instructions and suggestions. In the introduction and establishment of steam navigation to the Red Sea, Sir Charles Malcolm's exertions have been conspicuous. The Governor in Council is pleased to direct that such honours be continued to Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Malcolm during his residence here as he has hitherto received."

On resigning his charge of the Indian Navy, Sir Charles Malcolm issued the following farewell Order to the Service:—"I cannot take my final leave of the Indian Navy, over which

I have presided for something more than ten years, without expressing my heartfelt satisfaction with the general conduct of the officers who have served under my command; to them it will be a source of gratification to know that their talents and zeal have been in so many instances so honourably noticed by the Government. The splendid surveys which have been finished and are now in progress, of Western India, the Sea of Arabia, and the Persian Gulf, &c., to which have been added the most valuable remarks on navigation together with excellent memoirs on all countries they have visited in the course of their surveys, have raised their reputation in that scientific and useful branch, equal with that of any Service in the world.

"I now take my leave of the Service with my warmest wishes for its prosperity, and I here beg leave to offer to the officers my most sincere thanks for the zeal with which they have aided me in carrying into effect the orders of Government, and shall conclude with expressing my sincere belief that they only require a larger field for their talents and energy in general service to prove themselves equal to the most arduous duties of their profession."

No long time elapsed before the Service proved that Sir Charles Malcolm had solid grounds for the "belief" expressed in the above Order, and, during the quarter of a century between the retirement of Sir Charles and the abolition of the Indian Navy, a period of almost continuous active service in China, New Zealand, and Burmah, at Mooltan, and throughout the Indian Mutiny, the officers, in the words of Sir Charles Malcolm, "proved themselves equal to the most arduous duties of their profession."

CHAPTER II.

1828—1838.

Review of the Surveys made by the Indian Navy during the Administration of Sir Charles Malcolm—Surveys of the Red Sea by Captain Elwon and Commander Moresby, of the Maldive Islands, by Commander Moresby, of the South-east Coast of Arabia, by Commander Haines and Lieutenant Sanders; of the Soomalie Coast and the Mouths of the Indus, by Lieutenant Carless—The Survey and Occupation of Socotra—Surveys of Commanders Lloyd and Fell on the Coromandel Coast—Travels of Lieutenants Whitelock, Wellsted, Barker, Wood, and Wyburd.

THE chief glory of the administration of Sir Charles Malcolm is derived from the care with which he fostered, and the energy with which he advanced, the surveys of the Indian Navy. In this he displayed his chief qualification to be considered the enlightened leader of a Service which has been unsurpassed as the nursery of an accomplished race of surveyors and draughtsmen. We will now detail the surveys completed by the officers of the Indian Navy during the ten years of Sir Charles Malcolm's tenure of office.

In 1828 Lieutenant Cogan commenced the survey of the coast near Bombay. In the following year he made a survey of Bombay harbour, and, assisted by Lieutenant Peters, completed by the year 1832, a survey of the coast between the latitude of the island and the mouth of Bancoot river, which was published in a chart of two sheets *

When steam navigation between Bombay and Suez was determined upon, the Bombay Government directed a survey of the Red Sea, which had not been examined since Captain Court, having as his assistants, Messrs. Crawford and Hurst, proceeded thither with Lord Valentia in 1804-6, in the 'Panther,' in company with the 'Assaye,' tender, under Lieutenant Maxfield. In those days the Red Sea was indeed

* Reference has already been made to Captain Cogan's chart, of 1829, of Bombay Harbour, in the account of the proceedings of the Committee over which he presided, to inquire into the allegations of Sir John Gore, the Naval Commander-in-chief in India, as to the deterioration of the harbour In 1794 Captain M'Cluer made a chart of the port, and a second was constructed from Captain Keys' survey of 1813.

"a silent highway," for save when "a country ship" from Surat arrived at Mocha, a British sail was never seen within its narrow confines, and the only vessels, besides the pilgrim ships to Jiddah, were the native craft, less numerous than in the days of Ptolemy and Arrian, when the *Mare Erythræum* was a mysterious ocean, embracing the seas from Suez to Galle. How changed is the scene now The British flag here, as everywhere, holds its proud pre-eminence in peace and in war, while the largest ships of the proudest navies in the world bear the flags of all nations over its bosom to the extremities of the globe; ironclad men-of-war and peaceful merchantmen may be daily seen threading their way through the Straits of Babelmandeb, the "Gate of Tears," past the little island of Perim, once again in our possession, and Aden, the "Gibraltar of the East," acquired by the prowess of the Navy, whose officers had now commenced the survey which, as in many other instances, was but the prelude to conquest.

We learn from the "Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society" that, in February, 1829, Commander Robert Moresby, (brother of the late Admiral of the Fleet Sir Fairfax Moresby) who had been engaged during the preceding year in surveying the Laccadive Islands, was despatched from Bombay in the 'Thetis,' ten gun-brig, to make a preliminary examination of the Red Sea, according to his instructions, "to ascertain the different bearings of prominent headlands and the soundings in approaching the ports which may be chosen for the depôts of fuel, and generally to determine the best course at all seasons for steamers proceeding from Suez." The 'Thetis' took under escort from Bombay the brig 'Owen Glendower,' with coals, which were deposited at the depôts and used by the 'Hugh Lindsay' on her first voyage. The 'Thetis' arrived at Bombay on the 21st of March, 1830, the day after that steamer had left for Suez, and, soon after his return, Commander Robert Moresby was appointed to the 'Palinurus' to conduct the survey of the northern half of the Red Sea from Suez to Jiddah, and Captain Elwon to the old 'Benares,' of fourteen guns, now converted into a surveying ship, to take up the southern half from Jiddah to the Straits of Babelmandeb, the points of departure being Khor Shenab, or Mishmish, an extensive inlet on the coast of Nubia, in lat. 21° 21′ N.

The assistants of these two accomplished officers were men of rare scientific attainments, and it is a subject of wonderment that from the ranks of so small a Service—which had already supplied for the Persian Gulf survey, Captains Maughan, Guy, and Brucks, and Lieutenants Haines, Kempthorne, Cogan, Ethersey, Whitelock, and Lynch—the Superintendent was able to select a second staff of equally accomplished marine surveyors and draughtsmen. The following were the officers of the 'Benares'

and 'Palinurus,' who took part in the survey of the Red Sea, which extended over a period of between four and five years, but they did not all serve throughout that time, as sickness and death necessitated reliefs, which were effected on the return of the ships, during the monsoon, to Bombay. 'Benares':—Captain Thomas Elwon, Lieutenants H. N. Pinching, (Assistant Surveyor), F. D. W. Winn; Midshipmen* F. T. Powell, J. A. Young, C. D. Campbell, J. G. Johnston, R. Riddell, W. Christopher, W. C. Barker, and A. Macdonald. 'Palinurus':—Commander Robert Moresby; Lieutenants Thomas Eales Rogers, (Assistant Surveyor) T. G. Carless, J. R. Wellsted, (who relieved Lieutenant Rogers after the first year), and J. P. Sanders (acting as master); Midshipmen R. Harrison, R. Walker, J Sheppard, J. W. Young, Felix Jones, and, at a later date, J. S. Grieve, C. J. Cruttenden, J. Rennie, and A. Ford.

The 'Palinurus' first sailed for the Red Sea on the 11th of September, 1829, and the 'Benares' on the 11th of October following.† Besides executing the portion originally allotted to him, Commander Moresby had to complete the southern half in consequence of Captain Elwon being called away, early in 1833, to take up a command as commodore of the Persian Gulf, where he died at Bassadore from the effects of climate in June, 1835.

Lieutenant Wellsted,‡ during the progress of the survey,

* Midshipmen, Powell, Young, and Campbell, served as Acting-Lieutenants during a portion of the survey.

† Markham says of this survey —"No expense was spared in fitting out the expedition, and all the surveying appliances of the day were provided, besides ample supplies of well found boats and tenders The latter were native craft with Arab crews The sea was then practically unknown, and great dangers and privations were inseparable from such a service The first base was measured by a chain at Suez by Captain Moresby in 1830, and the survey was steadily continued without other interruptions than was necessary to refit the ships and crews, to its completion, in 1834, by a system of triangulation down either shore. The work was verified by frequent bases, by almost daily azimuths, by latitudes, by the sun and stars observed on shore with artificial horizons, and by chronometric differences The original charts were drawn on a scale of an inch to a mile; but in places where the complicated nature of the channels required greater nicety, scales as high as ten inches were employed The original drawings were mostly by Felix Jones The noble resolution of all the officers was, that the Red Sea Survey should be as perfect as labour and skill could make it, and it has served well to guide thousand of steamers up and down one of the most important and at the same time one of the most intricate routes in the world" The charts were as follow —Northern part of the Red Sea, Commander Moresby and Lieutenant Carless, 1833 (two sheets), southern part of the Red Sea, Captain Elwon, Lieutenant Pinching, and Commander Moresby, 1834 (two sheets); harbours in the north part of the Red Sea, Commander Moresby, &c, 1833; harbours in the south part of the Red Sea, Captain Elwon, Commander Haines and Lieutenant Pinching, 1837 Also sailing directions for Red Sea, Captain Elwon and Commander Moresby, 1841

‡ Lieutenant Wellsted contributed to the pages of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society:—"Notes on Bruce's Charts of the Coast of the Red Sea, compared with the positions of the recent Surveys," vol v p 286, "Observations on the Coast of Arabia between Ras Mohammed and Jiddah," vol. vi. p. 51.

visited the peninsula of Sinai, and, in company with Lieutenant Carless, traversed the desert between Cosseir and Thebes He did much, by his "Travels in Arabia," to familiarise the British public with the shores of the Red Sea, particularly with the proceedings of the survey in the Gulfs of Suez and Akaba, and Lieutenant Carless also furnished a memoir on the latter gulf, "drawn up," as he says, "from notes taken during the survey by Commander Moresby in 1833.*

The survey of the Red Sea, which had occupied Commander Moresby four years and seven months, and Captain Elwon a considerable portion of that time, was at length completed in the month of April, 1834 The charts were compiled at Bombay, the reducing of the southern half being performed by Acting-Lieutenant C D. Campbell, of the 'Benares,' and of the northern half by Acting-Lieutenant Felix Jones, of the 'Palinurus.' On completing their respective tasks these officers re-examined the work, which was then sent to be copied at the office of the draughtsman, Commander Houghton, and, after final examination by him and Lieutenant Carless, was sent home for engraving. It was received by the Court of Directors with great satisfaction, and the magnificent chart (in two sheets) was exhibited for its excellence, at the recent Loan Collection of Scientific Instruments at South Kensington Besides the geographical papers written by Wellsted and Carless, Captain Elwon kept a very complete journal during the progress of the survey, containing a great mass of nautical, meteorological, statistical, and topographical information, which was deposited with the Bombay Geographical Society, and has supplied its volumes with valuable materials.

But the survey was not completed without the sacrifice of valuable lives. Lieutenant Pinching, a highly gifted officer, who had been formerly engaged in the Persian Gulf survey, fell a victim to his zeal in the cause of science, and Lieutenant J R. Wellsted, describing in Vol. II. of his "City of the Caliphs," a journey made, in March, 1834, from Aden to Lahadj, mentions having come across the grave† of this young officer. He says:—"I turned aside from the caravan to visit the grave of a brother officer, who had a few weeks before been buried here; a heap of stones, to protect the corpse from wild beasts, was the only token to mark the spot where our gallant companion was laid. Lieutenant Pinching, of the 'Benares,' fell a victim in the prime of life, deservedly regretted, to his zeal for the furtherance of the objects of the Expedition." Besides Lieutenant Pinching and a large number of men, who died from

* *See* "Memoir on the Gulf of Akaba and the Head of the Red Sea," vol I. "Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society" In 1848 Captain Barker, I N, made a re-survey of the Gulf of Suez

† A neat tomb has been erected over the remains of this officer in the cemetery of Aden Back Bay.

fever and dysentery caused by exposure, Mr. Hutchinson, captain's clerk, expired at sea.

The following is an account of the proceedings of the 'Benares,' derived from the journal of one of the officers: — "11th of October, 1829, sailed for the Red Sea. Reached Jiddah in November; laid there awaiting authority from Turkish Government. Surveying the harbour and environs. January, 1830. Lieutenant Waghorn arrived from England with despatches (first overland mail) also Mr. Taylor, merchant, from Liverpool on same object Natives of Jiddah very insolent. Lieutenant Winn and Mr. Midshipman Campbell despatched in native buggalow to fix latitudes on Arabian coast as far as Mocha, while the 'Benares' went to the western coast to survey. June, the buggalow rejoined the 'Benares' at Jiddah, and the survey was continued until April, 1831, when the 'Benares' returned to Bombay in a very shattered state from having been aground forty-two times on coral rocks; experienced a heavy gale off Bombay for three days, hove to, very leaky, pumps constantly going 4th of June, arrived in Bombay, went into dock to refit, Midshipman Johnston left, and Midshipmen Barker and Macdonald joined. September, sailed for Red Sea, Lieutenant Pinching and Midshipman Barker left to bring cutter 'Erin' from Bombay. On reaching Mocha, Lieutenant Young, Mr. Campbell, and a boat's crew, were left behind to await 'Erin,' which arrived about the 28th of September. The survey actively continued, the 'Erin,' tender, being employed under Lieutenant Young, on detached duty, on coast of Abyssinia, Annesley Bay, Massowah, &c., till January, 1833, when we met 'Palinurus' at Jiddah, and she was ordered to return to Bombay. Commander Moresby took command of 'Benares,' and Captain Elwon went to Bombay in 'Palinurus,' to be Commodore in Persian Gulf. Mr Campbell was employed at this time reducing the survey chart to Mercator's projection, which took three months' hard work, for which he received a complimentary certificate from Captain Elwon, with a repeater watch and handsome bible. This year the 'Benares' was ordered to Berbera, in company with 'Tigris,' to exact recompense for outrages committed on British vessels. January, 1834, returned to Mocha.* Met the 'Coote' at Jiddah. Lieutenant Winn left on sick certificate, when Mr. Campbell, senior midshipman, was made acting-lieutenant.†

"April, 1834.—Finally left the Red Sea for Bombay. Officers and crews very sickly, with a large number of crew of the Hon.

* It was during this visit to Mocha that the Benares was concerned in the Turkee Bilmas affair, already narrated, when that chief and the remnant of his followers were rescued from a miserable death by the boats of the 'Benares'

† Acting-Lieutenants not being allowed at Bombay, on the return of the 'Benares,' Mr Campbell was reduced to mate, with a complimentary Squadron Order from Sir Charles Malcolm on his services.

Company's brig 'Nautilus,' wrecked on west coast. Small-pox broke out on board, and very great sickness prevailed; of all the officers, Lieutenants Young and Campbell, and Mr. Christopher, were alone able to do duty. The cases were:—Commander Moresby, fever; Lieutenant Pinching, died; Lieutenant Powell, small-pox; Midshipmen Barker, Riddell, and Manners (of the 'Nautilus') fever; Jones, dysentery; and Captain's Clerk Hutchinson, died. Forty of the crew on sick-list, with fever and dysentery. May: reached Bombay, and went into dock."

On the return of the 'Palinurus' to Bombay, early in 1833, the examination of Hadramaut, or the southern coast of Arabia, was commenced, the Government being desirous of establishing coal depôts at Macullah and the island of Socotra for the line of steamers from Bombay to Suez. So little of the coast of Hadramaut was known, that there was an inaccuracy of eighty-five miles in the latitude of Macullah, and there were other errors in the topography of the Kooria Mooria group. The charge of the survey was entrusted to Commander Haines, whose officers were Lieutenants T. G. Carless, J. R Wellsted, and J. P. Sanders; Midshipmen F. Jones, J S. Grieve, C. J. Cruttenden, J. Rennie, and A. Ford. Commander Haines quitted Bombay in the 'Palinurus,' in October, 1833, and, after running up the Gulf with despatches, about the middle of November reached his ground off Cape Isolette, called also Ras Madraka and Ras el Jezirat, in 57° 51′ East longitude. He had finished about one hundred miles of the coast in about a month's time, when, in pursuance of fresh orders, he proceeded to Kisseen, in order to obtain permission to survey Socotra from the principal chiefs of the Moharah tribe, to whom the island owed nominal allegiance. Commander Haines anchored at Kisseen on the 28th of December, and, on the 31st, had a conference with two young chiefs, Ahmed Ibn Said and Abdullah Ibn Affick, who gave him full powers to do all he thought necessary, and also a firman, directed to the chiefs, to show him every civility. The 'Palinurus' sailed from Kisseen on the 4th of January, 1834, and, on the 9th, arrived at Tamarida, the chief town of the island. On the following day, Commander Haines commenced a trigonometrical survey, which he continued without intermission until the 14th of March, when he returned to Tamarida, having made the circuit of the island. So accurate was the survey that on the whole measurement of the circumference, 197½ miles, he was only 186 yards out It was a laborious task, on account of the weather and baffling winds, and the short period occupied in its execution, Commander Haines being anxious to fulfil the wishes of the Directors, who requested that the plan of the island might be sent home by the first steamer. He and his officers worked incessantly, Sundays not excepted, and Commander Haines

did justice in his report to their self-denying zeal. Meanwhile, Lieutenant Wellsted, the assistant-surveyor, accompanied by Mr. Midshipman Cruttenden, who was familiar with Arabic, travelled through the interior,* for the purpose of acquiring information concerning the island and its inhabitants; and these notes Wellsted published in his "Travels," and also in the Journals of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Vol. IV) and Royal Geographical Society (Vol. V.), with a map, for which he received the thanks of those learned Societies. The latter memoir was highly commended by the press; and one paper, after expressing its "high admiration of the diligence and talent shown by Lieutenant Wellsted," says, "the Memoir does credit both to the author himself and to the Service to which he belongs, and ought to contribute somewhat to the preservation of that local establishment from the annihilation with which, we believe, in the course of economical reform it has been threatened"

When Commander Haines had completed the survey of half the island of Socotra, he received a letter from one of the Sultans, requesting him to discontinue the work, and join him at Kisseen, to hold another conference; but Commander Haines, who was familiar with the Arab character for intrigue, paid no attention to this request He continued the survey to its completion, and a Chart of the island and coasts was published by orders of the Government. Commander Haines now returned to Bombay, and, in October, was again despatched to Kisseen in the 'Palinurus,' with instructions "to negotiate with the chiefs, who held the sovereignty of Socotra, for the purchase of that island; you will also," continue the instructions, "receive for the above purpose 10,000 German crowns; but the Governor-General of India in Council trusts that you will be enabled to buy this island for a much smaller sum, and the less money you pay the more credit you will derive. Your personal knowledge of these chiefs and their character will enable you to negotiate with advantage to them." Commander Haines was also given a draft of the treaty he was to negotiate, and was directed to proceed, on its completion, to Socotra, for the purpose of taking "formal possession in the name of the Hon East India Company." He was further informed that in all probability, on his arrival at Socotra, he would find British troops in possession, when he was to make over charge to the officer in command.

But an unexpected difficulty arose, and Commander Haines found that the eldest of the chiefs would not part with his inheritance, though he owned it was almost worthless as a source of revenue. "The English," he said, "might come and take the

* In the following year, during our occupation of Socotra, Lieutenant Ormsby, first of the 'Tigris,' and Dr Hulton, traversed a great part of the mountain region, and added to the stock of information gathered by Lieutenant Wellsted.

island, but he would never sell it." Meantime the Bombay Government, expecting no difficulties of this kind, had despatched an expedition, consisting of the 'Tigris,' Commander Robert Lowe, 'Shannon,' Lieutenant Warry, and an armed pattamar having on board a detachment of Native Infantry, and a party of Native Artillery and Sappers, under the command of Capt. R. A. Bayly.* The troops were landed at Tamarida, notwithstanding the threats and remonstrances of the chief, and here they remained for several months. In April, 1835, the 'Coote,' eighteen guns, Captain Rose, relieved the 'Tigris' at Socotra, between which and Bombay the 'Shannon' kept up a regular communication, and, in the same month, the 'Hugh Lindsay' touched at Tamarida with the Indian mail, which had been despatched to Alexandria, in the steamer 'African,' from Falmouth, on the 4th of March, and arrived at Bombay on the 2nd of May.

From the commencement of the enterprise the occupation of Socotra was disastrous. Owing to the heavy surf running at the time of disembarkation, one of the boats of the 'Tigris' was swamped, and some men were drowned.† Lieutenant Jenkins and Midshipmen Gordon and Mackenzie of the 'Tigris,' commanding the boats, did all in their power to save life; and the late Sir De Lacy Evans, in animadverting on the folly of the enterprise in the House of Commons, stated that, "had it not been for the gallant conduct of one very young officer (Mr. Mackenzie), who saved several lives, it would have ended more disastrously." Scarcely were the troops located on the low land

* Captain (now (Lieutenant-General) R. A. Bayly, a veteran officer of the Bombay Army, writes to us, under date of the 5th of April, 1877, of his reminiscences of the Indian Navy in 1820, and during the occupation of the island of Socotra. He says —"I had the pleasure and profit of being intimately acquainted with the Indian Navy, both at Demstan and Kishm, where I was located for nearly a year in 1820 and 1821, and afterwards in 1834 and 1835, when in command of the first detachment that occupied the island of Socotra, to which we were conveyed by Captain Robert Lowe, in command of the 'Tigris,' who was obliging enough to give me a passage in his ship from Bombay to the island, where I remained nearly a year. Captain Lowe was afterwards relieved by Captain Rose of the sloop-of-war 'Coote.' To Captain Haines of the Survey, who was also at Tamarida, I was eminently indebted for the expeditious manner in which all our stores and provisions were disembarked. He was certainly a smart and excellent officer, as also those under him, Sanders, Wellsted, Cruttenden, &c. The officers of the 'Tigris' included Ormsby, Jenkins, and others. The names of other excellent officers I recall with many pleasing associations, especially Commodore Collinson, in command of the 'Mercury' at Kishm, in 1820-21, who was hospitable enough to give many of us who were sick, cruises and trips to Bunder Abbas, Ormuz, Larrack, and when a brother officer and myself were obliged to leave Kishm very sick indeed, Captain Maughan, of the survey ship 'Discovery,' gave us a passage to Bombay. His officers were Cogan, Rogers (who turned out of his cabin for me), and Houghton."

† The following incident, related by an officer, affords an instance of the instinctive obedience of the soldier.—A Sepoy, unable to swim, and struggling in the water, seized him round the waist, but upon his ordering him to let go his hold, he complied instantly, without a word, and upon the officer turning round to get a proper grip of the drowning man, he found he had disappeared.

selected for the cantonments, than fever decimated the small force. The surgeon, one officer, and several men died. Lieutenant Ormsby, first of the 'Tigris,' became delirious; Mr. Mackenzie went home sick; and Mr. Midshipman Shum was insane for months from fever, and had to resign the Service. Mr. Mackenzie writes to us, "Ere the island was abandoned, scarce a man could be found with strength sufficient to dig a grave for his companion At one time every man, save the doctor, was prostrate with fever, and he eventually died. Several officers had their health permanently ruined, and few survived to tell the tale of the Socotra expedition" The detachment of troops was withdrawn in April, 1835, and all idea of continuing Socotra as a coaling station was abandoned. Had the Government followed the advice of the naval officers who had surveyed the island, and occupied the highlands adjacent to Tamarida, this loss of life might have been avoided.*

As soon as Commander Robert Moresby had completed the survey of the Red Sea, he was ordered to examine the Maldive† Islands, and, accordingly, sailed in the old 'Benares,' which was patched up for the duty, accompanied by the 'Royal Tiger,' commanded by his assistant surveyor, Lieutenant F. T. Powell,‡ and a large decked boat, called the Maldiva, with Mr. R. Riddell, midshipman, in command The surveying staff consisted, besides these officers, of Lieutenants George Robinson, and James A. Young (brother of the late Captain John W.

* It is well known the Indian Government have lately come to terms with the chiefs claiming Socotra, and the chance of its falling into the hands of a foreign power by sale has been obviated

† The Maldives were noticed so far back as the ninth century by two Mohammedan travellers who visited China, and again, in the fourteenth century, they were explored by the dervish, Ibn Batuta The prodigious chain of islets known as the Laccadive, Maldive, and Chagos Archipelagos, extend for nearly 1,500 miles from about the latitude of Mangalore to far beyond the Equator, and are known by the Arabs as the "Eleven thousand islands" The characteristic physical feature of this immense chain of submarine volcanoes is the Atoll, or circular group of islets extending around a basin of deep water, the islands representing the rim, and the basin the hollow of the crater The Chagos group, it would appear, were discovered by the Portuguese Davis passed through them in 1598, the 'Stranger' traversed them in 1719, the 'Grantham' in 1728, and many English vessels in 1740, 1760, and 1780 Previous to the year 1740, says a writer, the French had explored and surveyed the Chagos, and they came into British possession with the Mauritius in 1810. The group lies in a space of 135 miles north and south, and Diego Garcia is the principal island

‡ There were three officers of the name of Powell at this time in the Service, namely, Frederick William Powell, Philip Jervis Powell, and F T Powell. Owing to the numerous cases in which there were officers of the same name in the Service, mostly brothers, confusion arises in identifying them Thus there were two Maughans, two Guys, two Youngs, two Campbells, two Wyburds, two Macdonalds, two Notts, two Lowes, two Jones, two Whitelocks, two Roses, two Barkers, two Robinsons, two Grieves, two Woods, two Careys, two Williams, two Rogers, two Lewis, two Parkers, two Nixons, and two Lowders Strange to say, there was no officer in the Service bearing the familiar patronymic of Brown, and only one Smith.

Young, C.B.); Messrs. C. D. Campbell, W. C. Barker, A. Macdonald, R. Mackenzie, W. Christopher, Michael W. Lynch (who died during the Mesopotamian survey), and Felix Jones.* The last officer drew the original charts, and their execution was so beautiful that they were inspected by the Queen.

The 'Benares' arrived at Malé, or King's Island, situated about the centre of the Maldive group, on the 15th of November, 1834, and her appearance at first occasioned much trepidation, as it was believed that she had come to reinstate Sultan Hamed, who had been driven from the throne on account of his tyrannical conduct and forced to seek shelter at Cochin. After some delay, Commander Moresby commenced the survey without the permission of the Ministers of the young Rajah, but, eventually, when the ex-Sultan was recalled to his nephew's councils, he obtained the necessary sanction. The officers and men of the 'Benares' suffered greatly from illness, only Lieutenant Young, Messrs. Christopher and Campbell, being fit for duty, and they attributed their immunity to the fact of their being abstainers. Accordingly, in February, 1835, the 'Benares,' leaving the 'Royal Tiger' behind, proceeded to Cochin for an entirely fresh crew. While at this port, Lieutenant Robinson, assisted by Acting-Lieutenant Campbell, made a survey of the harbour of Cochin, and the chart was published by Government. On the return of the 'Benares' to the Maldives, the new crew soon became inefficient through illness, and, on the 8th of June, 1835, the ship quitted the islands for Bombay.

When her return was decided upon, Lieutenant J. A. Young and Mr. W. Christopher, with great devotion, volunteered to remain at Malé, the seat of the Sultan's Government, with a view to learn the language and acquire information regarding the laws and customs of the natives. Having received the permission of the Bombay Government, these two officers, accompanied by a few men, landed on the 4th of June, 1835, and took up their residence in the building assigned to them. They kept a journal of their proceedings, from which, on their return to India, a Memoir was compiled, which may be found in Vol I. of the "Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society" (pp. 54—108). After a stay of only three weeks, Lieutenant Young was seized with fever, which incapacitated him for further exertion. At this time news arrived of the shipwreck, on one of the islands of the Collomandon group, of an English vessel,

* Of the above officers Captains Robinson, Campbell, Jones, and Barker, and Lieutenant Mackenzie, still survive, Lieutenant Winn, second of the 'Benares,' during the Red Sea Survey, and Captains Cruttenden and Rennie, who participated in that survey, are also still to the fore Of the preceding, Captain Campbell alone had served in the surveys of the Persian Gulf, Red Sea, and Maldive Islands, he having been continuously employed in the 'Benares' on this duty between 1828 and 1835.

the 'Adonis,' from Mauritius. Mr. Christopher immédiately left Malé in a native boat on the 7th of July, to render assistance, and, having succeeded in saving the lives of the crew, returned to Malé on the 28th of July. On the 17th of the following month, Lieutenant Young, who had never quitted his bed, was forced to leave Malé with the men of the 'Benares,' who had all also fallen ill, and, a few days after their departure, Mr. Christopher was seized with fever, and, after struggling against the malady for some time, was obliged to quit the island on the 9th of September, 1835. One of the surviving officers of the survey writes to us:—"Young and Christopher volunteered to remain at Malé, or King's Island, the seat of government of the Sultan, to acquire a knowledge of the people and their language, and make meteorological observations; this was at the risk of their lives from the peculiarly sickly influence of the climate on Europeans, but they braved this in hopes of doing some good to the people as well as contributing to knowledge and science. They soon fell ill, in spite of all their care and spirit, and at last became so much worse that the king, who, with his people, revered them for their consistent Christian conduct, had his own vessel launched from the shore, where she had been hauled high up and covered in, and having fitted her out, sent them across to Colombo at great risk of both crew and vessel from the terrible weather, as he said, 'They were sure to die if they remained, and were good and holy men, and he could not let them die if it was possible to get them away in time, for God's judgment would fall on the island.' They both recovered under the kind care of the Government Missionaries of Colombo, where their memory was lovingly cherished for years after."

This important survey was not performed without the usual quota of loss. Mr. Robert Riddell, a young officer of singular promise and sweetness of disposition, succumbed to the pestilential climate of the Maldives soon after his return to Bombay. Lieutenant Young and Mr. Christopher made good use of the brief time at their disposal, before sickness prostrated their energies. They wrote a memoir on the inhabitants, and the latter compiled a vocabulary of the Maldivan language, which may be found in Vol. VI. of the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society."

Captain Moresby proceeded again to the Maldives in the latter part of 1835, and returned to Bombay during the monsoon months of 1836; again, on the 24th of September, he sailed for the Maldives, and, on completing the survey, proceeded, in February, 1837, in the 'Benares,' accompanied by the 'Royal Tiger,' Lieutenant Powell, to examine the Chagos Archipelago, of which he made an interesting report. Before the survey was completed, Captain Moresby was directed to proceed to Madras,

and, on the 29th of June, the two vessels anchored in the roads.

The same year he sailed for the Saya de Malha Bank—a term meaning "coat of mail"—extending between 8° 18′ and 11° 30′ S, and surveyed the southern part as depicted on the present Admiralty charts. He also examined a small portion of the Nazareth Bank, the extreme north end of which he made to be in 13° 40′ S. Captain Moresby was finally recalled, and arrived at Bombay on the 7th of February, 1838, when, in consequence of the state of his health, five days later he proceeded to Europe on furlough.*

Captain Moresby's return to Madras, in June, 1837, was due to an application on the part of the Government of that Presidency for a surveying party to examine the Gulf of Manaar, for the purpose of establishing a navigable channel to the Bay of Bengal, by the Paumben passage, a project set on foot by General Monteith,† supported by the Rt Hon. J. Stewart Mackenzie, then Governor of Ceylon. Lieutenant Powell was accordingly detached from Captain Moresby's command, and undertook the service, with Lieutenants Ethersey, Grieve, and Christopher, and Lieutenant Felix Jones as draughtsman. They commenced the survey on the south side of Adam's Bridge, but, owing to the high surf, were compelled to quit this part on the 15th of January, when they proceeded to the westward of the Paumben passage, and continued surveying along the coast of Madura. By the end of April, 1838, when the whole party were recalled, Lieutenants Powell and Ethersey had completed the survey of the Gulf of Manaar and Palk Straits, and the west coast of Ceylon.‡

* The charts resulting from these surveys are the following:—1 Maldive Islands, by Captain Moresby and Lieutenant Powell, 1835, 2 Maldive Islands (reduced), 3. Chagos Archipelago, by Moresby and Powell, 1836, 4 Principal groups in the Chagos Archipelago, by Moresby and Powell, 1836 Also, "Nautical Directions for the Maldive Islands and Chagos Archipelago," by Commander Robert Moresby, I N, 1839 Printed by order of the Court of Directors, London, 1840 For a summary of Moresby's Report on the Maldives, and papers furnished by Lieutenant Robinson and Dr Campbell of the 'Benares,' see Vol I of the "Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society" This was the last duty of the old 'Benares,' which was sold out of the Service in this year.

† General Monteith had proceeded in the preceding February, with a party of Madras Sappers and some convicts, to excavate a navigable channel through the formidable ledges of rock extending from the island of Ramisseram, on which Paumben stands, to the coast of Madura, and he succeeded to the extent that country craft of light draught, and the steamers 'Nemesis' and 'Pluto,' on their return from China in 1842, came by this route

‡ The following are the charts of these surveys —1. Coast of Madura, by Lieutenants Powell, Ethersey, and Captain Franklin, 1838, 2 Western side of Palk Straits, by Lieutenants Powell and Ethersey, 1838, Paumben Passage by Lieutenants Powell and Ethersey, 1837, 4 Islands of Ramisseram and Manaar, by Lieutenants Powell and Ethersey, 5 West Coast of Ceylon, by Captain Franklin and Lieutenants Powell and Ethersey (four sheets); 6 Palk Straits and Gulf of Manaar, by Lieutenants Powell, Ethersey, and Captain Franklin (two

The survey of the south coast of Arabia, by Commander Haines, was suspended for a period of thirteen months, during the time he conducted the survey of, and negotiations for, the occupation of Socotra, but, early in 1835, he proceeded in the 'Palinurus' to resume the survey of the coast from the Straits of Babelmandeb to Misenaat in 50° 37′ E. He had under his command the following staff of highly scientific officers:—Lieutenants Sanders (Assistant-Surveyor), Jardine, and Sheppard. Midshipmen Rennie, Cruttenden, A. Grieve, Ball, Stevens, and Barrow, and Assistant-Surgeon Hulton. The result of this important and most admirable survey, was a chart of the south coast of Arabia, from Ras Misenaat to the entrance of the Red Sea, on a scale of six inches to a degree, together with numerous plans, and a detailed and most valuable memoir,* "giving," as he says, "a description of about 500 miles of the southern coast of Arabia, hitherto almost unknown, and an account of its population, government and commerce."

In the months of February and March, 1836, Commander Haines surveyed the Kooria Mooria group of islands, off Sherbadhat, on the Arabian coast. These islands, five in number, are named Hellaneea, Jibleea, Soda, Haske, and Kirzawet (called Ghurzood by Commander Haines), the smallest of the group. Assistant-Surgeon Hulton, of the 'Palinurus,' wrote an interesting account of these islands in a paper, which appears in Vol XI. of the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," and Commander Haines gave further details in his private journal. While lying off this part of the coast, Mr. Midshipman Cruttenden made an excursion from Morbat to Dyreez, the principal town of Dafar, of which he wrote a description in a Memoir, which appears in Vol. I. of the "Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society." A few months later, when the officers of the 'Palinurus' were surveying Mocha Roads, Mr. Cruttenden, accompanied by Dr. Hulton, started on the 13th of July to visit Sanaa, the capital of Yemen, where they

sheets), 1838 and 1845 Lieutenant Christopher wrote an account of Adam's Bridge and Ramisseram, with a plan of the Temple ("Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society," vol. VII)

While employed in Ceylon, Lieutenant Felix Jones, says Markham, visited and fixed Adam's Peak and the Horton Plains, descending by the Caltura River, of which he made a survey, in company with Major-General Adams, who fell at Inkermann They pushed their way over the highest ranges by the elephant paths, there being then no constructed roads The Memoir on the Paumben Passage and Adam's Bridge, by Lieutenants Ethersey and Powell, which should have accompanied their charts, was not published until the year 1869

* The Court of Directors communicated this Memoir to the Royal Geographical Society, and an abridgment was published in vol IX. of their Journal. In vol XV, also, there appears Part 2 of this memoir, dealing with the coast to the east of Misenaat, as far as the town of Sohar, near Ras el Hadd, which had not been so minutely surveyed as the portion to the westward, together with an appendix containing remarks on the navigation of the Gulf of Aden, and other cognate matters Both these papers were accompanied by valuable maps reduced from the charts.

were well received by the reigning Imaum, who, however, became less friendly when the British party were detained owing to Dr Hulton's illness. After a stay of one month they quitted Sanaa, and, in fourteen days, arrived at Mocha. Dr. Hulton died soon after his arrival on board the 'Palinurus,' much regretted by his shipmates Mr. Cruttenden published an interesting account of this visit to Sanaa, which appears in Vol. II. of the "Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society," and Vol. VIII. of the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," accompanied with a map In May, 1837, the survey of the south-east coast of Arabia was suspended,* owing to Commander Haines' services being again required in a political capacity, in connection with the acquisition of Aden as a coaling station, and the survey was not resumed until 1844, when his assistant, Commander J. P. Sanders, continued the work.

Of the survey, as originally planned, when Commander Haines quitted Bombay in October, 1833, there remained uncompleted the portion of the coast between Cape Isolette and Ras el Hadd, and from 50° 50′ E long., 50° 4′ N. lat., to within nine miles of Morebat; and, on the African coast, from Cape Gardafui, or Ras Aseer, the north-east point of Africa, to within a few miles of Ras el Bir To complete this latter portion, and to survey Kurrachee and Sonmeanee, Lieutenant Carless sailed from Bombay in the 'Palinurus,' in October, 1837, having, as his assistants, Midshipmen Grieve and Selby. He first proceeded to the mouths of the Indus for the purpose of laying down buoys and erecting beacons to facilitate the navigation of the Hujamree and Kedywarree mouths, and then, after surveying Kurrachee Bay and Sonmeanee, left the former place on the 7th of February, 1838; and, after a passage of sixteen days, the 'Palinurus' anchored in the large bay on the south side of Ras Hafoon, or "the Surrounded." He says, in his report, dated the 28th of April, 1838:—"From this place the survey of the eastern coast of Africa has been completed up to Ras Jered Hafoon,† and from thence to the westward as far as Ras Gulwainee, a low point about thirty miles east of Burnt Island. The distance between Ras Hafoon and Ras Gulwainee is 340 miles. The country near the sea has also been minutely examined. We found fourteen bunders, or towns, each defended by two or three forts between Ras Jered Hafoon, and Ras Gul-

* The following are the charts resulting from Commander Haines' labours — 1. Entrance to the Red Sea, Haines, 1835, 2 South-east coast of Arabia, from Straits of Babelmandel to Misenaat, with several plans, Haines, 1836; 3 The several bays near Cape Aden, Haines, 1836, Kooria Mooria Islands, Haines, 1836, Island of Socotra, Haines, 1834

† Ras Jered Hafoon, or Shenareef, is situated ten miles south of Cape Gardafui, which again is about twenty-eight leagues to the northward of Ras Hafoon.

wainee, besides many villages. This part of the coast is inhabited by two Soomali tribes, the Mijjer-theyns and Singallees." Lieutenant Carless speaks as follows of these people, whom more recent acquaintance, and, perhaps, injudicious treatment, have rendered very suspicious and bloodthirsty:—"Whenever we have fallen in with them, they have invariably behaved towards us in the most friendly manner; so much so, that the officers of the vessel have been enabled to examine the country near the coast, frequently alone and unarmed, in perfect security. On every occasion they expressed the greatest satisfaction at our having visited their towns, and said they regretted their coast was not frequented by our vessels, for they looked on us as friends." Lieutenant Carless was now forced to suspend operations, owing to scurvy among the crew, and proceeded to Mocha, thence returning to Bombay. The chart,* resulting from this survey, was very minute and of beautiful execution, but it was consigned to a pigeon-hole in the Marine Office at Bombay, and never saw the light until 1844, when the loss of the 'Memnon' on this coast, drew attention to its accuracy and the necessity for its publication

In 1833, Lieutenant H. H. Whitelock, an able surveyor and admirable writer, who participated in the Persian Gulf Survey, assisted by Mr. Jones, commenced the survey of the west coast of Kattywar, and had completed it as far as Diu Island, including the harbour of Beyt, when, on the 26th of October, 1836, he expired on board the 'Discovery,' surveying ship We learn, from a report of the proceedings of the Bombay Geographical Society of 1837, that the following were the results of the surveys made by Lieutenants H H. Whitelock and R. Ethersey between the years 1834-37, on the coast of Kattywar and Gulf of Cambay:†—"The examination of the western coast of Kattywar, as far as Diu Island, including the survey of Beyt harbour, having been previously completed by the late Lieutenant Whitelock, assisted by Mr Jones, Lieutenant Ethersey has been enabled this season to finish his survey of the Gulf of Cambay. His operations have extended from Diu Island to Goapnauth Point along the Kattywar coast, around the head of the Gulf, and down the eastern shore, as far south as Surat, including the mouths of the important rivers which discharge their waters into this arm of the sea—the Saburmattey, Mahé, Dhardur, and Nerbudda—the latter of which he has examined as far as the city of Broach. This service has afforded Lieu-

* "North-east Coast of Africa from Ras Gulwainee to Ras Hafoon," Carless, 2 sheets (1838.)

† The charts representing this work of Whitelock and Ethersey are.—1 Entrance of the Gulf of Cutch, 1833, 2 Coast of Kattywar from Diu to Dwarka, Whitelock, 1833, 3 Kattywar from Diu Head to Perim Island, two sheets, Ethersey, 1836, 4. Diu Harbour, Whitelock, 1833, 5 Gulf of Cambay, Ethersey, 1845.

tenant Ethersey the opportunity of observing attentively, for two successive seasons, the bore, or rushing tide,* which is witnessed at the head of the Gulf; and on this interesting phenomenon he has drawn up an excellent memoir, which has been presented by Government to the Society. He has likewise laid down, with laborious detail, the extensive shoals, called the Malacca Banks, on which Captain Sharpey was wrecked in 1607, fixed the position of, and ascertained the soundings along, that part of the coast of the Northern Concan, extending between St. John's and Bassein. Adjoining the southern limits of Lieutenant Ethersey's survey, sixty-five miles of coast line remained to be examined between Domus, at the mouth of the Taptee, and St. John's, and again between Bassein and Bombay." Lieutenants Rennie and Constable subsequently surveyed the portion from the mouth of the Taptee southward to Danoo, and Lieutenants Selby and Whish, that from Bassein to Bombay, the intermediate portion having been already examined by Lieutenant Ethersey.†

Some of the most important work done by officers of the Indian Navy, was the survey carried on through many years, of the River Indus and its numerous mouths In this task the names of Lieutenants Wood and Carless are foremost. In January, 1836, the latter officer commenced the survey of the mouths of the Indus, and, at the end of the first season, under date "Bombay, the 22nd of July, 1836," he issued his valuable "Report on the State of Navigation of the Indus below Hyderabad," in which he expressed his obligations to Lieutenant

* Ethersey wrote the following Memoirs —"Observations on the Bore, or Rushing Tide, in the Gulf of Cambay and at the entrances of the Mahé and Saburmattey Rivers," ("Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol viii) —"Note on Perim Island in the Gulf of Cambay," ("Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society," vol ii)—"The Bore in the Gulf of Cambay," ("Bombay Selections," No 25)

† Captain Jervis, of the Bengal Engineers, before the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, August 26th, 1838, adverted in the following terms to the efforts for the advancement of hydrographical science made by officers of the Indian Navy —"The maritime surveys which have been made by the East India Company's naval officers are honourable to the spirit of that great public body by whose desire they were instituted. A series of charts of the entire coast of China, by my friend Captain Daniel Ross, Indian Navy, and others, illustrating the ports, rivers, and coasts, from Cochin China and throughout the Malayan Archipelago to the confines of India, by Captains Crawford, Robinson, and Ross, are highly useful to the navigators who frequent those seas The surveys of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, by Captains Maughan, Brucks, Haines, and other officers of the Indian Navy, have been undertaken at great charge, most opportunely indeed, for the furtherance of steam communication between this country and India." He also referred to the surveys of Captains Moresby and Houghton, Lieutenant Ethersey, and other officers, in terms of warm praise

At the Anniversary meeting of the Bombay Geographical Society on the 3rd of May, 1838, the surveys by Captain Moresby of the Chagos Archipelago and Saya de Malha Bank were referred to, "only Owen's Bank and the Chagos remaining to be examined to complete the survey."—"Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society," vol. i. p 378.

E. Pottinger, of the Artillery, who partially examined the Hujamree branch, and to Lieutenant Wood, who examined the main river from its junction with the Hujamree branch to Hyderabad. On the 24th of October, 1836, Government ordered the survey of the coast about the Indus, and, during the years 1837-38, Lieutenant Carless carefully examined Kurrachee and the whole coast line from the eastern mouth of the Indus to Sonmeanee, on the Beloochistan coast. During the year 1837 the Kedywarree branch was surveyed from its mouth to its junction with the main river, which also was examined up to the point where it throws off a small stream called the Teeteeah, a distance of thirty-five miles. The great bank lying off the mouths of the several branches of the Indus, was also thoroughly examined, with all the channels leading across it. The Hujamree branch had been examined in 1836, and, according to a report in the "Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society," by the close of the season of 1837, Lieutenant Carless had completed "a trigonometrical survey of all the open mouths and branches of the Indus, with a portion of the main river, and the most dangerous part of the coast." On quitting Scinde he left behind two of his young officers, Messrs. Grieve and Whitburn, with instructions to report their observations on the periodical swell of the Indus between Hyderabad and Sehwan, which had been carried on during the preceding season by Lieutenant Wood This they did, and Mr Whitburn also visited the Muncha Lake and made a report of his observations. A very valuable paper by Lieutenant Carless, written to accompany his chart of the survey of the Delta of the Indus, appears in Vol VIII. of the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society."

In 1833 Commander R. Lloyd succeeded Captain Ross as Marine Surveyor-General in Bengal, and, for a period of seven years, fulfilled the duties with zeal and success During this time he had under his orders such distinguished surveyors as Lieutenants Montriou, Young, Fell, and Rennie, and much important work was done. "In 1833," says Markham, "he had one brig, with which he conducted a survey of the inland navigation of Arracan, but after the first season, his operations were put a stop to by severe illness, contracted by much exposure in that unhealthy climate On his restoration to health, he, in 1835, surveyed the River Hooghly, from Saugor Island to Calcutta, carefully connecting his work with the base line measured by Colonel Everest on the Barrackpore Road. In 1840 he completed the survey of the sea face of the Sunderbunds from Chittagong to Hidjellie, the results of which he submitted to Government in the form of carefully drawn charts, and a most valuable and interesting memoir. He compared the state of the coast at the dates of different surveys,

and his remarks in showing the changes that are taking place, prove the urgent necessity for periodical revision of the surveys. He also describes the remarkable phenomenon at the head of the Bay of Bengal, similar to that reported by Captain Selby, off the mouth of the Indus, called the "swatch of no ground." It is a deep chasm, over to seaward, and very steep on the north-west face with no soundings at 250 fathoms * Captain Lloyd also surveyed the Chittagong River, and made additions to Ross's survey of the Mergui Archipelago, a short account of which was published at the time Ross had laid down the outer islands between 1827 and 1830, and Captain Lloyd filled up the inner portions and delineated the coast line."†

In July, 1838, Sir Charles Malcolm was superseded by Captain Oliver, and one of the first consequences of the change was the sudden stoppage of all surveys. During the next few years the Service was engaged in warlike expeditions. In the Persian Gulf, at Aden, which fell to the British arms, in assisting in transporting troops to the Indus for service in Afghanistan and Scinde, and in the first China war, the Indian Navy found ample employment and earned great distinction for efficiency and zeal. Before entering upon an account of these events we will speak of the researches of some famous travellers belonging to the Service, of whom one earned undying reputation, as the re-discoverer of the sources of the Oxus, and another, only an early and obscure grave in an unknown part of Central Asia

During the year 1835, Lieutenants J R. Wellsted and F. Whitelock (brother of the surveyor, H. H. Whitelock) prosecuted their travels in Oman and along the coast of Arabia. Wellsted was first in the field, but, in November of that year, he was joined by Whitelock, their object being to advance to Dereeyah, the Wahabee capital, which has since been accomplished by Mr. Palgrave, and, a few years later, by Colonel Pelly and Lieutenant Dawes, I.N. In December, 1835, the two officers proceeded through Semed and Nezwah to the Green Mountains, of which Lieutenant Whitelock gives an account in his "Notes taken during a journey in Oman and along the East Coast of Arabia." Both the gallant officers were seized with violent attacks of fever, but their energy and zeal in the cause of geographical research, was such that, as soon as the paroxysms of the disease permitted them to move, they again attempted the difficult task they had set before them. At length, in April,

* The MS. of the "Nautical Remarks to accompany a survey of the sea face of the Sunderbunds," by Captain Lloyd, dated February, 1841, is preserved in the Geographical Department of the India Office

† The following were the charts resulting from the labours of Commander Lloyd —Balasore Roads, Entrance into the Hooghly, 1841, River Hooghly, and the approaches to it from False Point to Calcutta, River Hooghly from Calcutta to Saugor Point, Sea face of the Sunderbunds, 1840 In 1841 he also made additions to Captain Ross's chart of the Chittagong River to Foul Island.

1837, when suffering from a violent fit of delirium, Lieutenant Wellsted discharged both barrels of his gun into his mouth, but the balls, passing upwards, only inflicted two ghastly wounds in the upper jaw He was conveyed on board the 'Hugh Lindsay' at Muscat, in a deplorable condition, and proceeded to Bombay, whence he was compelled to go on leave to Europe. Lieutenant Wellsted retired from the Service in 1839, and dragged on a few years in shattered health, and with impaired mental powers, chiefly residing in France, until death released him from his sufferings, in 1843. He was the author of two admirable works, "Travels in Arabia," and "Travels to the City of the Caliphs," and, in acknowledgment of his labours, was elected a fellow of the Royal and other learned Societies. The Right Hon. Sir Alexander Johnston, referring to Wellsted's journey through Socotra, and his admirable work on that island, already alluded to, says in his address to the Royal Geographical Society:—"Lieutenant Wellsted's chart, and his account of that island, copies of which are published in the Journal of the Geographical Society, do the highest honour to his talents and his scientific acquirements and afford the public a proof of the advantage they have derived from the employment of such an officer in so important a service. Many of the officers of this Navy have availed themselves of the opportunities which their profession has afforded them of acquiring a knowledge of the customs and interests of the differents native chiefs on whose coasts they have been employed." In conclusion, Sir Alexander spoke of the Indian Navy, as "one of the most important departments of the Military and Civil Services in British India, and also one of the most powerful engines which can be employed by the Society for procuring information in reference to Asia, and for dispersing amongst the people of that division of the globe, the arts, the sciences, and civilization of Europe."

Lieutenant Whitelock continued his travels in Oman, and visited Lachsa, near El Kateef, and other places of interest.

In 1841, Major W. C. Harris, of the Bombay Engineers, proceeded to Ankobar, the capital of Shoa, on a commercial mission to the King of that country, accompanied by Captain Graham, Lieutenant W. C. Barker (I.N), Dr Kirk, Dr. Roth, and a German missionary, a Mr Kraieff, who acted as interpreter. The baggage and presents, in the train of the mission, loaded two hundred camels, and the distance of 370 miles was performed in forty-seven days. The mission suffered excessively from heat and want of water, owing to their having started at the close of the dry season, contrary to the advice of the natives of the coast.

The frontiers of Abyssinia were reached in the middle of July, the entire route being through a country described as "a

howling wilderness;" but they now found a great change for the better in the country and climate, and, at Ankobar, elevated some 8,200 feet above the level of the sea, the thermometer ranged between 44 and 63 deg. Lieutenant Barker, after residing some little time at Ankobar, returned alone, arriving at Aden early in March, 1842; he performed part of the journey in company with a caravan bringing slaves to the coast, and afterwards with a Dankalli chief.*

Some account of Lieutenant Wood's remarkable journey to the sources of the Oxus, a feat which sheds lustre on the Service, will be of interest The opening of the Indus for the purposes of trade, by the treaties formed by our Government, induced Aga Mahomed Rahim, a Persian merchant of Bombay, to purchase a steamboat of ten horse-power, the command of which was accepted (with the permission of Government) by Lieutenant Wood, who, on the 31st of October, 1835, had, as he says, "the proud satisfaction of unfurling our country's flag on the Indus from the first steamboat that ever floated upon its celebrated waters" Upon the return of the steamer to Bombay, Lieutenant Wood was employed by Government in noting the periodical rise of the Indus, the spread of its inundation, and the changes of its channels, and, on the 9th of November, 1836, being appointed an assistant to the commercial mission of Sir Alexander (then Captain) Burnes to Cabul, *viâ* the Indus, one of the objects of that mission, namely, to examine and report upon that river, from its mouth to Attock, was entrusted to Lieutenant Wood. Entering the Hujamree branch, the party reached Vikkur, where they exchanged their sea-going boats for the Scindian dundi, or river craft. Mr. Wood endeavours, in his work,† to identify the route of Alexander's fleet; but the task is hopeless in such a river as the Indus, the channels of which are perpetually altering, and its banks falling in.‡

* Major Harris, who was knighted on his return to England, published an account of his mission, which was successful so far, that he was able to conclude a treaty with the King of Shoa Captain Graham also wrote a long official report, which was presented to the Bombay Government, on the "Manners, customs, and superstitions of the people of Shoa" The matter-of-fact accounts of Abyssinia and its people, by Lord Valentia, Mr Salt, and Pearce, removed the greater part of the romance which the travels of Bruce had thrown over them, revealing these nominal Christians in their true colours, but Captain Graham, as he said, still further sought to remove "the film over the eyes of the deluded public," and described the natives of Shoa as "ignorant, barbarous, and filthy"

† "A Personal Narrative of a Journey to the Source of the River Oxus, by the route of the Indus, Cabul, and Badakshan, performed under the sanction of the Supreme Government of India, in the years 1836, 1837, and 1838" By Lieutenant John Wood, of the East India Company's Navy London, 1841

A new edition of this work, issued by the son of the late Captain Wood, has been enriched by a valuable Treatise on the Geography of Central Asia, by Colonel H Yule, of the Bengal Engineers

‡ These occurrences are so common that one witnessed by Lieutenant Wood, which engulphed houses and property, scarcely excited surprise in those whose

In the journey through Scinde, the mission hired some Beloochees, of the Jokiyah tribe, as an escort, whose conduct justified the confidence reposed in them. The party remained for about a fortnight at Hyderabad; and after accompanying the Ameer, Noor Mahomed Khan, on a hunting and hawking expedition, the mission divided, Captain Burnes proceeding by land and Lieutenant Wood up the Indus. On reaching Mittun Kote, that officer was summoned to join Captain Burnes at Ahmedpoor, and he accompanied him to Bawulpoor: thence they proceeded to Ooch, on the Sutlej, descending the Chenab to Mittun Kote, at the confluence of the Punjaub streams with the Indus. Wood here makes some remarks upon the description of this river, given by Arrian and by recent authors: that of the Greek writer contains, in his opinion, "all the evidence of a truthful narration." "There is no known river in either hemisphere," observes Lieutenant Wood, "discharging even half the quantity of water that the Indus does which is not superior for navigable purposes to this far-famed stream" At Dhera Ismael Khan, Wood left Captain Burnes's party, and started for Kalabagh, on the 2nd of July, along the west bank of the Indus. At this place he made preparations for ascending the stream to Attock. The boatmen reported its upward navigation impracticable at that season, but, having chosen a strong boat, without masts or sails (called a duggah), he, with great difficulty, obtained a crew of thirty-seven men to take her as far as Mukkud, twenty miles. Here he procured a fresh crew, but found it fruitless to attempt to reach Attock by the river; accordingly, he proceeded by land, making a détour to avoid the lands of the Sagri Patans, the only people east of the Indus who had not then submitted to Runjeet Singh. Arrived at Attock, on the 4th of August, he descended the river to Kalabagh, which proved a perilous undertaking, and from thence proceeded through the country of the Bungi Kyl to Kohat, in order to join the mission at Peshawur From Kohat, Lieutenant Wood made an excursion into the Kuttock country, to see the sulphur mines and naphtha springs. "The town of Peshawur, as well as the surrounding plain," he says, "bear witness to the violence and oppression of the Sikhs. In whatever direction the eye is turned, it rests upon uncultivated fields and half-tenanted villages."*

very lives were in jeopardy "When the waters of the Indus are low," he says, "the noise caused by the tumbling in of its banks occurs so frequently as to become a characteristic of this river, during the silence of the night the ear is assailed by what at first sight might be mistaken for the continued discharge of artillery, two, three, and even four reports are often heard within the minute, and even thirteen have been counted in that short space of time" The valley of the Indus south of the mountains, he aptly describes as "a mud basin undergoing continual change"

* At the period of Mr Elphinstone's visit, thirty years before, the plain was peopled and cultivated, and one of the richest portions of the Cabul dominions.

After passing through the Khyber Pass, the mission skirted Sufeid Koh, the "Snow-clad Chain," through the province called Naujnahar, or "Nine Rivers," to Cabul, which they entered on the 20th of September, escorted by Akbar Khan. On their arrival, Captain Burnes and his coadjutors were cordially received by the famous Ameer, Dost Mahomed Khan, whom Wood describes "as about forty-five, and looks worn-out and aged; his frame is large and bony, and all his features strongly marked with a general expression of sternness, but lighted by eyes of peculiar brilliancy and intelligence"

From Cabul, the party made an excursion into the valley of Koh Daman, which Lieutenant Wood commenced to map. An embassy having been sent from Koondooz by Murad Ali Beg, to solicit the aid of an English doctor to relieve the chief's brother, Mahomed Beg, who was suffering from ophthalmia, that able officer, Dr. Lord—who, later, met a tragic end on the 2nd of November, 1840, at Purwandurrah, in Afghanistan—was despatched, as well as Lieutenant Wood, with the Uzbeck ambassador. In their journey across the Hindu Koosh, they suffered severely from the cold and snow. The mountaineers, armed to the teeth, were restrained from plundering them only by the knowledge that they were guests of the rulers of Cabul and Koondooz. Being foiled in an attempt to proceed by the Purwan Pass, the party returned to Cabul, and, on the 15th of November, set out by the Bamian route for Koondooz, where they arrived on the 4th of December. Murad Beg received his guests graciously in durbar, in an apartment thirty feet by fifteen; the Begs were seated in rows on one side, and on the other was Murad Ali Beg, leaning on a large silken pillow. From Koondooz, Lieutenant Wood, leaving Dr. Lord behind, started for Badakshan, and to trace to its source the Jihoon, or Oxus. In this journey he came upon the track of Marco Polo, and he furnishes strong testimony to the authenticity and truth of the narrative of that much decried Venetian, who has recently found so able a commentator in Colonel H. Yule. Leaving Koondooz, on the 11th of December, Lieutenant Wood crossed an open plain, encircled on all sides by mountains, except on the north, where the Oxus flows Crossing the pass of Latta-band, they proceeded along the valley of the Kokcha, where the population was scanty, and the dreary appearance of winter was seldom enlivened by the sight of man or beast From Fyzabad, the ancient capital of Badakshan, he proceeded to Jerm, the modern capital and largest place in that State, and thence, with the permission of the Governor, he started for

"Never," observes Mr Elphinstone, "was a spot of the same extent better peopled, the uncultivated parts of the land were covered with a thick elastic sod that, perhaps, never was equalled but in England, the greater part was highly cultivated"

the lapis lazuli mines,* returning to Jerm on the 26th of December.

After an unsuccessful attempt to reach the ruby mines, Lieutenant Wood now applied himself, in spite of the remonstrances and croakings of his native guide, a Tajik, to his journey to the source of the Oxus. Proceeding up the valley of this river, the mountains of Shakh Durah on their left, and those of Chitral on their right, both rising to a vast height, their summits crowned with perpetual snow, they reached the village of Ishtrakh, in the midst of a heavy snow-storm. Having learned here that the valley of the Oxus for some distance upwards was uninhabited, Lieutenant Wood set off for Kundut, the capital of Shah Turai's country, which was reached after a cold ride of forty miles. Continuing their march, the party arrived at Kila Panj, "Five Hillocks," where they crossed the Oxus, the current being three and a half miles per hour. The valley of the Oxus may be said to terminate at Issar, 10,000 feet above the sea, the main valley there dividing into two, one conducting to Chitral, Gilgit, and Cashmere, the other across the table-land of Pamir, to Yarkand The question which of the two streams led to the source of the Oxus was one of difficulty, and the Kirghiz gave no satisfactory solution of the point. Wood, for sufficient reasons, concluded the Pamir stream to be the larger. He now had to encounter obstacles from the people who were to guide and escort him, and was forced to throw himself upon the honour of the Kirghiz, five of whom joined the party, which set forward for the ravine of Sir-i-Kol. After suffering much hardship from the intense cold, which caused some of the escort to desert, at length, on the 19th of February, 1838, Lieutenant Wood and his party stood upon the Bam-i-Duniah, or "Roof of the World," as the Wakhanis name the Pamir Plain. This honour Lieutenant Wood shares with Marco Polo, the naval officer and the Venetian being the only two Europeans who have ever planted foot on that inhospitable spot. Before him stretched a noble lake, then frozen, from the western end of which issued the infant Oxus. He says, "The lake is about fourteen miles long from east to west, by one mile of average breadth; on three sides it is bordered by swelling hills, which, on the south side, rise into mountains 3,500 feet above the lake, or 19,000 feet above the sea, and covered with perpetual snow, whence the lake is supplied. The western end is in lat. 37° 27′ N, long. 70° 40′ E; its elevation, measured by boiling water, is 15,600 feet. The temperature

* The deposit of lapis lazuli occurs in the valley of the Kokcha, where the mountains are on both sides high and naked The entrance to the mines is on the face of the mountain, about 1,500 feet above the level of the stream The ruby mines, which Wood was unable to reach, are twenty miles from Ish-Kashm, on the right bank of the Oxus, in a district called Gharan, which signifies "caves" or "mines"

of the water was 32° Fahr. At a distance of 600 yards from the shore the depth of water was found to be nine feet; it emitted a slightly fetid smell, and was of a reddish tinge." The description and position of this lake, which was called by Lieutenant Wood's guides, "Sir-i-kol," and to which he proposed to give the name of Lake Victoria, after Her Majesty, of whose accession to the throne he had just heard, are accurately given by Marco Polo, who states that it is the source of a "handsome river."

The details of Wood's return to Koondooz, afford nothing remarkable, and he arrived there after an absence of three months. When on a visit at Hazrat Imaum, he heard that Mohamed Rahim, the chief of Wakhan, whom he had seen, had been murdered in open durbar by Murad Beg Lieutenant Wood and Dr Lord also visited Khulm, and at Mazar, thirty miles from thence, where the last of Moorcroft's party died, Dr Lord obtained possession of every book belonging to the party, including even the daily cash account book; but there were no manuscript records of their journey. On the 11th of April, 1838, Messrs. Wood and Lord quitted Koondooz, re-entered Cabul on the 1st of May, and rejoined Captain Burnes at Peshawur.

For his great achievement, Lieutenant Wood received the Patron's Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society, as stated, "for his survey of the Indus, and rediscovery of the sources of the river Oxus"* Not long after his return to Bombay, he resigned the Service, emigrated to New Zealand, under a strong belief in the great future before that colony, but soon after returned to Europe. In 1849, Sir Charles Napier, then proceeding to assume the office of Commander-in-chief in India, applied for permission to the Court of Directors to take Lieutenant Wood with him, as his special knowledge of Scinde and the Punjaub rivers would have been of advantage in the

* The following are the other contributions to geographical literature by Lieutenant John Wood —"Memoranda on the River Indus," ("Bombay Geographical Society's Journal," vol 1), "Report on the Sources of the Oxus," ("Royal Geographical Society's Journal," vol x p 520), "Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government," No 17

There are several manuscript maps by Lieutenant Wood in the Geographical Department of the India Office, a series of sheets of the Indus, and a chart of the Indus from Mittun to Attock (1838), four sheets, on a scale of two inches to the mile The original MS maps, showing the routes of Lieutenant Wood in Central Asia, are also preserved in the Geographical Department of the India Office. They consist of a map of the valley of the Oxus from Koondooz to its source, showing the new ground explored by Lieutenant Wood, 1837-38, a survey of routes from Peshawur to Bamian, with sketches and sections of the Khyber and Hindoo Koosh Passes, the route of Burnes' mission to Cabul in three sheets, and the whole of Burnes' route from Cabul to Bokhara, and thence through Persia to Bushire, in nine sheets, drawn by Lieutenant Wood There are also a set of route-surveys in Turkistan (seven sheets), and a reconnoitring survey of the Khawk Pass, the most easterly from Cabul to Balk in Turkistan.

Sikh War, which promised to be of a protracted nature, but, though the application was supported by the Duke of Wellington, Lord Ellenborough, and Lord Fitzroy Somerset, afterwards Lord Raglan, the Court refused to comply with the request of Sir Charles Napier. In 1852, Lieutenant Wood sailed for Australia, whence he returned to England in 1857. In the following year he proceeded to Kurrachee, as Manager of the Oriental Inland Steam Navigation Company, which failed, chiefly because the shareholders were not guided by his councils, and, in 1861, on the formation of a Commercial Steam Navigation Flotilla on the Indus, he was appointed, by the Chairman, Mr. W P Andrew, the First Superintendent, and managed the flotilla with conspicuous success as regards the interests of the shareholders as well as of the public, until illness, due to fatigue consequent upon a hurried journey to Simla, undertaken in the interests of his employers, at the height of the hot season, necessitated his return to England. Lieutenant Wood never rallied, and died in London on the 13th of November, 1871, having survived his two adventurous companions of the Cabul Mission a period of thirty years Mr. W. P. Andrew—Chairman of the Scinde, Punjaub and Delhi Railway Company, and also of the Indus Steam Flotilla—writes to us of Lieutenant Wood's character and career in the following terms:—"John Wood acted with me for ten years, when in charge of the Indus Steam Flotilla of the Scinde Railway Company, on terms of the greatest confidence and affection. No one knew Wood better than I did, or appreciated his fine qualities more highly. Distinguished as a traveller and explorer, and especially as the discoverer of the sources of the Oxus—brave, skilful, and self-reliant as an officer—yet he was as humble, as he was true to the Government he served, and the friends who trusted him."

The "Saturday Review," of the 11th of January, 1873, writing of the labours of this distinguished traveller, says:—"Lieutenant, or Captain, Wood, to judge him from his own writings, appears to have been a man of a straightforward, honest, and fearless disposition, capable of enduring fatigue and hunger, and animated generally by that delight in exploration and adventure which is characteristic of the members of the Naval profession. In truth, the officers of that extinct service, the Indian Navy, were not always appreciated in their day, and are almost forgotten in our own. By their labours, pursued under a burning sun, or a fiery blast from the sands of Arabia, or tropical deluge in the monsoon, have been accumulated ample stores of observation on nautical phenomena and facts; and in the two Burmese Wars as well as in the Indian Mutiny, they were seen working guns and attacking palisades in honourable rivalry with officers and sailors of the Royal Navy. About eleven years ago, in one of those cold fits of

doubtful economy, from which few statesmen can escape, the Indian Navy was abolished as an encumbrance The loss was speedily felt: attempts to coerce slavers and to entice reluctant chieftains into treaties which must be kept, require, it need hardly be said, something more than mere diplomatic skill."

Less fortunate than Wood was his brother officer, Lieutenant W H Wyburd, whose fate is shrouded in mystery. Before and during the time of our invasion of Afghanistan, any attempt to explore, or even to enter, the states of Western Turkistan, was resented by the savage rulers of the three Khanates; and not without reason, considering the aggressions of England and Russia in Central Asia, and the consequences of "Commercial Missions." as exemplified by that under the command of Burnes, when the hospitality of the Ameer of Cabul was repaid by our invading his country and dispossessing him of his throne In 1835, at the same time that Lieutenants Wellsted and Whitelock were proceeding on their travels in Arabia, and shortly before Wood's journey to the sources of the Oxus, Lieutenant Wyburd, an accomplished linguist, who filled the office of interpreter to the Commodore in the Persian Gulf, was despatched by the British Envoy at the Court of Persia, on an important mission to Khiva In 1845, ten years after he left Persia, it transpired that he had never reached Khiva, but that, like our unhappy countrymen, Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, he was seized by the Ameer of Bokhara. The British Government was then appealed to, and an inquiry was instituted. Wyburd's sisters many times entreated the Government to recognise and claim their brother as a British subject and servant, but their request was always met by the unwarrantable assumption of his death. Thirteen years after Lieutenant Wyburd was sent on his mission to Khiva, it came to light that he had escaped from Bokhara, and was in slavery in the Khanate of Khokand; and, in the latter part of 1849, the discovery was made that he was still alive. The Khan of Khokand despatched a letter to Colonel (now General Sir) George Lawrence, Deputy Commissioner in charge at Peshawur, in which he said, "I have seized a Sahib at the fort of Huzrat Sooltan, who came by the road of Tajkund and Dusht-i-Kazak. His name is Wypart, an Englishman, he says, and not a Russian, and that he has been travelling many years; he has two Persians with him named Mohammed and Hussein, who say they were formerly in Stoddart's service, and were sold at Bokhara, and purchased by Wypart. These men say their master is English. Now I have sent Allahdad to ascertain from you whether he is really English or not; that should he be so, I may treat him with honour, but if Russian that I may punish him."

Mr. Wyburd's sisters complained that, notwithstanding this discovery, they had been unable to obtain from the Government

or the East India Company, more information than was contained in a letter from the Secretary of the Company on the 5th of January, 1850, which merely stated that the agent of the Khan of Khokand was dismissed with all honour from Peshawur, taking with him letters from Colonel Lawrence to the Khan and to Lieutenant Wyburd, and that nothing further had been heard of the messenger up to the 12th of October in that year, though Colonel Lawrence had expressed his intention of immediately deputing trustworthy agents to Khokand to effect the liberation of Lieutenant Wyburd.

In 1851, Mr. Disraeli brought his case before the House of Commons, and presented a petition from Wyburd's sisters, in which these ladies declared that they had no confidence in native agents, and that they again appealed to the Government and the East India Company, and offered to send out an officer to inquire after their brother, provided the Government would invest him with proper authority. They had received no satisfactory answer to their former petition, and they therefore appealed to the House to take steps to have Lieutenant Wyburd formally recognised as a British subject and servant, and his restoration demanded. Mr. Disraeli, having stated the facts of the case, asked the Secretary to the Board of Control, and Sir James Weir Hogg, Member for Honiton and Deputy-Chairman of the Court of Directors, if they would give any information as to what had been done, and what steps it was proposed to take in the matter. In reply, the Secretary to the Board of Control, and the Deputy-Chairman of the Company, stated, that every exertion had been made during the past two years in the way of inquiry and remonstrance that was possible, but without effect: everything had been tried "short of assembling an army," a measure which they considered was scarcely to be justified on the score of saving one human life, though they repeated their doubts as to whether the object of so much anxious solicitude still lived. Finally, by Government Order of the 2nd of March, 1852, Mr. Midshipman J. Sheppard was promoted to Lieutenant, vice Wyburd, struck off the list of the Indian Navy, from the 16th of October, 1837. From that date to this, nothing more was done to effect the release of this unfortunate officer, who had been sent by Government on a special mission, or even to ascertain his fate, which is shrouded in impenetrable obscurity.

It is not every Service of the numerical strength of the Indian Navy, that, besides possessing a galaxy of surveying talent, could produce at one time, travellers of the distinction and scientific attainments of Wood and Wyburd, Whitelock and Wellsted, Ormsby and Barker.

CHAPTER III.

1838—1845.

Additions to the Service—The Court of Directors on the Discipline of the Service—The Indian Navy and Sir F Maitland—Occupation of Kharrack—Demonstration at Bushire—The Succession of Commodores in the Persian Gulf—The Capture of Aden—Repulse of the Arabs in their repeated Attacks upon Aden, and Gallant Services of the Indian Navy—Increase of the Steam Marine—The War with China—Services of the 'Atalanta,' 'Sesostris,' 'Auckland,' and 'Medusa'—Loss of the 'Memnon'—Augmentation of the Service—The Conquest of Scinde, and the Indus Steam Flotilla

DURING the year 1838, a fine schooner, named the 'Constance,' was launched at Bombay; she was 182 tons burden, and carried five 12-pounders, which, at a later period, as also in the case of her sister ship, the 'Mahi,' of 157 tons, were changed for one pivot 32-pounder and two 12-pounder howitzers, in addition to the ordinary boats' guns. The Court of Directors also contracted in England for a steam-frigate and a packet, and an iron river steamer, called the 'Indus,' was added to the Service. On the other hand, the 18-gun sloop-of-war 'Amherst' was transferred to the Bengal Government.

In the year 1839 an unfortunate addition was made to the steam packets of the Service, in the purchase of the 'Kilkenny,' of 684 tons and 280 horse-power, which had hitherto been employed in carrying pigs from Waterford to Bristol. It was considered that this vessel would be an acquisition to the Service, and from her fittings would be peculiarly adapted for the conveyance of passengers between Bombay and Suez! Accordingly she was despatched from Waterford, and, by Government notification, dated July 16—two days after her arrival—was received into the Service under the more grandiloquent name of 'Zenobia.' From the first she was a signal failure, and this act of purchasing into the Government service a worn-out "pig-boat," bore so conspicuous a similitude to the perpetration of a job, that it was not repeated; rather, we should say, the jobbery of the future changed its type, and was manifested in the supply of new steamers like the 'Ajdaha' and 'Cleopatra,' which were from the first worthless, and cost the Government large sums to keep in repair.

On the 13th of October, 1839, the 'Atalanta,' Lieutenant Webb, caught fire while lying in Bombay Harbour. Assistance was promptly rendered by the 'Coote,' 'Taptee,' and other ships, which sent boats; the powder was taken out of the magazines and the fore part of the vessel was flooded By these means the fire was confined to the after part of the vessel and then extinguished, when she was warped ashore. The conduct of all was most praiseworthy, and the Governor in Council issued a notification, dated 30th of October, "expressing his high approbation of the zealous exertions of the several officers and crews of the Indian Navy." But the conduct of some of the officers of the 'Atalanta,' was not equally commendable. The two passed Midshipmen, who were the senior officers on board, in the absence on shore of the commanding officer, were tried by court-martial, when one lost a step, and the other was severely reprimanded The Governor in Council, however, acting on the opinion of the Commander-in-chief, directed that Mr. Zouch, the more culpable of the two, should be suspended from employment pending a reference to Leadenhall-street; and the Court of Directors issued a minute commenting in severe terms on the "spirit of insubordination which prevails among many of the junior members of the Indian Navy," and directed that the fitness to remain in the Service of Mr. Zouch—who had been charged with intoxication on the night of the disaster, but was found to be labouring under "constitutional excitement" —should be inquired into by a Committee The Medical Board reported that he did not labour under any constitutional unfitness,* and, therefore, Mr. Zouch was adjudged to lose eight steps in accordance with the alternative in the Court's letter.

It is not our intention to defend the young officer who, in the case under consideration, brought discredit on the Service, but, though nothing can palliate a breach of military discipline, it should be remembered in mitigation of the censure passed in such sweeping terms by the Court, that the Government broke the pledges they had made to the Service. For instance, in the Court's letter of the 4th of May, 1838, appeared the following passage: "We, however, positively interdict the employment of mates of merchantmen, or any other than commissioned or warrant officers of the Indian Navy, in any situation of command or responsibility on board any of our vessels, excepting in the engine room." This was the Court's order, and here is how it was fulfilled by the authorities in Bombay. The 'Indus,' iron steamer, fitted out for service on the Indus, received as her commander an acting-master, who was not a commissioned officer of the Indian Navy, and, under his orders

* In justice to Mr Zouch, whose conduct was used as a lever to censure the junior officers of the Service, it should be noted that he was confined for years and died in a madhouse.

was placed an acting second-master. The 'Victoria,' a steam-sloop of 800 tons, launched at Bombay in October, 1839, also temporarily received for her officers an acting master and one or two acting second-masters. In the following February and April, two new river steamers, the 'Comet' and 'Planet,' proceeded to the Indus, commanded and officered in the same way, and others followed in quick succession. A plea of necessity cannot be urged for this, as there were sixteen passed midshipmen serving as such, the junior of whom was of eight years' standing, and these officers, except when doing duty in steam packets, received only midshipmen's pay. On the other hand, the mates from the Merchant Service were appointed acting masters, without having to undergo an examination, testimonials as to character only being required. While the passed midshipmen* serving in the steamers, received the higher scale of 110 rupees a month, these acting masters drew the pay of a lieutenant, and, when in command, received the higher scale of 250 rupees a month, lieutenants of long service being in receipt of only their net pay of 145 rupees.

It was not until September and October of the year 1840 that passed midshipmen, in some cases, received the rank and pay of acting lieutenants, though every vessel was under-officered owing to the recent retirements. Even the 'Coote' was sent to serve on a foreign station with only one lieutenant, though five or six passed midshipmen were at head-quarters a month before she sailed. Now the Service had ever been remarkable for the devotion to duty of its officers, who, from time immemorial, went uncomplainingly to the worst climates of the world, in the worst of all possible sailing craft human ingenuity has devised, the ten-gun brig or "coffin," and the still smaller schooner, which were less than five feet in height in the 'tween-decks. What the general discipline of the Service was at this very time, Sir Frederick Maitland, the British Naval Commander-in-chief in India, had attested, and the Service still further proved, by its gallantry and discipline at Aden, that the Admiral, with his experience of the officers and seamen of Howe, St. Vincent and Nelson, was a more reliable judge than the civilians who threw, broadcast, aspersions against the Service to which they owed all their early privileges, nay, their very existence, when struggling against European rivalry, Mogul exactions, and piratical depredations. The Company Bahadoor was now great and powerful, and its standards fluttered from the peaks

* By order dated the 7th of August, 1835, midshipmen doing the duties of mate received an extra allowance of fifty rupees in addition to their pay of fifty rupees, but this was cancelled by a second order dated the 9th of November, 1855, and thenceforward midshipmen keeping watches and doing the duty of lieutenants only received their bare pay, an arrangement to be commended on the score of economy, but hardly of justice and fair dealing, as the 'Euphrates,' 'Tigris,' 'Constance,' and 'Mahi' were at all times officered by midshipmen

of Bamian and the turrets of the Bala Hissar—soon, alas! to be torn down in defeat and blood—and it could afford to break faith and play fast and loose with the Marine which was no longer essential to its existence. Thus it happened that after disgusting every officer brought up in a Service whose duties were purely military, by transforming a large portion of the Indian Navy into a second-rate passenger service, than which no course could be devised more derogatory to discipline, or *esprit de corps*, the Hon. Court turned round and fulminated a most undeserved and sweeping censure against the junior officers and the Service at large. From the causes for dissatisfaction under which the Indian Navy was writhing, we omit altogether from consideration the facts put forth in a respectful Memorial by Commander Haines in 1837, by which it appears that the emoluments of the staff appointments, which amounted to 15,115 rupees per month in 1828, were reduced to 7,013 in that year

In 1838-39, important events took place in the Persian Gulf and on the Indus, in which the Indian Navy participated.

In November, 1837, a Persian army, under the personal command of the Shah, commenced the siege of Herat, which was only saved from capture by the genius of Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger, of the Bombay Artillery. The attention of the Government was earnestly directed to the siege, as it was supposed that the fall of what is known as "the key of India," would seriously endanger the safety of our Eastern Empire. On the 1st of May, 1838, Lord Auckland, in a letter addressed to Mr. (now Sir) John McNeill, British Minister at Teheran, after stating his belief "that the state of our relations with Persia is at the present moment exceedingly critical," suggested that it might prove of "very essential aid" to his negotiations, "were as many cruisers as can be spared for the service, together with a regiment of Native infantry, despatched to the Persian Gulf to hold themselves in readiness for any service on which it might be deemed expedient to employ them, with a view to the maintenance of our interests in Persia." Without waiting for an answer, Lord Auckland instructed the Bombay Government to fit out and despatch the proposed expedition "at the earliest practicable period."

Accordingly, the 'Semiramis,' commanded by Captain Brucks, which had only arrived from England in April, was speedily prepared for sea, and sailed, on the 4th of June, with eleven officers and three hundred and eighty soldiers. She encountered very bad weather near Muscat, and, the day after leaving Bombay, lost one of her engineers; the chief engineer also became seriously ill, when Captain Brucks, who was an excellent "steam officer," took charge of the engines. From Muscat he proceeded to Bushire and Kharrack, where he landed the troops and some

marines, on the 19th of July, the whole being under the command of Colonel Sheriff. The Indian Naval squadron was concentrated for service at this point, but no opposition was offered, the Governor replying to the summons, that "the island, its inhabitants, and everything it contained, were entirely at our disposal." Some additional troops and stores were afterwards brought to Kharrack by the 'Hugh Lindsay,' and it is certain that this "demonstration" powerfully contributed to bring the Shah to his senses, for, on the 14th of August, 1838, he replied, "we consent to the whole of the demands of the British Government," one of which was the removal of the Governor of Bushire, who had threatened the safety of the British Political Resident, and the punishment of the other persons concerned in that transaction. The Shah added: "We will not go to war. Were it not for the sake of the friendship of the British Government, we should not return from before Herat. Had we known that our coming here might risk the loss of their friendship, we certainly would not have come at all." On the 9th of September the Shah raised the siege of Herat and commenced his homeward march, a step due to the enterprise of Eldred Pottinger and the occupation of Kharrack, rather than to any solicitude for the friendship of the British Government.

The 'Semiramis' arrived at Bombay on the 5th of July, when Captain Brucks undertook his already recorded abortive attempt to make the south-west monsoon passage to the Red Sea. On his return to Bombay he received the appointment of Commodore of the Persian Gulf squadron, and his energy and experience were of essential aid to the Government.

When, in the year 1838, it was decided to undertake the occupation of Afghanistan, the Bombay division of the army of the Indus, proceeded to Scinde, under the commander-in-chief, Sir John Keane, the naval portion of the expedition, including a large number of river craft on the Indus, being under the command of Captain Pepper, senior naval officer at Surat.

The 'Constance,' schooner, Lieutenant Jenkins, convoyed from Bombay to the Hujamree branch of the Indus, a large number of small native craft carrying troops and military stores. On arriving at the Hujamree mouth, Lieutenant J. S Grieve, who was there on special service, took charge of the convoy and conducted them over the bar and about twenty miles up the river. On the arrival of the 'Semiramis,' under command of Lieutenant Porter, with Sir John Keane and the head-quarters Staff of the army, and the 2nd Queen's, Lieutenant Jenkins proceeded to Mandavie in the 'Constance,' taking Captain (the late Sir James) Outram with him, for the purpose of obtaining money that could pass current in Scinde, Outram's mission being to procure carriage for the army. From Mandavie, Lieutenant

Jenkins proceeded to Kurrachee, where he made a rough examination of the harbour, and then, having landed Captain Outram, sailed to the Hujamree with despatches from the Rao of Cutch and the Political Agent, Colonel Melvill, for Colonel Pottinger, who was carrying on the political duties of the force. Having delivered the despatches and money to Colonel Pottinger, Lieutenant Jenkins returned to Bombay, when Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland having applied for his services as pilot and interpreter, he was appointed additional flag-lieutenant on board H.M S. 'Wellesley,' seventy-four guns, and resigned the command of the 'Constance' to Lieutenant J. W. Young.

On the 17th of November, 1838, the following vessels of the Indian Navy left Bombay for the Indus, together with some transports carrying the troops. The 'Euphrates,' Lieutenant J. Frushard, 'Semiramis,' Lieutenant J. P. Porter, 'Constance,' Lieutenant J. W. Young, and 'Taptee,' Lieutenant A. H. Gordon. Under the superintendence of Lieutenant Frushard, the troops were landed at Bominacote, on the right bank of the Hujamree branch of the Indus,* opposite to Vikkur, where they encamped. The disembarkation, conducted by Lieutenant Frushard, was effected without opposition on the part of the Ameers, though rumours were rife that it was intended. In the latter part of December Sir John Keane proceeded with his division to Tatta, whither he was accompanied by Lieutenant Frushard.

From this time forward a flotilla was maintained on the Indus, officered and manned by the Indian Navy; and the little newly-launched steamer 'Snake' was particularly useful. She left the camp at Vikkur on the 9th of January, 1839, for Tatta, with three country boats, but owing to the strength of the current, did not reach her destination until the 13th On the 17th she left Tatta for Hyderabad with the treaty for the signature of the Ameers, and arrived there on the 20th. The unfavourable turn affairs took at that time forced her, on the 24th, to commence a precipitate retreat, and in three hours she ran a distance of thirty miles to Jerruk. The following morning the army arrived there, and the 'Snake' was despatched twenty

* The Indus has no less than thirteen or fourteen mouths. The main river, after passing Hyderabad and Tatta, divides about fifty miles from the sea into two great arms, the Buggaur, or west arm, and the Setta, called also Munneja or Wamani. Between Manora Point and Hujamree the coast is low and intersected by numerous channels and creeks. After coming down the main branch of the Indus from Hyderabad, the river steamers debouch at the Kedywarree mouth, then enter the Richel and navigate towards Kurrachee by several channels, but the navigation terminates about three miles from that place. One of the first officers to perceive the superiority of Kurrachee as a landing place was Lieutenant (now Retired Commander) Sharp, of the Indian Navy. In February, 1839, when senior officer here, he was ordered to the Indus in a transport with horses from Bombay, but recognising the capabilities of Kurrachee, he proceeded thither, and landed all the horses in one morning and sent them to Tatta.

miles down to advise the flotilla of the news, and it was then discovered that the Ameers had been trying to tamper with the boatmen. The steamer remained at Jerruk till the 6th of February, when she again went to Hyderabad, where Colonel Pottinger * detained her temporarily.

The great advantage of steam power was also made manifest by the important services rendered by the 'Semiramis,' Lieutenant Porter, which was employed conveying troops, and towing two or three transports to Cutch and the mouths of the Indus. Her career of usefulness was, however, cut short by her running ashore at midnight, on the 13th of February, near the entrance of the Gulf of Cutch, and a whole month elapsed before she was got afloat. Though blame was attributed to the commander and the officer of the watch, as regards not paying sufficient attention to the navigation and lead, yet nothing could exceed the discipline and exertions of the officers and crew up to the date of reaching Bombay, and the senior midshipman, Mr. Laing, died from fatigue. Ultimately, the 'Semiramis' was converted into a block ship and coal depôt at Aden, and her name was changed to the 'Charger.'

The 'Wellesley,' seventy-four guns, Captain Thomas Maitland (the present Admiral the Earl of Lauderdale), bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Sir Frederick Lewis Maitland, Commander-in-chief in the East Indies, arrived at Bombay from China and Ceylon in January, 1839, and proceeded to the Indus, on the 17th, to join Sir John Keane, who sent the Admiral a laconic request to "proceed to Kurrachee and take it." Sir Frederick complied, and, on arriving there on the 1st of February, in company with the 'Berenice,' 'Constance,' and 'Euphrates,' and H.M.'s brig 'Algerine,' twice sent a flag of truce summoning the fort of Manora, which formed the chief defence of the town; but the infatuated garrison refused all terms, and fired on the boats of the squadron, which were engaged in landing the troops. The 'Wellesley,' accordingly, opened fire, and a broadside or two speedily reduced the fort to ruins, and brought the commandant to terms, upon which Lieutenant G. Jenkins, attached to the 'Wellesley,' landed and hoisted the British flag on the fort.†

* Colonel (afterwards Sir) Henry Pottinger, who held the high offices of H.M.'s Envoy to China, Governor of Hong Kong, of the Cape of Good Hope, and of Madras, commenced his career in India as a midshipman of the Indian Navy, and prided himself on his connection with the Service

† As a military operation, the capture of Kurrachee was of little moment, but from the great and increasing importance of the place, the following details of the affair by Lieutenant Jenkins will be perused with interest:—"The pinnace of H.M.'s ship 'Wellesley,' being despatched to intercept a boat coming from the westward, on nearing the fort, was fired into. At eight a.m. the following day, accompanied by Captain Grey, of H.M.'s 40th Regiment, I was sent with a flag of truce to summon the fort to surrender. The Governor refused any terms; I was ordered to give him fifteen minutes for consideration; at their expiration he quietly assured us that, as a Beloochee, he could not quit his charge till driven from it. On my reporting this to the Admiral, H.M.'s ship 'Algerine'

The town also surrendered, when the 40th Regiment and 2nd Bombay Native Infantry occupied the place; and thus, on the 3rd of February, 1839, the British Government obtained bloodless possession of the second finest port in India, as Kurrachee harbour can, doubtless, be made when the engineering works

and the Hon Company's sloop 'Constance,' stood in, and covered the landing of M H 's 40th Regiment on the western side of the fort, and between it and the town When they had taken up a good position, the light company in advance, and protected by some small mounds, I was again ordered by his Excellency Admiral Maitland to summon the fort to surrender, under the flag of truce The Killadar received me from the ramparts I entreated him to save the shedding of blood by a timely surrender, telling him that, in case of his refusal, the 'Wellesley' would pour in her broadside, and the smaller vessels batter his towers from both sides, and that the artillery and infantry were placed between him and the town, thus rendering escape hopeless He calmly thanked us for twice sending the flag of truce, and again signified his determination to abide the fortune of war As further argument was useless, the firing commenced at eleven a m , and before noon, a practicable breach was effected in the southern face of the fort, when, accompanied by a bugler and guard of three, to protect the white flag, I planted it on the tower From the determined coolness and calmness of the Killadar, and those surrounding him, we naturally expected that no quarter would be taken, and in anticipation we deeply regretted the necessity we should be under of butchering these brave fellows, but imagine our contemptuous surprise on learning that these brave men had deserted the fort after the fifth shot, making their escape to holes and crevices in the rocks, where they were subsequently found and made prisoners'

"At one p m , accompanied by Captain Grey, I left in the gig, to demand an interview with Meer Mahomed, the Governor Owing to incorrect information, we proceeded by one of the shallow creeks, and did not arrive at the appointed rendezvous, a mosque, until five p m Here we were joined by Haji Ali Rackah, the Governor's agent, and the Killadar, who went with us to the Government House. We were also met by Pittendoss Sett, a man who, from the strong attachment he has ever evinced towards our interests, has been appointed the Company's agent at Kurrachee Meer Mahomed, the Hakim, received us with every respect and attention We requested him to deliver over to the British naval and military force instant possession of Kurrachee. After a reference to the bombardment, he demurred, and named two of his followers to treat with Sir Frederick Maitland, one of whom, he said, should proceed with us on board. To this we agreed, but informed the Governor of our unalterable determination to land troops and garrison the town the following day, and in case of resistance, he was warned that he would be held responsible for all the casualties occurring on both sides On Sunday, the 3rd, followed by a company of the 2nd Grenadiers, we proceeded to the residence of the Ameer's agents, who have the civil jurisdiction and the collection of the revenues, and who informed us they were ordered by their Highnesses the Ameers to receive us as friends On Friday, the 8th, his Excellency Sir Frederick, accompanied by Captain Maitland, his secretary, flag-lieutenant, and myself, fulfilled an engagement to dine with Pittendoss Sett, the Company's agent, whose brother, Newal Settee, had rendered important services to Colonel Pottinger, the Resident at Hyderabad We were received by the Ameer's agents, the principal inhabitants, and a deputation of merchants. It was reported that in the official report made of the capture of Kurrachee to the Ameers, it was represented as having been bravely defended for two hours, and only succumbing to the irresistible rush made by seven thousand British soldiers and sailors, those numbers were of course grievously reduced by the unheard-of bravery of the Scindees and Beloochees Kurrachee contains about twenty-five thousand souls, of whom two-fifths are Hindus The town is chiefly composed of mud-built houses The citadel is surrounded by a mud wall, in a most dilapidated state; such, indeed, is the state of the wall, that there are already breaches of sufficient size to admit a good large storming party."

for deepening the passage over the bar are completed, by which this great seaport of Scinde and the Punjaub will attain a commercial position not inferior to Bombay itself.

On leaving Kurrachee for Bombay, Sir Frederick Maitland addressed the following letter to Captain Oliver, expatiating on the services of the Indian Navy squadron stationed at the mouths of the Indus:—

"Bombay Castle, February 27, 1839

"The Hon. the Governor in Council has much pleasure in publishing to the Indian Navy, the following letter from his Excellency the Naval Commander-in-chief:—

"To Captain Oliver, R.N., Superintendent of the Indian Navy, Bombay.

"Sir,—I have the honour to transmit, for your information, the disposition of the Hon. Company's vessels of war lately serving under my command, as well as copies of the orders I left with their commanders, on quitting Kurrachee on the 10th instant, and in doing so it is a pleasing part of my duty to assure you that nothing could exceed the zeal and activity of Captain Pepper (who, I regret to say, will, on account of the ill state of his health, be obliged to return to Bombay in the 'Semiramis') and of every officer in the Hon. Company's service with whom I have had the good fortune to communicate Lieutenant J. W. Young, commanding the Hon Company's schooner 'Constance,' performed every service committed to his charge in a manner which merits my high approbation, particularly in his taking the schooner in shore on the 2nd instant, and placing her in a position for covering the landing of the troops on the Manora Point. Lieutenant J Frushard, commanding the Hon. Company's brig 'Euphrates,' to whom I entrusted the superintendence of landing the troops, baggage, stores, &c, at the town of Kurrachee, was most indefatigable in his exertions, and performed that duty much to my satisfaction. Of Lieutenant Jenkins, who the Bombay Government kindly lent to the 'Wellesley,' as a pilot for the coast, and as interpreter, I cannot speak in too high terms in both capacities, but I am particularly indebted to him for carrying on all our communications with the authorities at Kurrachee, as well as with the Governor of the fort at the entrance of the harbour, all of which services were performed in a manner that proved both zeal and intelligence on his part.

"F. MAITLAND, Rear-Admiral,
Commander-in-Chief.

"'Wellesley' at sea, Feb 13, 1839"

On the 5th of March, the Hon. Company's brig 'Taptee' arrived at Bombay from the Indus, having on board Sir Henry Fane, Commander-in-chief in India, who, after the fall of

Herat, had resigned to Sir John Keane the command of the army that was marching on Candahar and Cabul to set Shah Soojah "on the throne of his ancestors," as Lord Auckland expressed the ill-judged attempt to discrown Dost Mahomed, the able Ameer of Afghanistan; and, in February of the following year, the 'Palinurus' brought, from Kurrachee, Sir John (now Lord) Keane and suite, together with Prince Hyder Khan, second son of Dost Mahomed, taken prisoner at Ghuznee. This distinguished General, and also Sir Willoughby Cotton, were fortunate in retiring from Afghanistan "before the wrath to come."

The 'Wellesley' proceeded from Kurrachee to Bombay, whence she sailed for Bushire, where she arrived on the 23rd of March. Here the Admiral found the 'Clive,' Captain Hawkins, the 'Elphinstone,' bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Brucks, and the Hon. Company's schooner 'Emily.'

The day following his arrival, Sir Frederick Maitland, after receiving a visit from the Commodore and Captain Hennell, the Political Agent, proceeded to the Residency, where he was visited by the Governor. During the interview, the state of the relations between the two countries was debated, when the Governor expressed his dissatisfaction at the occupation of Kharrack by a British force, and the Admiral alluded to the fate of the fort at Kurrachee, which he battered down because his demands were not complied with. On the following day, Sir Frederick, accompanied by Commodore Brucks and the captains of the ships of war, returned the visit of the Governor, and demanded permission for himself and his officers, to land and communicate freely with the Resident, and also complained of the stoppage of boats with private stores for himself. The Governor agreed to permit this, but peremptorily refused to allow the Admiral to embark from the landing-place opposite the Residency, although Commodore Brucks stated that, from a personal knowledge of thirty years, this "bunder" had always been used. Under instructions from the Admiral, on the following morning, the 25th of March, all the boats of the squadron, manned and armed, proceeded to the shore to protect the embarkation of the Admiral and the other officers. An eye-witness describes as follows the *rencontre* which then took place:—

"The Persians had assembled to the number of several hundreds, and the Governor, with his body-guard, was determined to prevent, if possible, the property being shipped before the Residency. The first boat which approached the shore was fired upon, and one Persian had his musket presented at Captain Maitland; he was just on the eve of firing, when fortunately the Admiral and two Indian Naval officers in a moment wrenched it from his hands, and kept possession of the piece, which they found loaded with a heavy charge. You

may imagine how strongly inclined the Marines must have been to fire. The benevolent spirit of the Admiral, however, would not allow it till the throwing of stones, and continued firing from the Persians, called forth two volleys, which caused the Persians to evacuate the breastwork. One was killed and two wounded; their fire upon us, fortunately, did not injure anyone, but the Commodore and several other officers were struck with stones. After this, the Residency was put in a state of defence, and Captain Hennell had all the property conveyed as quickly as possible on board the 'Wellesley,' 'Elphinstone,' 'Clive,' and 'Emily,' and finally abandoned the Residency on the morning of the 28th, when surrounded by four or five hundred armed Persians, composed of Bushirees and Tungustanees, with Baukr Khan at their head. A deputation of merchants waited upon the Admiral, to try to arrange matters so as to induce the Resident to remain; their request, however, could not, of course, be granted; and, on the morning of the 29th, the 'Wellesley' and the other vessels reached Kharrack, bringing along with them the whole Residency establishment, which are now housed in tents, with the Resident's flag-staff beside them."

The removal of British property from the Bushire Residency, before its evacuation, as above described, was conducted under the protection of the Marines of the squadron, commanded by Captain (the late General Sir) Edward Ellis, R.M., of the 'Wellesley.' On the following day, (the 29th) nine boats from the 'Wellesley,' 'Clive,' and 'Elphinstone,' with guns, were drawn up in front of the landing-place, to protect the embarkation of the Residency staff, which Captain Hennell declared was threatened by the large force of armed men under Baukr Khan, whose numbers had recently been greatly increased; and the remaining boats of the squadron proceeded to the bunder and embarked the Resident. This was safely effected, though a collision was only avoided by the display of forbearance on the part of the British, as Baukr Khan marched a strong force right across Captain Ellis's path, so that the latter had to halt his men.

There can be no doubt that this method of dealing with lawless chiefs and insolent soldiery, though probably in consonance with European custom, was contrary to the rough diplomacy in vogue in all our dealings with Eastern races, and the result was that our prestige suffered. The people of the Persian Gulf attributed the benevolent conduct of the veteran Admiral in avoiding the shedding of blood, to pusillanimity, and it was ever after said in the Gulf that a line-of-battle ship and British squadron were beaten by the brave Persians, and were forced to withdraw, with their Resident, to Kharrack. This tale was told, and believed, together with mendacious statements as to

the numbers of the Marines landed, and the boats and ships employed. It probably would not have added one leaf to the laurels gained by British seamen in every clime, but it assuredly would have saved our prestige, had the Marines of the squadron brushed from their path the insolent armed rabble that followed the lead of the hectoring Baukr Khan, and had the seamen, after clearing the breastwork, which had been carefully constructed overnight to prevent the embarkation, marched through the town and taught the people and Governor of Bushire a lesson they would not soon have forgotten.*

The services of the naval force at Bushire, were acknowledged in the following terms by the Supreme Government :—

"Extract of a letter from the Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, dated the 9th of May, 1839, addressed to Rear-Admiral Sir F. Maitland, Commander-in-chief, &c :—

"The Right Hon. the Governor-General highly applauds the cordial and able assistance offered by the officers and crews of H.M.'s and the Hon Company's ships, in the removal on board the ships, of the Resident and his suite from the Residency at Bushire—an operation which, but for their aid, might have been attended with difficulty and danger."

The Admiral proceeded to Kharrack with the squadron, and, during his stay there, inspected the 'Elphinstone' and 'Tigris.' The following order by Commodore Brucks shows the opinion so experienced an officer as Sir Frederick Maitland, had formed of the efficiency of these and all the ships of the Indian Navy with which he had come into contact :—

"E I C brig-of-war 'Tigris,' April 5, 1839.

"The Commodore has much gratification in publishing the following sentiments Sir Frederick L Maitland, the Naval Commander-in-chief, has been pleased to express on his visiting the 'Elphinstone' and 'Tigris' this day.

"The Admiral said, 'He took that opportunity of expressing the great pleasure he had experienced in visiting the 'Tigris' and 'Elphinstone,' both of which he declared to be men-of-war creditable to any nation in the world.' His Excellency was also pleased to say, 'He had much pleasure in bearing testimony to the efficiency of the officers of this squadron, as well

* The "Bombay Courier" of the 5th of November, 1840, says —"The Persians still plumed themselves upon the victory they had won over the English in the Bushire affair Throughout the whole gulf, and as far as Mosul, for the Arabs too had imbibed it, but one sentiment was entertained, and everywhere talked of, that upon the only occasion when the British and Persians had fairly met, the latter had been completely routed and forced to take refuge in flight. No event of late times has done so much to lower our name and weaken our power among these nations as this unfortunate affair"

as all those of the Indian Navy he had had the pleasure of serving with.'

"The Commodore feels confident this compliment from a naval officer of Sir Frederick Maitland's high name and character, will be fully appreciated, and the Commodore's pledge to him, that all felt it and would be emulous to preserve the high opinion Sir Frederick had formed of them, will, the Commodore feels convinced, be fully redeemed by the officers of the squadron.

"G. B BRUCKS, Commodore, I N,

"Commanding Indian Navy squadron, Persian Gulf."

On the 16th of April, the Admiral, with the squadron, and accompanied by the Resident, proceeded off Bushire, where a Persian officer of high rank was said to have arrived with full powers to settle the late differences The Sirdar came on board the 'Wellesley,' when the Admiral, finding, in reply to his question, that he had not come to apologize, refused to listen to him; a dicussion of some hours then took place with the Resident, but ended unsatisfactorily. Captain Hennell thereupon returned to Kharrack, and the Admiral, accompanied by Commodore Brucks, in the 'Elphinstone,' proceeded to Bahrein. After communicating with the Uttobee rulers of the island, Sir Frederick proceeded to Lingah, and thence to Ras-ul-Khymah, where the chiefs assembled on board the 'Wellesley,' and the Admiral and Commodore impressed them with the necessity of keeping the peace and respecting British interests. It was the first time a ship of the line, or the flag of a British admiral, had been seen in the Gulf, and the spectacle was calculated to impress the chiefs and people with a sense of British power. From Ras-ul Khymah the Admiral proceeded to Bombay, but, before leaving the Persian Gulf, requested Commodore Brucks to publish the following order to the squadron under his command:—

"E I C sloop-of-war 'Elphinstone,' off Ras-ul-Khymah, May 1, 1839.

"The Commodore has much gratification in publishing the thanks of His Excellency Rear-Admiral Sir Frederick L. Maitland, K.C.B., and Naval Commander-in-chief in India, on his leaving the Gulf, to the commanders and officers of this squadron.

"His Excellency requested the Commodore on parting to accept his best thanks, and convey them in his name to all the commanders and officers of the Indian Navy squadron in the Gulf, to express the Admiral's satisfaction and pleasure at their conduct during the term he has been with them, and to say he should ever be happy to serve with them again at any time.

"G. B. BRUCKS, Commodore, I.N.,

"Commanding squadron in the Gulf of Persia."

Sir Frederick Maitland died at sea off Bombay on the 30th of November, 1840, when the 'Wellesley' returned into port, and the remains of the fine old Admiral were interred on the 2nd of December. He was universally beloved and respected, and the officers of the Indian Navy, in grateful recollection of the uniform kindness and consideration with which he had ever treated them, entered into a subscription to erect a monument to his memory in St. Thomas's Cathedral* in Bombay. In two months, £500 were subscribed by about seventy officers then serving in India, with which sum a handsome marble pillar, surrounded by trophies, and having a suitable inscription, was erected near to the memorial of Captain Nicholas Hardinge—brother of the Governor-General of India—who fell at the capture of the San Fiorenzo, in 1808.

The Service, whether known as the Bombay Marine or the Indian Navy, has not always received a generous recognition from the officers of the British Navy, under whom they have from time to time served, but the names of Sir Samuel Hood, Commander-in-chief, and Commodores Wainwright, Sayer, Loch, Sir Josias Rowley, Sir F. Brisbane, and Sir F. Collier, are honourable exceptions to that narrowness of spirit which has animated some who, influenced by the distinction of "Company's" and "Queen's," of which so much used to be heard in the not altogether "good old times," sought to withhold from their comrades of the Indian Service, a share of such distinction as has been gained by co-operating with them against their country's enemies in the worst climates in the world. Among names which will ever be held in affection by the officers whose record of service is now "as a tale that is told," that of Maitland, the gallant and chivalrous seaman, to whom the mighty Napoleon surrendered his sword on the quarter-deck of the 'Bellerophon,' will ever be prominent; and this record of his worth and nobility of character, and that other memorial on the walls of the Cathedral Church of St. Thomas, will testify to the grateful remembrance in which his memory is held by the officers of the Indian Navy.

After the affair at Bushire, the duties of the Persian Gulf squadron became very harassing. A vessel was obliged to lie at Bushire to protect British interests, and the officers suffered much annoyance from the liability to insult without being in a position to resent it. The two other ships, which at this time constituted the squadron, were engaged watching the

* This cathedral was built by subscription, the Company giving £10,000, and was opened on Christmas Day, 1718, by the Rev Richard Cobbe, who has left an account of the ceremony. On the 7th of June, 1816, Bishop Middleton dedicated it to St. Thomas. It is a plain building, with heavy buttresses and lofty lantern tower of the Gothic style, with turreted pinnacles The interior is, however, fine, and the floor is paved with marble tiles, it seats about five hundred worshippers, and contains some fine monuments.

motions of Koorshid Pasha and his emissaries on the Arabian coast, and keeping a general surveillance of both shores of the Gulf. The Bombay Government could not at this time spare any more vessels, and as, owing to sickness and death, those on the station were short of officers and men, the duty was very heavy. Some idea of the ravages of the unhealthy climate of the Gulf, may be gathered from the following notice of the mortality, during the past fifteen years, among the Commodores, who were appointed for three years, and might be supposed to be thoroughly acclimatized.*

In 1826, Captain Walker filled the post, but returned to Bombay within two years, with impaired health; he was appointed Member of the Marine Board, but died before the close of the year from the effects of his service in the Gulf. He was succeeded by Captain Maughan, who was seized with fever and obliged to quit in less than nine months, and proceed to England. A few months later, Captain Guy took the command, but was forced to resign, and died on his way home. After an interval of two months, Captain Collinson was appointed, and stayed a little over two years, when, finding his health giving way, he resigned and went home. Captain Wyndham succeeded him in June, 1833, and died in October, after a tenure of a few months. The senior officer on the spot acted for a few months, when Captain Elwon took the command; he expired on the 17th of June, 1835, and was buried under the dining-table in the Commodore's house at Bassadore. He was succeeded by that sturdy veteran, Captain Pepper, who held out for two years and nine months, notwithstanding that he was frequently at death's door; at the end of that period his health broke down, and he proceeded to Bombay and then to England. After an interval of some months, in October, 1838, Captain Brucks assumed the command from Commander Haines, and, in fifteen months, was obliged to go on leave for four months to Bombay and the Hills. He returned to duty, but, in 1842, was compelled to return to England in broken health, and died in 1850. From this retrospect it will be seen that in fifteen years there were eight commodores, of whom four died; and, if from this total of fifteen years, be deducted one year and seven months, the period during which senior officers filled the acting appointment, it will give one year and eight months

* An idea may be gathered of the general rate of mortality in the Service, from the fact that, of the fifty-two officers, who joined the Indian Navy between May, 1827, and December, 1830, we find that, in the List for 1858, that is, twenty-eight years later, when the senior would be about forty-four years of age, the names of only nine appear, the remainder, with few exceptions, having died from the effects of climate and that continuous and unremitting work at sea in small ships and unhealthy localities, such as no other Naval Service has been condemned to perform to an equal extent.

as the average for each commodore's service, instead of three years, the period for which the appointment was made.

During this fifteen years, eleven lieutenants, two pursers, and fifteen midshipmen, died, a large number considering how much the cruisers were under-officered, while no less than four-fifths of the remaining officers, were obliged to proceed on sick-leave to Europe or the Hills, and in too many instances never succeeded in wholly shaking off the Gulf fever. At the present day, the mortality and sickness in H.M.'s ships is reduced almost to ordinary proportions, by their visiting the Gulf chiefly at the healthy season, and remaining on the station less than two and three years, as was the custom at the period of which we are writing; and more than all, the salutary change is due to the vessels employed being roomy ships or gunboats, with awnings spread even when under weigh, and not small sailing ten-gun brigs and eighteen-gun sloops, crowded with men and guns, and forced perpetually to be at sea, owing to the lawlessness of the maritime Arab chiefs

From the above statistics of deaths in the various grades of officers, it appears that not veteran commodores alone, but many a fine, gallant youth, freshly arrived from England, has found an early grave in the Persian Gulf, his high hopes and generous aspirations untimely nipped in the bud:—

> "The sea, the blue lone sea hath one,
> He lies where pearls lie deep,
> He was the lov'd of all, yet none
> O'er his low bed may weep"

But, unhealthy as was the climate of the Persian Gulf, and monotonous and dreary the life on that station, the younger officers, who had no special ties binding them to their native land, managed to enjoy themselves fairly well. At Khonee, about twelve miles from Bassadore, the head-quarters of the squadron, the officers had built a hunting lodge, and here they kept horses and Persian greyhounds, with which they hunted the gazelle. Then there were cricket-matches—and where will not Englishmen get them up?—and fishing with the seine, and turning turtle on a moonlight night; and when, occasionally, a ship proceeded up the Shatt-ul-Arab to Bussorah, there was glorious sport pig-shooting on the marshy banks of the river above Marghill—and well does the writer remember it, and the enormous porkers that rewarded the day's shooting. Again, when visiting some of the Arab sheikhs, or governors of towns, they would invite the officers to go out hawking, when they always supplied the horses. Even at Bahrein, the hottest and most dismal of stations, there was one resource, a beautiful clear deep fresh-water pool—suggestive, perhaps, to the sufferer from nostalgia, or depression, of a speedy and happy *euthanasia*.

Then at Bushire, where a ship almost always lay at the disposal of the Political Resident, the ward-room and gun-room officers each had a house, with reading-rooms supplied with English papers—heaven save the mark! the date of the latter, six and nine months old, immediately brought vividly to the knowledge of the would-be reader that he was indeed an exile. It was this hardship that was almost unsupportable, especially to those who had enjoyed the refining influences of home, or the older officers who had families in England; for in the days before the Persian War, there was no regular mail from Bombay to the Persian Gulf, and only when a cruiser arrived to relieve another, or a casual sailing ship, (for a merchant steamer was never seen), dropped anchor in Bushire, was any news received of the outer world, or letters from the dear ones in England. It was this utter expatriation, more than the detestable climate and the discomfort and confinement on board a miserable little brig or sloop-of-war, that would have tried even Mark Tapley himself; and when the only resource was an exchange from the intolerable heat of Bushire Roads, where the ship lay three miles off the town, "like a painted ship on a painted ocean," to the even hotter pearl banks of Bahrein, it is only surprising that more officers did not betake themselves to the last resource of despairing humanity, drink, or suicide.

In May and June, 1840, the troops, stationed at Kharrack since the date of its occupation, were relieved by others, and returned to Bombay in the 'Drongan' and 'Lord Castlereagh' transports. On board the latter, which sailed on the 28th of May, there embarked about one hundred and eighty Sepoys of the 24th Native Infantry, and one hundred of the Marine Battalion; making, with followers and ninety-five of the crew, about four hundred and forty souls. On the night of the 17th of June, during a terrible gale, she was off the mouth of Bombay harbour, and, mistaking the lights of the 'Lord William Bentinck,' transport, from London, which had gone ashore a few hours before on the rocky ledge called the Prong, stretching out from the lighthouse of Colaba, she made for them, and took the rocks close to her. It has been the custom to deride the courage of natives when brought face to face with death on the ocean, but this is what the captain of the 'Lord Castlereagh' says:—"It is impossible to describe the coolness with which the Sepoys worked all day, and their apparent cheerfulness under the dreadful calamity." Their behaviour adds another leaf to the laurels gained by the Marine Battalion, who owed much of the handiness and coolness they displayed in the supreme moment of peril, to the lessons learnt on board the ships-of-war of the Indian Navy. The conduct of the Sepoys contrasts favourably with that of the European recruits on board the 'Lord William Bentinck,' for,

in an account of the shipwreck published in the Bombay papers, it is said that "the madness of intoxication infected them; the spirit stores had been rifled, and many were swept from the ship, and others from the rafts, in a state of helpless drunkenness." In this lamentable disaster perished the captain, his chief officer, surgeon, and seventeen of the crew, seven of the passengers, and fifty-eight recruits, besides women and children. A number of people on board the 'Lord Castlereagh' also perished, including Captain Earle, 24th Native Infantry, commanding the troops, and two officers, one alone escaping with his life; and the detachment of the Marine Battalion lost one jemadar, and nineteen non-commissioned officers and men. During the terrible scenes of this night "Captains Sanders and Hayman,* I.N.," says the Bombay Times, "were conspicuous for their exertions." Lieutenants Montriou and Webb also rendered great assistance, and the 'Victoria' got up steam "in a wonderfully short period," but was unable to approach the wreck, and had to stand out to sea to avoid sharing the fate of the ill-fated transports.

The first, and most important, military achievement of the year 1839, was the capture of Aden, and, as it preceded the capture of Kurrachee by a few days, it was the first conquest of British arms—for the suppression of the Canadian revolt in 1837-38 was a civil conflict—in the reign of Queen Victoria, a reign which has been illustrated on sea and land by such glorious victories.

Before entering upon the narrative of the capture of Aden,†

* Captain Hayman was for many years in charge of the Lighthouse at Colaba.

† The most salient points of Aden are, the precipitous hills, of which the highest, known as Jibbel Shumshum, has an altitude of 1,775 feet, the isthmus connecting it with the main, about 1,350 yards in breadth, but which is nearly covered by the sea at high spring-tides, and the wells and marvellous tanks or reservoirs. The wells, which number about one hundred and fifty, of which only about fifty are fit for drinking purposes, are mostly of recent construction, the oldest not dating further back than A D 1500. The reservoirs are about fifty in number, and have an aggregate capacity of nearly thirty millions of gallons. It is supposed that they were first commenced about A D. 600, and certainly they existed before the Turkish conquest of the place in 1530, as they are mentioned by the Venetian officer who describes the expedition. Mr Salt, who visited Aden in 1809, thus describes the tanks as they existed at that period:—

"Amongst the ruins, some fine remains of ancient splendour are to be met with, but these only serve to cast a deeper shadow over the desolation of the scene. The most remarkable of these reservoirs consists of a line of cisterns situated on the north-west side of the town, three of which are fully eighty feet wide, and proportionably deep, all excavated out of the solid rock, and lined with a thick coat of fine stucco, which externally bears a strong resemblance to marble. A broad aqueduct may still be traced, which formerly conducted the water to these cisterns from a deep ravine in the mountain above; higher up is another, still entire, which at the time we visited it was partly filled with water. Some Arab children, who followed us in our excursions, were highly pleased when we arrived at the spot, and plunging headlong into the water, much amused us with their sportive tricks."

in which the Indian Navy bore so conspicuous a part, we will give a brief sketch of the dealings of the Company's cruisers

When Commander Haines visited Aden in 1835, several of the reservoirs appear still to have been in a tolerably perfect state; besides the hanging tanks, or those built high upon the hills, several large ones were traceable round the town; but from the British occupation until very lately, no steps having been taken to repair or preserve them from further destruction, they became entirely filled up with stones and soil washed down from the hills by the rain, the people of the town had been permitted to carry away the stones for building purposes, and, with the exception of a very few, which could not easily be destroyed or concealed, all traces of them were lost, save where here and there a fragment of plaster, appearing above the ground, indicated the supposed position of a reservoir, believed to be ruined beyond the possibility of repair About 1855, the restoration of these magnificent public works was undertaken, and has now been completed. Captain Playfair, in his "History of Arabia Felix," describes the reservoirs, which were constructed to collect and store the water descending from the precipitous sides of the encircling hills, as extremely fantastic in their shapes. "Some are formed by a dyke being built across the gorge of a valley; in others, the soil in front of a re-entering angle in the hill has been removed, and a salient angle or curve of masonry built in front of it, while every feature of the adjacent rocks has been taken advantage of and connected by small aqueducts, to ensure no water being lost The overflow of one tank has been conducted into the succeeding one, and thus a complete chain has been formed, reaching to the very heart of the town These reservoirs were filled for the first time on the 20th of October, 1857, when, though a very small proportion of the whole had then been repaired, more water was collected from a single fall of rain than the whole of the wells would yield during an entire year"

The annual fall of rain in Aden is very limited, seldom exceeding six or seven inches, it is manifest, therefore, that a large city could not entirely depend on this precarious source of supply. To remedy this defect, the Sovereign of Yemen, towards the close of the fifteenth century, constructed an aqueduct to convey the water of Bir Ahmed into Aden The remains of this work are still visible, though it has long been ruined and disused, but a fair supply is acquired for the use of the inhabitants by condensing apparatus in addition to the wells

Aden was anciently one of the most celebrated cities of Arabia, and owed its riches and importance to being the general *entrepôt* of the great carrying trade which existed between India, Persia, Arabia, and Africa, and the various nations of Europe, Egypt and Phœnicia The author of the "Periplus of the Erythræan Sea," informs us that shortly before his time, Arabia Felix, as he calls Aden, had been destroyed by the Romans, and Dean Vincent is of opinion that the Cæsar in whose reign this event took place was Claudius. In the time of Constantine, Aden had recovered its former splendour, and as a conquest of the Roman Empire received the name of Romanum Emporium The Venetian officer who chronicles the expedition of Suleiman Pasha to Aden in 1530, and who compulsorily served in that Admiral's fleet, says of the town —

"It is very strong, and stands by the sea-side, surrounded by exceedingly high mountains, on the tops of which are little castles or forts It is encompassed also with ravelins on every side, excepting a little opening, about three hundred paces wide, for a road into the country and to the shore, with gates, towers, and good walls Besides this there lies a shoal (*a*) before the city, on which is built a fort, and at the foot of it a tower (*b*) for the defence of the port, which lies to the south, and has two fathoms of water; to the north there is another harbour, with good anchorage, covered from all winds. There is plenty of good water here; the soil is dry, producing no kind of things; they have none but rain-water, which is preserved in cisterns and pits one hundred fathoms deep."

Aden continued to monopolise the Indian trade till the sixteenth century,

(*a*) The Island of Seerah.
(*b*) Seerah mole.

with the rulers of that place, and the causes which brought about its occupation by us.

We have mentioned, in the course of this Narrative, that a naval force was despatched from England in 1799, by the British Government, to cruise in the Red Sea, and also an expedition from Bombay, under Colonel Murray, to occupy the island of Perim, which, however, was evacuated after a brief occupation of only a few months; on our reoccupation of the island, the tank, which served as a reservoir of water, and other remains of works, were found in tolerable preservation. From Perim the small body of three hundred troops proceeded to Aden,

when the naval enterprise of the Portuguese opened a new route to India, by the Cape of Good Hope Mr Salt describes the city, in 1809, as being still of "considerable importance as a place of trade," but its ruin appears to have been complete in 1835, when it was visited by Commander Haines, who speaks of it as "a wretched village, built on the ruins of the ancient city, containing about ninety stone houses, in a dilapidated state, and several mosques, only one of which was in repair, the remainder of the houses were of mats and reeds, its trade was annihilated, its reservoirs in ruins, its wells brackish, and the streets and harbour almost deserted It had a population of from five to six hundred souls, of whom one hundred and eighty were Jews, thirty or forty Banians, and the remainder Arabs or Soomalies"

The Sultan usually resided at Lahej, leaving the peninsula in joint charge of a Governor and a Collector of Customs, with a force of about fifty Bedouins The revenues did not exceed 12,000 dollars annually How great is the contrast between this gloomy picture and its present state under British rule, is testified by the following extract from the Address of the Native mercantile community, presented to the Prince of Wales on the occasion of his landing on the 1st of November, 1875 —

"When Aden was captured in 1839, being the first of the territorial conquests that have been made during the glorious reign of Queen Victoria, it was only a small fishing village, but under the fostering care of British rule it has expanded, as Your Royal Highness will this day see, and it has become a large and prosperous town containing a population of nearly thirty thousand souls, composed of many creeds and races, and with an import and export trade showing transactions valued at upwards of two millions sterling"

The first British ship to visit Aden was the Hon Company's ship 'Ascension,' under the command of Captain A Sharpey, on the 8th of April, 1609 Captain Sharpey was kept as a prisoner six weeks by the Governor, who also seized goods to the extent of 2,500 dollars On the 10th of November in the following year, Sir Henry Middleton arrived at Aden with three ships, whence he proceeded with two of them to Mocha, where he was treacherously thrown into prison, eight of his men were killed, and an attempt was made by one hundred and fifty Turkish soldiers to capture the Hon Company's ship 'Darling,' which, however, was frustrated, and after some desperate fighting the entire body of Turks was slain, with the exception of one man, who was made prisoner Sir Henry and his companions were taken before the Pasha at Sanaa, and ultimately, in March, 1611, escaped on board ship, when he compelled the Governor to pay an indemnity of 18,000 dollars. Captain Doveton, who remained at Aden in the 'Peppercorn,' suffered similar treatment, and for some time twenty of his men were detained prisoners there In 1614 a Dutch fleet under Van den Broeck visited Aden, but both the Company's commanders, Captain Saris and Captain Shilling, who fell later in the Persian Gulf when fighting against the Portuguese, avoided Aden during their visits to Mocha in 1612 and 1618 On the 6th of February, 1708, two French ships visited Aden, the first of their nation, under M de Merveille, who proceeded to Mocha, where he states he found a Dutch factory. In 1762, the Red Sea was visited by the famous scientific expedition organised by King Frederick V. of Denmark, under charge of the learned M. Neibuhr.

where they were hospitably entertained by Sheikh Ahmed,* until the change of the monsoon enabled Colonel Murray, in March, 1800, to return to Bombay. In 1802 a treaty of commerce was concluded between Ahmed and Captain Sir Home Popham, after the unsuccessful attempt of the latter to enter into a similar engagement with the Imaum of Sanaa. Whilst the whole peninsula of Arabia was convulsed by the Wahabee war, the little State of Aden, by the wisdom of its ruler and the bravery of its inhabitants, offered a sturdy resistance to the progress of this sect of religious reformers. A remarkable instance of the friendly feeling of this chief towards the British occurred in 1804 A large Surat vessel was lying at anchor in the harbour, when the Joasmi fleet entered. The Sultan sent his soldiers on board to defend her from the Wahabee pirates, and compelled them to put to sea without having received any supplies, although they offered him half the plunder they had already received to be permitted to remain.

Sultan Ahmed, the Abdali chief, expired in 1827, after a reign of nearly thirty-six years, and was succeeded by his nephew, commonly called Mahsin bin Foudthel, whose name in full, as given by Commander Haines, was Al Hasan ibn Fudhl' Abdul-Karim, Ahmed was one of the bravest and most politic of the chiefs of Yemen; he encouraged commerce, invited merchants from India and Egypt to settle in his territories, had a well-organized body of troops at his disposal, and Aden, under his government, bade fair to regain a portion of its lost importance.† His successor was a man of quite a different stamp, being treacherous and unscrupulous in the acquisition of wealth, and described by Commander Haines as "indolent and almost imbecile." He resided at Lahej, a town having a population of about 5,000 souls, situated some eighteen miles north-west of Aden.

In 1829 some coal was sent to Aden, and landed on Seerah

* This chief succeeded to power in 1792, on the death of his brother He was visited in 1809 by Salt, the traveller, and by Commander Haines in 1820 He is described as a very handsome old man of a benign and intelligent expression of countenance, and much beloved by his people Mr Salt says (p 117) that by his judicious conduct he had raised his office to a respectable position in Yemen, and by his constant solicitude for his people, became fully entitled to the appellation of "father of his country," which was commonly bestowed upon him Ahmed belonged to the Abdali tribe, the chief of which, in 1728, threw off his allegiance to the Imaum of Sanaa, and declared himself independent He concerted measures with his neighbour, the Chief of the Yafahi tribe, to obtain possession of Aden, and it was stipulated that they should enjoy the revenues alternately In 1735 the confederate chiefs succeeded in their object, but before six months the Sultan of Lahej, as the Abdali chief called himself, after the neighbouring town, expelled his colleague From this period the commercial prosperity of Aden suffered a rapid decadence, it was blockaded in 1753, and carried by storm in 1771 by the chief of the Azaiba tribe, who only retained it for two days (See Captain Playfair's "History of Arabia Felix")

† "Wellsted," vol. i, p. 110.

Island. for the use of the 'Hugh Lindsay,' but, on the occasion of her first visit to Aden, it was found difficult to obtain labour, and six days were occupied in taking on board 180 tons of coal. For this and other reasons, Maculla was selected as a coaling station for the steamers engaged in the overland communication. Commander Haines, then engaged in the survey of the south-east coast of Arabia, arrived at Aden in 1835; and two of his officers visited the Sultan at Lahej, who treated them well, and requested the assistance of the British in an expedition he contemplated against the Foudtheli tribe, whose chief port is Shugra, in retaliation for a recent attack made by them upon Aden; but of course the request was refused. In the following year the Foudthelis again attacked Aden, which they sacked, and carried off property to the value of 30,000 dollars; they also exacted a tribute for the future of one dollar per diem.

On the 4th of January, 1837, the Madras ship 'Deria Dowlut,' belonging to a niece of the Nawab of the Carnatic, and sailing under British colours, went on shore in the bay of Koobet Sailan, a few miles distant from Aden. She had a valuable cargo on board, and a considerable number of pilgrims bound for Jiddah; and, at daylight, was boarded by crowds of Arabs from Aden, who plundered her of everything that could be removed. The passengers, amongst whom were several ladies of rank, landed on rafts, in doing which fourteen perished. The survivors were seized by the Arabs, stripped naked, and the females subjected to the most brutal indignities, and only saved from being carried off into the interior by the intercession of an influential family in Aden, who supplied them with food and clothing. The Government of Bombay felt bound, not merely to demand redress for this outrage, but to take such further precautions as should preclude the recurrence of similar atrocities. For this purpose Commander Haines, who was still engaged surveying on the south coast of Arabia, was recalled and despatched to Aden in the Hon. Company's sloop-of-war 'Coote,' with instructions, in the event of his negotiations proving successful, to endeavour to obtain the place by purchase, in order that British commerce in the Red Sea might be placed on a safer footing for the future, and that a secure coal depôt for the vessels engaged in the overland transit might be established. Commander Haines arrived at Aden on the 28th of December, 1837, and landed on the 4th of January following, when he had his first interview with the Sultan; the latter denied, most solemnly, all knowledge of, or participation in, the atrocity with which he was charged, but, as the property captured in the 'Deria Dowlut' was being sold publicly in the market, his assertion was not believed. A formal demand was, accordingly, made for the sum of 12,000 dollars as an indemnity,

or the entire restitution of the plundered property. After much negotiation, goods to the value of 7,808 dollars were restored, and the Sultan passed a bill, at twelve months' sight, to Commander Haines, for the remainder, 4,192 dollars. Having thus settled the primary object of his mission, Commander Haines succeeded in obtaining from the Sultan, who dreaded an attack from Ibrahim Pasha, a written bond, dated the 23rd of January, that he would cede the peninsula to the British in the following March, in consideration of an annual pension of 8,700 dollars;* but, before this could be embodied in a treaty, a plot had been formed by the Sultan's son for the seizure of the papers and person of the Political Agent after the final interview. Intelligence of this meditated treachery having reached Commander Haines, the interview was evaded, and he proceeded to Bombay.

On his arrival, Commander Haines' proposals were laid before the Government, who approved all the steps he had taken, and, in October, 1838, on the termination of the monsoon, he was despatched in the 'Coote,' Commander Denton, with a small detachment of the Bombay European Regiment, to take possession of Aden according to the terms agreed upon with the chief. After touching at Maculla, Commander Haines arrived before Aden on the 24th of October, and forthwith addressed the Sultan, demanding the fulfilment of his contract; but his requisition was met with language and conduct the most violent and insulting. "I am," so wrote the Sultan's son, "above my father and you. If you come to the gate I will permit you to enter, and then be upon your head; such is the law of the Bedouins." The Sultan refused to allow the plundered property, which had formerly been restored, to be removed from Aden; he also issued orders that the 'Coote' should not be supplied with water and provisions. At length, on the 20th of November, his people committed an act of open aggression. The 'Coote's' pinnace was sent to reconnoitre a party of Bedouins on camels, when they fired upon the seamen, and some bullets struck the boat. On the pinnace's return it was again despatched to the shore, with the launch and gig, under Commander Denton, upon which the forts opened fire, when the boats returned to the ship without loss. The same evening a party, commanded by Acting-Lieutenant B. Hamilton and Lieutenant Western of the Engineers, took possession of a small island which commanded the pass, and mounted a nine-pounder. On the following morning this fort was reinforced by all the boats' crews under Commander Denton, and fire was opened on the pass, by which a large body of men were drive back. On the following day the gun and party were remove

* Bombay Book of Treaties, p 282.

From this period up to the 17th of December, a rigorous blockade was enforced, the duty being most harassing to the officers and men, who were employed night and day in the boats, and constantly engaged skirmishing with the batteries and parties on shore, when the boats were frequently struck by shot. On the 17th of December the Sultan begged a truce of three days, which he treacherously employed in sending a boat to the African coast, whence the 'Coote' was supplied with provisions, to endeavour, by a bribe of 200 dollars, to induce the Soomalies to murder all the English who landed there. On the 18th of December the Hon. Company's schooner 'Mahi' and the barque 'Anne Crichton,' laden with coals, arrived at Aden, a significant intimation to the Sultan, had he chosen to accept it, that the British were determined to enforce the fulfilment of the agreement into which he had voluntarily entered. Hostilities were now resumed, and, on the 11th of January, 1839, a skirmish took place off Seerah Island, between the battery on the mole and the schooner 'Mahi' and a mortar-boat, when two seamen were wounded and about twenty or thirty of the Arabs placed *hors de combat*.

Commander Haines says in his official report to the Secretary to Government, dated the 15th of January :—"I have the honour to inform you, for the information of Government, that during the many skirmishes which have taken place between the boats of the Hon Company's sloop-of-war 'Coote' and the shore, the crew of that vessel, assisted by Lieutenant Evans of the Bombay European Regiment, Lieutenant Western of the Bombay Engineers, and the detachment of the former officer's regiment, have behaved with great gallantry, in every instance, and it is wonderful that only two men of the 'Coote' were wounded. In the last skirmish of the 11th of January, under the command of Lieutenant Johnstone, they were assisted by the 'Mahi' schooner and the mortar-boat. The action lasted for three or four hours, doing the enemy considerable damage by destroying about twelve feet of their battery without injury to themselves."

Meanwhile the Bombay Government had despatched a small Expedition to take possession of Aden, and, on the 16th of January, it arrived in Aden Back Bay. The ships of war were H.M.S. 'Volage,' twenty-eight guns, Captain Smith, senior naval officer, and H M.'s brig 'Cruiser,' ten guns, Commander King; and the troops, which were embarked in transports, consisted of four hundred men of the European Regiment, the whole of the 24th Bombay Native Infantry, with the 4th company 1st battalion Artillery, and the 6th company (Golundauze) Artillery, the whole under Major Bailie, of the 24th Native Infantry.

Commander Haines having summoned the Sultan to surrender, and received an unsatisfactory reply, immediately requested the

military and naval chiefs * to take the necessary steps to occupy the place according to the terms of the agreement, and placed his services as pilot at the disposal of Captain Smith, the familiarity he had acquired whilst surveying the port, enabling him to place the ships in their respective positions to the best advantage.

The 17th of January was occupied by Captain Smith and Major Baillie in preparing their plans for the attack, and in making the necessary preparations. It was decided that the attack should be made on the Eastern side, called Aden Road, or Front Bay anchorage, and that the ships of war were first to bombard the island of Seerah and town, and that then the troops were to be landed in the boats of the squadron for the assault.

On the 17th, a reconnaissance was effected, and an attempt was made that night to land some guns and artillerymen on a small island on the north side, in order to act as a diversion when the real attack was made, and to prevent ingress into the town. The attempt, however, failed, and, on the morning of the 18th, the Expedition† sailed round to the Front Bay, and anchored there the same afternoon. As Captain Smith was standing

* The following is a copy of Commander Haines' letter to Captain Smith —

"Hon Company's sloop-of-war 'Coote,'
"Aden Back Bay, January 16, 1839.

"Sir,

"All the negotiations with the chieftains of the Abdalla tribe having failed in bringing them to perform their written promise of transferring Aden to the British, and their having declared war by opening a fire on the Hon Company's sloop-of-war 'Coote,' and her boats, in fact, after all reasoning and every strenuous endeavour had been exerted on the part of the Bombay Government to bring the deceitful and dishonourable tribe to their senses by mild and conciliatory measures, have proved unavailing, I am under the necessity (as the last and only resource left to obtain satisfaction for the repeated insults offered to the British) to solicit force may be used to compel them to evacuate the ground ceded to the British, under the Sultan's seal, in January, 1838 I have, therefore, the honour to request that you will, with the squadron under your command in co-operation with the troops under the command of Major Baillie, adopt such measures for the immediate capture and occupation of Aden as may appear to you both best calculated to obtain it I take the liberty of pointing out that many of the poor inhabitants of Aden have been compelled by the chieftains to remain there, consisting principally of Jews, and Banians, I therefore earnestly solicit that, if possible, their lives be preserved I also beg, that if fortune should place the Sultan or his sons, any chieftains or Seids, in our possession, their lives be spared, and that any individual so captured be secured, to await further decision regarding them Having a perfect knowledge of the localities of the place, I shall feel most happy to afford you any information on the subject, and if, from a thorough knowledge of the Bay and anchorages, my services or advice be advantageous, I shall feel proud to accompany the commander of any vessel or squadron in taking up a close position for the destruction of their strongest battery.

"(Signed) S. B. HAINES, Political Agent.

"To Captain Smith, H M 's ship 'Volage,'
Senior Officer, Aden"

† The ships-of-war were —The 'Volage,' 'Cruiser,' 'Coote,' and 'Mahi.' The transports were the 'Lowjee Family,' 'Ernaad,' and 'Ann Crichton.'

in towards Seerah Island, piloted by Commander Haines, and followed by the 'Cruiser,' towing the mortar-boat, the enemy opened fire with musketry and several large guns, but the 'Coote' and transports not having come up, Captain Smith hauled off and anchored for the night. On the following morning, the whole of the ships having arrived, the signal was made to prepare to attack, and for the troops to be held in readiness for landing in two divisions. At 9.30, the 'Volage' anchored with a spring on her bower cable, at about three hundred yards' distance from the lower battery on the northern side of the Island of Seerah, and at the same time the 'Mahi' took up a position on the southern side. Both ships opened a heavy fire on this formidable work, and also on the Round Tower and batteries on the heights, to which the enemy replied with spirit from all their batteries; but, owing to the vessels being laid close to the shore, most of the shot passed over them. At 10 a.m., the 'Cruiser' anchored near the 'Volage,' and, soon after, the 'Coote' opened her guns on the southern side. Thus the fire was kept up, the Queen's ships on one side, and those of the Company on the other, the seamen working their guns in generous rivalry, and cheering as the rapid and effective fire brought down the solid masonry in heavy masses. "In a short time," says Captain Smith, "two of the guns in the lower battery were dismounted, and most of the people were driven from the remainder; they, however, took shelter behind the ruins of the battery, and kept up an incessant fire of musketry upon the ships, and although the lower battery was almost knocked to pieces, still we had great difficulty in dislodging the men. At this period, I directed the fire to be opened on the Round Tower and batteries on the heights, which were filled with men armed with matchlocks, and in the course of an hour, I had the satisfaction to see this Tower, though sixty feet high and strongly built, a mass of ruins."

The fire of the lower battery continuing, Captain Smith directed the 'Mahi' to drive the enemy from behind it by musketry. "This service," says Captain Smith, "was performed by her Commander, Lieutenant Daniell, in a most gallant manner; but, I regret to say, that Mr. Nisbett, midshipman, was severely wounded." Nothing could exceed the spirit and dash with which Lieutenant Daniell acted on this occasion, and he was gallantly seconded by his officers and men, who, though but a handful, acted like heroes. He first ordered the soldiers below, and then, with his two officers, Lieutenant Hamilton and Mr. Nisbett, by his side, and two or three men to work the schooner, the rest being at the guns, steered his small craft right up to the work. On approaching, he fired a couple of broadsides, and then "boarded" the battery before the Arabs could divine his purpose. The enemy were

overpowered, and turned and fled after firing a few desultory shots, one of which severely wounded Mr. Midshipman Nisbett. Acting-Lieutenant Hamilton, not content with this feat, rushed through the battery with some seamen, scrambled up the heights at a point where the Arabs never expected an attack, and sprang single-handed among a group of thirty men, who, supposing that he was backed up by a large storming party, called out for quarter. Mr. Hamilton forced them to descend before him, and soon met the troops who had been landed.

On the fire being sufficiently reduced, Captain Smith, at 11.30, made the signal for the boats to push off and land both divisions of troops, which was effected under a musketry fire, "which," says Major Baillie, "wounded two men of the European regiment in the right division, and killed one private, and wounded one private and a bugler of the 24th Native Infantry in the left division, with which I landed"

Captain Smith says in his dispatch:—

"Lieutenant Dobree, who had charge of the first division, Mr. Rundle, mate, and a quarter-master of the ship, were the first on shore, and made for a 68-pounder, which had been fired at us several times, when a matchlock was fired at the quarter-master by a man behind the gun, who was immediately cut down by him, and the first British flag was planted by Mr. Rundle. So completely were the enemy driven from all points (with the exception of the island) by the fire of the ships, that the whole of the troops landed with the loss of only two men killed, and three wounded. A partial firing was still kept up from the island, when I directed Lieutenant Dobree, who had returned with the two mates, Messrs. Stewart and Rundle, with a party of seamen, and Lieutenant Ayles with the Marines, amounting altogether to fifty, to land and take possession of it; this was gallantly accomplished, the party ascending the heights, spiking and dismounting the guns, taking the flag which had been flying from the Tower, and making prisoners of one hundred and thirty-nine armed Arabs, who were conducted from the island to the main by the party, and given over into the charge of Major Osborne. In an attempt to disarm the prisoners made by the military, they made a most formidable resistance, and I regret to say, that several lives were lost on both sides."

Major Baillie advanced with his troops into the town, seized the Sultan's palace and the mosque, and, pushing on, at one p.m. occupied what is now known as the "Main Pass." The victory was completed with trifling loss, when an ill-advised attempt to disarm the one hundred and thirty-nine Arab prisoners, who had been captured at Seerah Island, aroused the tiger-like ferocity which lies dormant in the breast of these sons of Ishmael. Suddenly drawing their creeses, they made a furious attack upon

the guard, killed two Europeans, wounded some others, of whom one died, and broke away in a body.*

* The following is Major Baillie's report of his operations on shore, under date the 31st of January —"Both divisions formed up in the most steady manner, and advanced through the town, the enemy retiring before them The Bombay European Regiment seized on the Sultan's Palace, and planted the British flag on the top of it On debouching from the town a flag of truce was hoisted at Hydroos, the principal Mahomedan Mosque, where all the inhabitants, both male and female, had sought protection The halt was immediately sounded, and I advanced with a white flag, met the Mahomedan priest, and explained to him through my Arab interpreter, that none of the inhabitants should be touched; to keep all unarmed people and females with him at the Mosque, and to collect any arms there might be, and deliver them to Lieutenant Evans, European Regiment, whom I posted with a picquet of thirty Europeans, a little to the right, and within 300 yards of Hydroos, with instructions not to approach the Mosque At the western end of the town, within 200 yards of the above mentioned piquet, Captain Morris, having occupied a large stone building with the head-quarters of the 24th Regiment, N I, hoisted the British flag, having previously seized on the southern gate and occupied a mosque situated half way between the south gate and his own position Captain Willoughby, with twenty-two Europeans of the Bombay Artillery, having just landed from the mortar boat, took post between the European and 24th Regiments, thus forming a semicircle, Lieutenant Evans's picquet in advance At one p m, I proceeded with the flank companies of the European Regiment, under the command of Captain Cumming, to seize the gateway at the northern pass The enemy still keeping up a desultory fire from the heights on our right as the columns advanced, but without effect On approaching within 200 yards of the defile, skirmishers were thrown out under Lieutenant Rose, supported by Captain Stiles, to dislodge a small body of Arabs, who kept up a fire on the advance from the heights to the right of the pass A small party was thrown forward to examine the gully, and meeting with no opposition, the whole pushed on and occupied the gate which was deserted It had two guns to defend the passage, a picquet consisting of an officer and fifty rank and file was left at this gate, and Captain Stiles was directed to scour the heights on our left, when returning The small column returned to the town, where I found one hundred and thirty-nine Arab prisoners sent by Lieutenant Dobree, R.N, from the fortified island I instantly desired the Arab interpreter to explain to the Sheikh or Chief, that they must give up their arms, when they would be escorted to the Northern Gate and permitted to proceed wherever they pleased, to this some demur was made, but at last acceded to, and their matchlocks were taken from them In the meantime, knowing what little dependence was to be placed on the faith of the Arabs, I directed Major Osborne and Captain Willoughby to get their men under arms quietly in case of accidents In taking their creeses from the Arabs, they became alarmed I suppose, for several of them jumped up, drew their creeses, stabbed the Serjeant-Major of the Artillery in five places, and inflicted a fearful wound on the Arab interpreter Some of the sentries immediately fired on them, when they broke away in a body, killing two men and wounding two, and a sergeant of artillery, since dead, the remaining sentries fired on them, and killed and mortally wounded twelve Arabs In their flight, the Arabs killed a bhistie of the European Regiment The Sultan has since written to the Political Agent that the alarm amongst the Arabs was occasioned by a negro slave of his own who drew his creese to conceal it Had it not been for this unfortunate occurrence, so deeply to be regretted, the loss of life would have been very trifling. On the 21st, as the inhabitants were returning to their houses, the 24th Regiment, N I, were moved back to the mosque The duty being very fatiguing to the troops, the picquet on the fortified island was relieved by the marines of the 'Coote' On the 25th, in consequence of information received from the Political Agent, that the Bedouins were gathering, and intended an attack, two hundred European and Native troops, with two guns, under the command of Captain Morris, were moved out and occupied the old Turkish wall on the isthmus, which commands the approach to Aden, but there has been no symptom of any attack; on the contrary, as far as I can learn everything seems to be as quiet as could

The total loss in effecting this most important conquest was only sixteen killed and wounded, and, considering the desperate courage subsequently displayed by these Arab tribes, in their numerous attempts to retake Aden, it is very creditable to the small British force that they were able to defeat over one thousand armed warriors amply supplied with matchlocks and guns. Of these latter, there were twenty-five in battery, of which five were dismounted by the fire of the squadron, and five dismounted and thrown into the sea by the sailors. There were also eight guns not in battery. By desire of the captors, three handsome brass cannon were set aside for presentation to Her Majesty, and are now in the Tower; they were probably brought here by Soleiman the Magnificent in 1530. The largest measures 18½ feet; the second, 17 feet, with an inscription—"Made by Mohammed ibn Hamzah;" the third, which is highly ornamented, and has an inscription, "Soleiman ibn Selim, 901" (A.D. 1523), measures 15 feet 7 inches.

Commander Haines says in his letter to the Secretary to Government:—"Captain Smith accepted my services in taking his ship in, and, I feel proud to say, that he was pleased with the position I gave her. I could not but admire the splendid fire from the shipping and mortar vessel; and the behaviour of the little 'Mahi' drew the admiration of every person. Nothing could have been more regular than the landing; the men were steady to a degree, and they stormed the place gallantly. But what is still more to be admired, and a greater proof of their discipline is, that, after landing, neither male, female, nor property was molested. The loss of the enemy has been very severe; one hundred and thirty-nine are now said to be missing, besides many wounded inland, and we have twenty-five men too severely wounded to return inland, among them one Chieftain, and Ali Salaam, a nephew of the Sultan. I have supplied the unfortunate sufferers with food, and everything to make them as comfortable as circumstances will admit of, and

be expected, and provisions of every kind are brought in daily from the interior. The extreme regularity with which the troops embarked, and their patience while cooped up in the boats for upwards of three hours, reflects the highest credit on both men and officers. I have to thank Major Osborne, and Captains Morris and St John, for their unremitting exertions during the landing and throughout the day, in fact, every officer has exerted himself to the utmost, and all I have now to fear is for their health. Captain Willoughby, with the assistance of Lieutenant Western and his pioneers, has completed a battery of field-pieces on a most commanding position in a very short time. I am extremely happy to state that the privacy of the inhabitants while at Hydroos was never invaded, nor has there been a single complaint against any soldier, whether European or Native. I have to express my high sense of the cordial co-operation and assistance afforded me on every occasion by Captain Smith, R.N., and the squadron under his command, their labours and exertions have been great and unremitting. Some matchlocks were received from the Mahomedan priest, and forty unarmed Bedouins were escorted to the Northern Gateway, and went into the interior on the 20th."

they receive kind medical attention from Dr. Malcolmson of the 24th Regiment. I have also given a few dollars for the support of their families."

The following paragraph, from the General Order of the Bombay Government on the capture of Aden, relates to the conduct of the Naval forces :—

"Bombay Castle, February 19, 1839.

"The Honourable the Governor in Council experiences the highest gratification in offering to Captain Smith, H M.'s ship 'Volage,' commanding the naval part of the Expedition; to Commander Haines, of the Indian Navy, the Political Agent, who volunteered his services in that frigate; and to the several Commanders and Officers of the vessels engaged on this duty, the cordial thanks of Government for their gallant, zealous, and effective services. The spirited conduct of Lieutenant Daniell, and the Honourable Company's schooner 'Mahi,' is deserving of special notice."

The following special notification was issued by the Governor in Council, relative to the gallantry displayed by Lieutenant Daniell, and the officers and men of the 'Mahi' :—

"Bombay Castle, August 29, 1839

"The Superintendent, Indian Navy, having brought to the notice of the Honourable the Governor in Council, the promotion of several officers of Her Majesty's Naval Service, consequent on the capture of Aden, on which occasion the conspicuous gallantry of Lieutenant Daniell, Indian Navy, commanding the Honourable Company's schooner, 'Mahi,' was particularly reported by Captain Smith of H.M 's ship 'Volage,' commanding the naval portion of the Expedition, the Honourable the Governor in Council deems it but justice to that officer to mark such distinguished conduct by recommending to the Honourable Court to present him with a sword of the value of one hundred guineas, and he regrets that the gradational rise of the Indian Navy precludes him from conferring additional rank on this gallant officer."

The following Government Order, for rewards for distinguished services at the capture of Aden, was issued from Bombay Castle, on the 5th of September, 1840 :—

"The Honourable the Governor in Council has much satisfaction in publishing to the Indian Navy the following extract, paras. 1 and 2, of the Honourable Court's Letter, No. 47, dated the 1st of July last. Para. 1. 'We have had under consideration your despatch in this Department, dated the 7th of September, 1839, and the documents therein referred to, bringing to our especial notice the gallantry displayed by those officers of the Indian Navy who were engaged in the attack and capture of Aden. The conspicuous services rendered on

that occasion by Commander S. B. Haines, and by Lieutenant E. W. S. Daniell, so justly commended in your despatch, are well deserving of some distinguished mark of our approbation; and we have accordingly resolved to present Commander Haines with a sword of the value of 200 guineas, and Lieutenant Daniell with one of the value of 100 guineas, each with a suitable inscription. The sword intended for Commander Haines will shortly be sent out to you for presentation to that officer.'

"Para. 3.—'We have further resolved, that, as a token of our approval of the conduct of Mr. Midshipman Nisbett, and in consideration of the severe wound he received during the attack of Aden, he be presented with a donation of 500 Company's rupees, which you will forthwith cause to be paid to him.'"

For many years after the capture of Aden, much hard fighting for its defence was necessitated by the repeated attempts of the Arabs to retake the stronghold; and on all these occasions the Red Sea squadron of the Indian Navy, of which Aden was the head-quarters, afforded valuable co-operation in repulsing the enemy Commander Haines was appointed the first British Political Agent at Aden, having as his assistant, Lieutenant Jenkins, who was nominated to the post, as a reward for his good service in the 'Wellesley,' under Sir Frederick Maitland. Lieutenant Jenkins held this appointment from the 1st of January, 1840, to the 10th of September, when he proceeded to England on sick leave,* and was succeeded in the office of Assistant Political Agent, by Lieutenant C. J. Cruttenden, who, from his linguistic acquirements, and his familiarity with the political condition of the neighbouring nationalities, was well fitted for the post.

Commander Haines' first object, says Captain Playfair, in his "History of Arabia Felix," was to throw up temporary defences, sufficiently strong to resist a sudden attack, and to keep the Arab tribes quiet till this had been effected. In both he was successful, and a line of field works was speedily constructed across the isthmus, on the site of the old, so-called, Turkish fortification. Before the expiration of the month of January, 1839, a treaty of peace and friendship was concluded with the Azaiba tribe, a branch of the Abdali; and, in February, the Sultan himself, and the chiefs of the various surrounding tribes, namely, the Akrabi, Subaihi, Yaffahi, Foudtheli, Sherjehi, &c., executed similar engagements. On the 9th of March, a European soldier, having imprudently strayed beyond the fortifications, was murdered by an Arab, who managed to effect his

* Lieutenant Jenkins returned to England, *vid* Egypt, and while there, at the request of the British Consul-General, accompanied him and some of the Foreign Consuls to present the *ultimatum* to Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, and he then proceeded to England with the despatches of the Consul-General to Lord Palmerston.

escape. On the following day, the Abdali Sultan visited Aden, to express his regret at what had occurred, and to solicit the friendship of the British. On the 18th of June, he executed a bond * pledging himself to maintain a friendly line of policy, and received the first payment of a stipend of 541 dollars per mensem (equivalent to the originally stipulated purchase-money of the place), besides various small sums paid to subordinate chiefs, formerly chargeable on the revenues of Aden, which Government was pleased to confer upon him as long as he should remain faithful to its interests. From this time confidence was restored, and the natives of the surrounding districts began to flock rapidly into Aden, so that in the month of September, 1839, the population had increased to 2,885, exclusive of the military. The Abdali chief, like a treacherous Bedouin, soon forgot his obligations, and, in conjunction with the Sultan of the Foudtheli tribe, attempted to retake Aden on the 11th of November, but was defeated with heavy loss.

The following account of this affair, appeared in the "Bombay Courier Extraordinary," of the 23rd of December, 1839:—

"It appears that information had been received, some time previously, by Commander Haines, the Political Resident at Aden, of an intended attack, who made every arrangement accordingly, in conjunction with the military authority of the place, notwithstanding the matter was looked upon by many as an idle threat on the part of the Arabs. The neck of land, or rather sand, which connects the peninsula of Aden with the main land, is intersected by a wall about one thousand four hundred yards in length, both extremities of which touch the sea at high water; at either end of this wall, there is a semi-circular projecting field-work, mounting two guns, while three other guns are placed along the wall in as many redoubts, at regular intervals of 300 yards. Early in the morning of the 11th of November, a report was made that some eight or ten men were seen prowling about near the advanced sentries, but who, on being challenged, dispersed. Soon after, more men were seen creeping round the left field-work, it being nearly low-water. At about four a.m., the sentry fired, and the Arabs, finding themselves discovered, raised a tremendous shout, and rushed on in three columns, of about two thousand men each, one column on each field-work, and one on the centre, but were quickly checked by a well-directed fire of grape and musketry from the works, while Lieutenant Hamilton, I N., in the launch of the Hon. Company's brig of war 'Euphrates,' poured repeated volleys of grape from the boat's 12-pounder, across their columns, with admirable judgment and precision. The centre column alone reached the wall, within which about two hundred and fifty of them found their way, when the remainder were

* Bombay Book of Treaties, p. 284.

obliged to retreat; those who got in were joined by about one hundred and fifty others, who had crawled along and succeeded in passing unobserved round the left field-work. Finding their retreat cut off, after losing some men in attempting it, they made a rush at the heights commanding the wall; but on receiving two shots, and losing one of their number, they retreated, and tried another part of the hills, where Mr. Nott, a midshipman of the Indian Navy, was placed with a party of seamen and a gun; on receiving the first shot from which, they fled in great confusion, and made a desperate rush to pass outside the left field-work, where Mr Cameron of the European regiment was placed; here the slaughter was dreadful, about thirty of their number being mowed down upon the spot; some made good their retreat, and a few fled away into the hills, where they were either taken, or shot next day In the meantime, the firing from the artillery was kept up from the front, and by Lieutenant Hamilton from the flank, till only about five rounds of grape shot remained at the wall, when an order was given to cease firing; the enemy being at a considerable distance. On this the Arabs, taking it for granted that all the ammunition of the defenders was expended, rushed with a loud yell in five columns again to the wall, within a short distance of which they were once more fatally checked by the destructive fire of grape and musketry in front and flank. Daylight had just broken on the scene, and showed the Arabs in full retreat in a dense mass extending from side to side of the broad part of the isthmus, their numerous camels loaded with dead, those very camels, some of which carried small guns, and all of which were intended to be laden with the plunder of the English, of whose wealth they had formed most extravagant notions. The ex-Sultan had persuaded them that 'all the buttons worn by the English were of solid gold, and that precious stones and valuables of all kind awaited their expected victory.'"

Lieutenant (now retired Captain) B. Hamilton was the same officer who had distinguished himself by his conspicuous gallantry at the capture of Aden, when, single handed, he drove before him as prisoners, thirty armed Arabs.

The following was the Government Order on the repulse of this formidable attack on Aden:—

"Political Department, Bombay Castle, December 2, 1839.

"The following extract from Station Orders, by Lieutenant-Colonel Capon, commanding at Aden, is republished:—Extract from Station Orders, by Lieutenant-Colonel Capon, dated Aden, the 11th of November, 1839.

"The Commanding Officer congratulates the troops on the gallant manner in which they repulsed an attack along the whole front of the field-work by bodies of Arabs, five thousand,

or upwards, in total strength, half an hour before day-break this morning. The promptitude in manning the works, with the excellent practice with the guns, completely defeated an attempt, which for secrecy and suddenness in the onset, bears testimony to the hardihood and skill of the enemy. The defence of the upper works was also excellent, while the highly valuable services of the 'Euphrates' launch, under Lieutenant Hamilton, contributed mainly to the success with which it has pleased the Almighty to bless us; our loss being nothing, whilst that of the enemy could not have been short of one hundred.

"The Hon. the Governor in Council has much gratification in noticing the judicious arrangements of Commander Haines, the Political Agent, and Lieutenant-Colonel Capon, and the courage and firmness which were displayed by the whole of the force at Aden, both European and Native, on the occasion of the attack made on that place by a formidable body of Arabs on the morning of the 11th inst., when the assailants were successfully repelled, happily without any casualty occurring on the side of the British. The officers and men of the Military and Naval Services have merited the approbation and thanks of Government for their distinguished conduct on this occasion, which has been brought to the favourable notice of the Hon. the Court of Directors."

The annual subsidy paid to the Abdali chief was now stopped, and the town of Shugra, together with the whole of the Foudtheli coast, was blockaded by the cruisers of the Indian Navy. On the 21st of May, 1840, a second attack was made upon Aden by the united Arab tribes in the pay of the Sultan of Lahej. On that day a party of about two hundred and fifty men made a daring and successful attempt to enter the works, by creeping unobserved round the left flank, but they were driven out after having inflicted and received some slight loss.*

* An anonymous writer—and, in those days, the Indian Press gave too ready insertion to articles attacking private character by such cowardly methods—wrote to the 'Bombay Courier,' making the following accusation against Commander Haines, the Political Agent —

"Captain Haines gave out that he saw the whole affair, and commanded one of the gunboats, which fired on the enemy as they retreated. He was snugly on board the 'Charger,' three miles off, and was seen to come up to the scene of action in his gig, just as it was all over. At first we were beginning to give him credit for his gallantry, till the captain of the 'Circassian,' a coal ship, undeceived us, as he saw Captain Haines getting into his gig from the 'Charger,' as he passed up in his own boat." This attack drew forth the following vindication of the gallant officer by Captain McQueen, of the 'Mary Mitcheson,' merchantman; "I read with much surprise in your paper of the 13th instant purporting to be an extract of a letter written from Aden, that Captain Haines did not reach the field of action till all was over. Fair play and justice I do like to see upheld, and I beg distinctly to state that this officer left the 'Charger,' on board of which vessel he was living, at least twenty minutes before either Captain Sproule of the 'Circassian' or myself quitted our ships, and that when the gunboats were stationed, Captain Haines was there directing the force, from which by far the most execu-

In both these attacks timely information of the designs of the enemy had been given to the authorities by the British Agent at Lahej, and it was mainly through his instrumentality that they were so easily frustrated. This circumstance coming to the knowledge of the Sultan, the Agent, Hassan Khateeb, was murdered, and his dwelling and those of his family were plundered; also as a Jew had been the bearer of his letters, an order was issued directing the sack of every Jewish house in Lahej, and all landed property belonging to the residents in Aden was confiscated. The losses sustained by the merchants amounted to 15,000 dollars, exclusive of the plunder of sixteen houses belonging to the Khateeb family. In neither of these two attacks had the Akrabi joined, but, on the contrary, they had evinced the most perfect good faith towards the British; irritated at this, the united forces of the Abdali and Foudtheli besieged their castle of Bir Ahmed, but were unable to reduce it. The duties of the garrison and of the crews of the Indian Navy vessels in port, owing to the expectation of an attack from a large body of Arabs collected in the vicinity of Aden, were of a very arduous and harassing nature, owing to the constant night alarms, and severe sickness broke out. The vessels in port sent up their boats nightly, manned and armed, and the crew of the Hon. Company's ship 'Zenobia,' also proceeded every night to the Turkish wall, to take charge of a large gunboat, stationed close in shore so as to cut off all communication with the town.

The Bombay Government found themselves under the necessity of increasing the garrison, and, on the 19th of July, the Hon. Company's steam frigate 'Sesostris' sailed from Bombay with three hundred men of H.M.'s 6th Regiment. This reinforcement arrived not a day too soon, for upwards of two hundred Sepoys had left Aden suffering from wounds or the last extremity of sickness, and nearly three-fourths of the remainder were affected with scurvy occasioned by want of fruit and vegetables; the small European force, consisting of three hundred and fifty of the European Regiment and one hundred artillerymen, was, in comparison, tolerably healthy. But before the arrival of the reinforcements from Bombay, the combined Arab tribes made a third, and desperate, attempt to retake Aden. The day selected for this final effort, was the 5th of July, and the hour 2.45 a.m. The enemy mustered about five thousand men, and advanced towards the isthmus defences with great impetuosity; but the sudden and unexpected fire from a block boat, moored within twenty yards of the shore, and several ships' boats within twelve yards, officered and manned by the Indian

tion and effect were produced upon the Arabs, as both upon their advance and retreat the guns were ably brought to play and with much effect upon the whole attacking section."

Navy, completely staggered them, while the fire from the line of works completed their discomfiture, and they retreated with a loss of two hundred men. The principal tribes concerned in this attack were the Abdali and Foudtheli, and immediately after their repulse they retired to Bir Ahmed, not many miles distant from the Barrier Gate, and in a position whence they could effectually intercept all communication between Aden and the interior. Here they built a fort, which they named Nowbat Sheikh Mehdi, and commenced a series of raids, which caused the utmost annoyance to merchants and others bringing supplies into Aden.

The state of affairs in Europe at this period, owing to the aggressive policy of France, rendered it advisable that certain points on the African coast should be obtained, with a view to their occupation, should occasion require it. To this end Captain Moresby and Lieutenant Barker, of the Indian Navy, were despatched to open friendly relations with the chiefs of Zeyla and Tajura, and to obtain certain islands by purchase. A commercial treaty, bearing date August 19, 1840, was concluded between Sultan Mahommed bin Mahommed and Captain Moresby, on behalf of the British Government, whereby the Mussah islands,* situated in the Bay of Tajura, were ceded to the British Crown; and they were formally taken possession of in the name of Her Majesty, on the 31st of the same month.

On the 29th of July the Foudtheli Sultan, Ahmed bin Abdulla, accompanied by three of his brothers and some armed men, arrived at the Barrier Gate, and the interpreter, Ahmed bin Aidan, having gone out to confer with them, was murdered by the Foudtheli chief, who, with his followers, succeeded in effecting his escape. On the 3rd of September Sultan Mahsin, of Lahej, seized a kafila of camels entering Aden with supplies, and, having sold them, appropriated the proceeds to his own use. In the same month a party of marauders crept close to the line of works, under cover of night, and fired at the sentries, fortunately without doing any execution, while the return fire

* These islands are a barren coral group about thirty feet above the level of the sea, consisting of three large and five small rocky islets. They afford no water, but an abundant supply is obtainable on the mainland, about eight miles to the west of them, where there is a running stream and a good anchorage, whence the islands could be supplied with water, by means of boats, at all seasons of the year. In the same month two other islands were purchased and taken possession of by the British, one called the Bab, in the straits connecting the Khoobet Kharab with the Bay of Tajura, and the other named Eibat near the town of Zeyla. The Governments of Zeyla and Tajura were in the hands of their hereditary chiefs, who owned no allegiance to any foreign power, and consequently were perfectly competent to cede any part of their territories. While these events occurred the whole province of Yemen, to which this portion of the coast of Africa had formerly been a dependency, was in a state of anarchy; it had been evacuated by the Egyptians, and the Imaum of Sanaa had lost the Tehama, or sea-coast, which was usurped by the Beni Aseer and the Shereefs of Aboo-Areesh.

killed and wounded eleven men and three camels. But, on another occasion the Arabs succeeded in venting their hate of the Giaours they could not expel, and a European soldier, who ventured unarmed outside the Turkish wall, was attacked and killed by a prowling Bedouin who mutilated the body. A price was set on the head of Commander Haines, who learned from his spies that the Arab chiefs had sworn on the Koran to recapture Aden or die in the attempt.

At this time the 'Clive,' Commander J. P. Sanders, was on the Red Sea station, her officers being Lieutenants R. Mackenzie, B. Hamilton, and G. W. Wollaston. The crew were in a state of the highest efficiency and discipline, their proficiency in great gun and small-arm drill being quite remarkable. In July, 1841, Admiral Sir William Parker, the newly appointed Naval Commander-in-chief, was passing through Aden for Bombay, on his way to assume command of the Naval forces in China, and Commander Sanders asked so competent an officer—one regarded by the mighty Nelson himself as one of his best frigate captains—to inspect his ship, an invitation which the gallant admiral willingly accepted. The crew of the 'Clive' were, accordingly, exercised in his presence at all the drills, including firing by broadsides and single guns, and the vessel and her arrangements were minutely inspected. "Before leaving the vessel," writes an officer of the 'Clive' to us, "Sir William Parker expressed his high admiration of the state of efficiency in which he found the officers and crew, and said to the officer who conducted him back to the steamer conveying him to Bombay, 'I greatly wish I had a few such vessels with me in China.' On his arrival in Bombay he wrote a highly complimentary letter expressive of his approval of all he had witnessed, and requested that it should be read to the officers and men. Sir Robert Oliver was very wary in conveying any acknowledgment of efficiency, but, on this occasion, he gave expression to his gratification that Sir William Parker had such a favourable impression of the efficiency of the Indian Navy." It is only due to Lieutenant Mackenzie, first of the 'Clive,' to state that the smartness of the crew at gun and small-arm drill, was, in a great measure, due to his efforts. During the year 1841, one of the officers of the 'Clive,' Lieutenant W. G. Wollaston,* was employed on shore at Aden, superintending the erection of batteries on Ras Morbat.

On the 22nd of September, 1841, the Hon. Company's steam frigate 'Auckland' sailed for Aden with troops, and, immediately on their landing, orders were given to dislodge the

* Lieutenant Wollaston retired from the Service in March, 1846, and a few years later entered the Home Coast Guard Service as Inspecting Lieutenant, serving at Wittering, in Sussex, Blatchington, near Newhaven, and Bournemouth, where he died on the 8th of June, 1868, aged fifty-five.

enemy from the position which he held at the tower called after its owner, Sheikh Mehdi. Accordingly a force of four hundred Europeans, two hundred Natives, and a detachment of artillery, under the command of Colonel Pennycuick, was despatched inland for this service, which was successfully accomplished with small loss. Having destroyed the tower of Sheikh Mehdi, the force proceeded to the village of Sheikh Othman, the fort of which was likewise destroyed. and then returned to Aden, having accomplished a march of nearly forty miles in twenty-four hours. While these operations were being carried on against the allied tribes by land, Shugra and the Foudtheli coast were blockaded by the vessels of the Indian Navy,* Captain † Haines sending them a message that, as they cut off his supplies by land, he would cut off their dates by sea, and, if they could subsist on horses' provender, his horses could very well manage on the dates. These measures had the desired effect; the Foudtheli chief implored forgiveness for the past, and promised to observe a more friendly attitude towards

* An officer of the 'Clive' gives the following details, from which an idea can be formed of the nature of the blockading duties in which the Service was engaged during the chronic state of hostilities that existed for the first fifteen years after the conquest of Aden —"The first day of the blockade a number of boats endeavoured to steal inside the reef at Shugra with supplies, Lieutenant Mackenzie, first of the 'Clive,' made a dash at them with the launch and pinnace, armed with a 12-pounder howitzer and a 3-pounder brass gun The Arabs rushed down and drew their boats up on the beach, and then congregated among the low brushwood and sand hillocks along the shore A smart fire was kept up on both sides, but the Arab shot passed high overhead and did no harm Only one man in the boats was hit, although the boats were struck several times, and Lieutenant Mackenzie had a flesh wound in the shoulder The Sheikh appeared early in the action, having ridden down close to the beach on an Arab mare with a foal behind it. He disdained the shelter the rest took, and came down on the beach with a flourish of defiance, but soon disappeared wounded. After this they kept out of reach and we returned on board We subsequently found that they acknowledged a loss of fifteen killed, including the Chief, whom we saw carried on a camel while his mare was led In the evening the boats made a second attempt to steal in, when Lieutenant Mackenzie again attacked them, hoping to carry them by boarding, but they were prepared and drew up on the beach, when another fusilade was kept up till night put an end to our work November 20th —Again off Shugra It was determined to attack the boats drawn up on the shore with the view of destroying them without landing Accordingly the launch and pinnace, armed as before, under the command of Lieutenant Mackenzie, began the attack about four o'clock The Arabs had dug a series of rifle pits along the shore, and otherwise sheltered themselves, so that few men could be seen The action was continued by throwing shot and shell and destroying the boats, but the tide prevented a nearer approach, and musketry could only be used with effect when the enemy were flitting about Had the Arabs had any good marksmen we must have suffered severely, but as it was only two of us were hit, one ball striking a seaman in the forehead and knocking him over and another lodging in Lieutenant Mackenzie's jacket, while several lodged in the boat and even passed through her. Darkness coming on put an end to the work. They had perfidiously hoisted a flag of truce in the morning, and when a boat had gone within reach to parley, fired into her. If the subsequent reports of our spies were correct, they paid dearly for their treachery, as they stated that in the last attack the Sheikh's nephew and several men were killed"

† Commander Haines attained post rank on the augmentation of the Service, on the 11th of October, 1841.

the British for the future, and Sultan Mahsin, of Lahej, visited Aden, on which occasion he entered into a treaty of peace and friendship,* and arranged for the restitution of the property of the British Agent, who had been murdered by his orders. His monthly stipend, which had been stopped from the date of his first attack upon Aden, was restored to him in February, 1844, together with one year's back pay, in consideration of his having ceased to molest the British since 1841; but before doing so, it was thought necessary to guarantee his fidelity by a more stringent agreement than had previously existed.†

In the early part of 1845, Aden was threatened with an attack from the Arabs, who assembled from the interior in very considerable force, and boasted of their intention to storm the British stronghold. The garrison and squadron were accordingly reinforced, and, in March, 1845, we find that there were one thousand two hundred European, and one thousand three hundred Native troops, while the squadron in the harbour consisted of H M.S 'Serpent,' sixteen guns, Commander Nevill, and the Hon. Company's ships 'Elphinstone,' eighteen guns, Commander J. P Porter, senior naval officer, and 'Euphrates,' ten guns, Lieutenant A. H. Gordon. However, the Arabs quarrelled among themselves, and, after some fighting, dispersed; but, although all immediate danger had passed away, the Government, on the requisition of Captain Haines, strengthened the squadron by the addition of the steam frigate 'Auckland,' Commander Carless, which was temporarily stationed at Aden.

In August, 1846, a fanatic named Seyyid Ismail, who had preached a *jehad*, or religious war, in Mecca, made his way thence, by slow marches, to the vicinity of Aden, accompanied by a crowd of dervishes and religious zealots. On his arrival at El Ghail, distant about two days' journey from Lahej, his force amounted to some two thousand men. He there issued a proclamation to the Abdali, Foudtheli, and Akrabi tribes, calling on them to join his standard, and promising them divine assistance and complete invulnerability. He then proceeded within seven miles of Lahej, where he was met by the infirm old Sultan and several of his sons, and his army was plentifully supplied with food and fodder by the neighbouring tribes, and further augmented by one thousand Abdalis, five hundred Foudthelis, one hundred Akrabies, and two hundred Mughrabies. On the 17th of August about four hundred men of the Seyyid's army approached to reconnoitre the outposts of Aden, but were driven back with loss. On the 21st a division, eleven or twelve hundred strong, advanced to the vicinity of Khore Mukser, while the Seyyid fixed his head-quarters at Sheikh Othman; and, on the 26th, a body of two thousand men advanced close to Aden, but were repulsed by a well-directed fire from the line of works

* Bombay Book of Treaties. p. 285. † Bombay Book of Treaties, p. 287.

and the boats of the Company's ships-of-war in the harbour. Captain Holt, then a midshipman of the 'Mahi,' writes that he was employed "for ten or fifteen days in the boats of the 'Mahi,' with those of other ships of the squadron, in defending the Turkish wall from the Arab attacks. The ladies and children living at the Point, were sent on board the ships every night for protection."

Dissensions now broke out in the Seyyid's Army, which rapidly melted away, and its leader, deserted by his followers and by the Abdali* and Foudtheli Sultans, retired inland, and was subsequently slain by a Bedouin in a brawl on the 22nd of August, 1848 For a time the Foutheli Chief attempted to stop the traffic of Aden, but the usual corrective, a blockade of his coast by the cruisers of the Indian Navy, compelled him to abstain. On the 18th of August, 1847, Commander C. D. Campbell arrived at Aden in the 'Semiramis,' and assumed command of the 'Euphrates' as Senior Naval officer; and, in the following November, assisted by a party of his men, he performed the almost impossible task to any but a British seaman, of taking to the top of Jibel Shumshum, the precipitous peak towering above Aden, a 12-pounder gun, a labour he accomplished in nine days.

* "Sultan Mahsin bin Foudthel," says Captain Playfair, "died at Lahej, on the 30th of November, 1847, at an advanced age, and was succeeded by his son Ahmed The old Chief had ever proved himself inimical to the British He is described as low of stature, of a corpulent habit, and grave and saturnine disposition From the day that he assumed the Government, his time was wasted in useless disputes with the British or with the neighbouring Arab tribes, and so great was his avarice, that not content with the treasures which had been amassed by his predecessors, he continued to extort money from all who came within his power, until respectable merchants fled from his dominions to avoid his arbitrary exactions His successor, Ahmed, was a man of different stamp, he was sensible of the advantages which friendly relations with the British would confer upon his tribe, and used his utmost endeavours to cultivate them, but he was cut off at an early age ere any of the measures of reform, which were confidently expected to be carried out under his rule, had even been commenced He visited Aden on the 28th of February, 1848, on the occasion of his succession, and in token of his friendship for the British, he remained till the 8th of March, he died of small-pox on the 16th of January, 1849, and was succeeded by his brother Ali, the present Chief of the tribe Ali Mahsin resembles his father in cunning and treachery, but he is wanting in the warlike spirit which made the latter so formidable an enemy His policy, ever since he succeeded to the government of his country, has been to alienate the surrounding tribes from the British, and on their defection build for himself the reputation of being the steadfast friend and supporter of the English In this, he has, till very lately, been but too successful, his intrigues fostered into irreconcilable rancour the disputes which have frequently arisen between the Arab tribes and the authorities of Aden, and for many years frustrated all attempts at reconciliation It is only since the commencement of 1857 that the fatal effect of this policy became apparent, but it is satisfactory to add that, through the sagacity of the British representative, the surrounding tribes have, without a single exception, laid aside their animosity, and are now on the most friendly footing with the British Soon after the accession of Ali Mahsin, a new treaty was concluded between him and the East India Company; it bears date 7th of May, 1849, and was ratified by Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General of India, on the 30th of October in the same year." (Captain Playfair's Memorandum on Aden.)

In January, 1848, Commander Campbell, of the 'Euphrates,' having embarked Lieutenant Cruttenden, the Assistant Political Agent, proceeded to the Soomalie coast, and visited the various tribes, the results of the visit being recorded by Lieutenant Cruttenden in the Journals of the Bombay and Royal Geographical Societies. The 'Euphrates' then returned to Aden, and, on the 4th of April, Commander Campbell was despatched to Mocha to protect the British merchants from the exactions of the Dowlah; by his vigorous action, seconded by Lieutenant Leeds, commanding the 'Constance,' which was ordered up to support him, he exacted compensation and an apology for the outrage. For his conduct on this occasion he received a letter of thanks from the Secret Committee of the Board of Control, communicated through the Bombay Government.

Though since the departure of Sir Charles Malcolm, the Indian Navy had been reduced one-fourth in its strength of commissioned officers, the services required of it were increased in a still greater ratio. Since the acquisition of Aden a squadron was permanently established there for the protection of the settlement and of British interests in the Red Sea; a squadron was also employed at the mouth of the Indus, while the establishment of monthly steam communication with Suez, required the employment of officers in the packets In addition to these calls, the outbreak of war in China necessitated the despatch of the 'Atalanta' to those seas, and later, other steamers were sent to the eastward. The result of this demand for officers, was that the ships were sent to sea under-officered, and the few they had on board were overworked. Still it is gratifying to record that the duties required of them were performed with zeal and success, and the admirals of the Royal Service expressed their satisfaction with the ships and officers of the Indian Navy.

In the latter part of 1839 the 'Victoria,' steam-sloop, of 705 tons and 230 horse-power, and carrying five guns, was launched at Bombay, and, under the command of Commander H. A. Ormsby,* F.R.S., the famous traveller, who had been reinstated in the Service, made the quickest passage to Suez then recorded. On the 9th of January, 1840, a steam frigate, named after the Governor-General, the 'Auckland'—of 946 tons and 220 horse-power, and carrying six 8-inch guns—was floated out of Bombay dockyard; and, two years later, a second fine steam frigate was added to the Service from the hands of the Parsee builders of the dockyard, and was called the 'Semiramis,' the steamer of the same name brought out by Captain Brucks, having been converted into a coal-ship at Aden, and re-christened the 'Charger.' The steamers and sailing ships constructed at

* Like Captain D Ross and Lieutenant J. R. Wellsted, of the Service, Commander Ormsby had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, in recognition of his services as a surveyor and scientific geographer.

Bombay were the most serviceable of any in the possession of the Company, and such as were not lost by the accident of the sea, were in perfect condition at the time of the abolition of the Service, while the steamships built or purchased in England were generally signal failures. On the 19th of April, 1840, the 'Cleopatra,' steam sloop, Commander J. P. Sanders, built at Northfleet, arrived at Bombay; scarcely had she left the Channel on her passage out, which was made under sail, with her paddle-boxes and wheels stowed on board, than she lost her foremast and was forced to put into Lisbon. This evil fortune followed the ship until she found a premature grave in mid-ocean. On the 16th of June following, the 'Sesostris,* steam frigate, of 876 tons, and 220 horse-power, and carrying four 8-inch guns, arrived from England, under command of Commander Robert Moresby, the eminent surveyor, who was returning from his three years' leave, and under whose immediate supervision she had been built and fitted out in the East India Docks.

Early in 1841 the 'Sesostris' proceeded up the Persian Gulf, and her presence, owing to the terror inspired by the range of her great guns, had the happiest effect in checking the piratical instincts of the Arab chiefs. In company with the 'Coote,' Commodore Brucks, and the 'Tigris,' she made the tour of the ports of the Gulf, and, at Debaye, brought a noted piratical Sheikh to his "bearings" by a brief bombardment of his stronghold, which he had regarded as inaccessible.†

* These ships, as the first of the class of steam frigates, were the wonder and admiration of all the people at the places at which they touched on their voyage out and in India. An officer of the 'Sesostris' writes to us—"The 'Sesostris' was at this time thought a perfect marvel. Hundreds of people used to flock to the bunder and on board, to inspect so fine a steam vessel of war."

† An officer present in the Persian Gulf, thus describes the doings of the squadron—"Left Kharrack on the 15th of February, and proceeded to Bushire, to arrange some matters connected with boats belonging to Assaloo, which were cruising to intercept boats laden with supplies for Kharrack. The arrival of the 'Coote,' 'Sesostris,' and 'Tigris' at Bushire caused a great sensation. On the 17th sailed for Bahrein, where some communications took place between the Commodore and the Chief, here also the range of the 'Sesostris's' guns was exhibited. The next place we went to was Furaat. Here again the Commodore had further communication with the Chief, after which we proceeded to a place called Biddah, situated at the bottom of a harbour, the entrance is narrow, and in some parts barely sixteen feet water. On the arrival here of the 'Sesostris' and 'Coote' some negotiation about piracy was agreed to by the Chief and Commodore, but at daylight next morning the signal was made, 'prepare for action;' and shortly after sunrise, a shot from the 'Coote' went over the fort, and, immediately after, one close under the fort. She then opened her broadside; the distance was too great though the shot told—it was 1,700 yards. The 'Coote' also fired nine guns, when a flag of truce came off. All was now settled here, and the vessels put to sea. No vessels the size of the 'Coote' and 'Sesostris' ever entered this place before. We next went to an island called Seer Abonaid; here we stopped two days on account of a north-west wind. We then proceeded to Abothubee, where some communication took place, and the following day the vessels were off Debaye. This place is situated on a backwater, and the Chief, Muktoom, is said to be the greatest rascal on the coast. He appears to have been committing various acts of piracy, and breaking the maritime truce, and

The following article in the "Bombay Times," describes the strength and condition of the Indian Navy, early in 1841:—

"Beginning with the ordinary sailing vessels of the Company's navy, they in all amount to fifteen in number of an aggregate burthen of 3,419 tons, and an aggregate armament of one hundred and twenty-eight guns; consisting of one ship (which, however. is dismantled, and used as a hulk); three sloops-of-war, of about 400 tons burthen, and an armament of eighteen 32-pounders each; four brigs of 258, 255, 192, and 179 tons respectively, of ten and six light guns; six schooners of 70 to 157 tons, two of which are armed with long 32-pounder guns, the others with four 6-pounders each; and two light cutters. These, though not apparently a very formidable fleet, are smart light teak-built craft, chiefly employed in protecting the trade along the coast They are at present greatly overworked, especially those stationed in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf; and heavy complaints are made of their being under-officered, the Directors having, in 1838 and 1839, reduced the establishment from seven captains, twelve commanders, and forty-five lieutenants, to four captains, eight commanders, and forty lieutenants, amongst whom are shared the duties of the fifteen sailing vessels. Seven large steam vessels of from 700 to 900 tons, are now afloat; besides two of 900 and 1,000 tons, nearly ready. Seven armed iron steamers on the Indus, and four in the Euphrates, of from forty to seventy horse-power each. Each vessel has a detachment of the Marine Battalion on board. A system of instruction in naval gunnery is carried on, similar in detail to that pursued in H.M.'s ship 'Excellent;' also a school of navigation and engineering.

"It is to their steamers that the Company now look as the right arm of the strength of their Marine. These consist of nine splendid vessels, one of which is still unfinished, of an aggregate burthen of 15,658 tons, and a gross value of about £500,000. They are mostly in very high condition. The 'Auckland,' the latest built, is still in dock, but is entirely finished, and will be floated out on the first spring tide. The 'Semiramis' is not yet completed. By far the fastest of the

that with impunity, as the naval force has never been strong enough in the Gulf to send a sufficient armament to punish him. The ships anchored about 2,000 yards from the forts, but were to go within 1,000 if necessary. The negotiations were not satisfactory, so at sunset the Commodore ordered the 'Sesostris' to throw a shell clear of the fort, to expedite them; at sunrise the next morning a shell was thrown over the fort, which had the desired effect, and the Chief came off, humbled himself, and satisfied all demands. We then proceeded to Sharga, where all the Chiefs visited the Commodore, who had the steamer exhibited, as at Bahrein. We then went to Umulgaveen, a town on a large backwater; here we went through the same ceremonies, and then went to the great Tomb; the 'Sesostris' and 'Tigris' will now go back to the Presidency, and the 'Coote' to Kharrack. The cruise of this squadron will be beneficial, and the impression made last a few months; but the Arab chiefs, like the sick man, require to have the dose often repeated."

Company's steamers is the 'Victoria,' a beautiful teak ship, built in Bombay in 1840, commanded by Captain Ormsby, and which has hitherto beat every vessel in the packet service in her voyages to and from Suez with the overland mails. The 'Auckland' and 'Sesostris' are steam frigates, with no great power of engine for the size of the ship, but with a fine schooner rig for canvas; this is also meant to be the case with the 'Semiramis.' The 'Sesostris' and the 'Cleopatra' are the finest vessels under sail, making on a wind, if it blows fresh, from nine to ten knots an hour, and beating most sailing vessels that come in their way. The same is expected to be the case with the 'Auckland' and the 'Semiramis.' The steamers at present are mostly in a state of very high efficiency, with the exception of the 'Hugh Lindsay,' 'Zenobia,' and 'Berenice,' of which the last only requires some repairs in her sheathing, and a general overhaul, she having been literally knocked off her legs with hard and incessant work. With the exception of the 'Hugh Lindsay,' which is old-fashioned and slow, and the frigates 'Auckland,' 'Sesostris,' and 'Semiramis,' the other steamers are mostly employed in the packet service to Suez, a voyage out and in of 5,984 miles, commonly performed, all delays included, in thirty-eight to forty days, the stay at Suez being about four days, that at Aden thirty-six hours. These steamers consume from 600 to 700 tons of coal each voyage, the expense of which is about £3 per ton; it is computed, however, that taking wastage into account, the cost of that employed in raising steam must be upwards of £4, so that the coaling alone costs from £2,500 to £3,000 for each voyage up the Red Sea. The cost of coal for the Bombay steam flotilla amounts annually to upwards of £30,000. The greater part of this is contracted for in England, and costs about £3 per ton when landed at Bombay; a considerable portion has of late been purchased at Bombay, and has cost somewhere about £1 16*s.* per ton. At Suez, about 1,500 tons are required annually, cost, including salary of agents, £5 10*s.* per ton. The number of passengers of all descriptions for two years preceding May 1840, was, from Suez 234, for Suez 255; these included servants and children. The fare of first class passengers betwixt Suez and Bombay is £80, of which £30 goes to the commander of the vessel for table money, and £50 into the Government Treasury. The gross receipts for passengers in the periods just alluded to have been somewhat above £30,000; of which about £12,000 has gone to the commanders for table money, and £18,000 to the Treasury."

In March, 1841, Captain Moresby, who had proceeded to England early in 1838, on the cessation of the surveys, after ten years' continuous service in this department, finally retired

from the Service,* when the Governor in Council, in orders, dated the 29th of March, notified that he would "have much pleasure in bringing to the notice of the Hon. the Court of Directors, the distinguished services which Captain Moresby in an honourable career of nearly twenty-four years, has rendered to his country and the Government, and especially the manner in which by his valuable services, he has contributed to extend and improve the science of maritime geography."† Shortly

* An officer of the Service writes to us as follows of the circumstances under which Captain Moresby retired from the Service:—"He left the Indian Navy in disgust, as he told me himself Of course the Peninsular and Oriental Company were delighted to get such a man as Moresby, and the Government were as much vexed and annoyed at losing him He got £1,000 a year from the Peninsular and Oriental Company He could not get that in the Indian Navy, but that was not what vexed him, it was that he did not like the treatment he met with, for he was a sensitive and proud gentleman, and a very noble fellow"

† The Peninsular and Oriental Company, then entering upon their successful career as the great carrying company of the East, paid Captain Moresby and the Service of which he was so distinguished an ornament, the great compliment of selecting him to command their fine new steamship, 'Hindostan,' of 2,017 tons and 550 horse-power, which was the pioneer of that magnificent fleet of ships which has covered the Eastern seas from Japan to Suez. The 'Hindostan,' with eighty passengers, sailed, viâ the Cape, for India on the 24th of September, 1842, the Directors of the Peninsular and Oriental Company giving a grand banquet on the 13th of the month, at which the Chairman, Sir John Campbell, in returning thanks to the toast of the prosperity of his Company, proposed by General Sir James Law Lushington, G C B, Chairman of the East India Company, said —"The Company were determined to establish a line of powerful steamships, of which he hoped the 'Hindostan' might be considered as a favourable specimen, and should their efforts on the other side of the isthmus be supported as fully by the Government as those they had made up to Alexandria, he did feel entitled to say that hereafter the communication between this country and Calcutta, Ceylon, and Madras, would be as frequent and as regular as that which now existed between this country and Alexandria and Malta. Above all he begged to acknowledge, on behalf of the Company, the liberal system pursued towards them by the East India Company—tangible proof of which was their annual grant of £20,000 This was, however, but characteristic of their general system in all matters by which our Eastern dominions were calculated to be benefited" The 'Hindostan' arrived at Bombay on the 20th of December, and proceeded to Calcutta, from which she continued to carry mails and passengers to Suez

Captain Moresby made fourteen voyages in command of the 'Hindostan,' and on the completion of the last, during which the ship was in imminent danger, the passengers, principally military officers (among whom we find the name of Sir John Garvock, and others of note), presented him with the following address —

"Steamer 'Hindostan,' approaching Suez, August 6, 1846.

"Dear Captain Moresby,

"As we shall, in all probability, arrive at Suez during the night, we are anxious before we separate, to offer to you our best and warmest thanks for the kindness and attention we have received from you whilst on board this noble vessel Your well known skill as a seaman and navigator, your intimate acquaintance with the seas through which we have passed, your devoted attention to the duties of your ship, and your anxiety and watchfulness when approaching land, have impressed us with feelings of confidence and security which can only be fully appreciated by those who have experienced danger such as we have recently escaped. We feel that we are only doing you common justice in stating, that you have used your best exertions to contribute to the comfort, convenience, and kindly feeling of your passengers, and to lessen the inconvenience to which this mode of conveyance is perhaps unavoidably subject. We are aware this is the last voyage

before Captain Moresby's resignation, Captain Pepper, an old and distinguished officer, resigned the post of senior officer at Surat, from the 1st of January, 1841, and proceeded to England for the benefit of his health. On this occasion the Governor in Council, under date the 29th of December, 1840, took the opportunity of recording the "high sense he entertained of Captain Pepper's valuable services in the various offices he has filled during his long professional career."

In 1840 war broke out with China, and a large fleet and army were despatched thither, a great portion of the latter being drawn from the three Presidencies. The 'Queen,' a steamer built at Northfleet for the Bengal Government, at the same time as the 'Cleopatra' and 'Sesostris,' and which ultimately was brought into the Indian Navy, and the 'Madagascar,' also a steamer, were despatched to China by the Supreme Government, and the Indian Navy was most efficiently represented by the 'Atalanta,' and, at a later period of hostilities, by a fine squadron of steamers, the 'Auckland,' 'Sesostris,' 'Akbar,' 'Memnon,' 'Medusa,' and 'Ariadne.'

The 'Atalanta' only arrived from sea on the 9th of April, 1840, when she was immediately fitted with heavy guns, and Commander T E. Rogers placarded Bombay for "fifty young and active sailors," to fill up his complement of European seamen. The 'Atalanta' sailed on the 28th of April, and arrived off Canton river on the 20th of June, in company with the 'Wellesley,' bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Sir J. J. Gordon Bremer, and H.M's ships 'Cruiser,' 'Algerine,' and 'Rattlesnake,' with eighteen transports, having troops on board. The Bocca Tigris was blockaded, and, on the 28th of June, Admiral Elliot, Commander-in-chief, arrived in the 'Melville,' seventy-four guns The first operation was the capture of Chusan, on the 5th of July, by Sir Gordon Bremer. The 'Atalanta,' which had been employed on the previous day re-

you propose to undertake on this side the isthmus of Suez, and in closing your career in the Indian seas you may be justly proud of the prominent part you have taken in the establishment of steam navigation between India and your native country. To your distinguished labours as a maritime surveyor we are indebted for the safe navigation of the Red Sea, to you it fell to establish the first coal depôt at Aden, you were the first to complete the direct line of communication between England and Calcutta, and you have, in the splendid vessel we are now leaving, kept up that communication uninterruptedly for a period of three years and a half We are glad to learn that your valuable services are likely to be continued to the Peninsular and Oriental Company, and you have our best wishes that a more congenial climate may preserve you in health, and that your career may be as successful in the European as it has hitherto been in the Indian seas And now, dear Captain Moresby, with our best wishes for the health and happiness of yourself, your amiable lady, and your family,

"Believe us, very sincerely yours."

(Appended were the signatures of eleven ladies and twenty-seven gentlemen)

connoitring, towed the 'Wellesley' into position, and, after a few broadsides from the fleet, the troops landed and took possession of the works, upon which were mounted ninety-one guns. In his despatch to Admiral Elliot, who arrived on the following day, Sir Gordon Bremer does justice to the "zeal and alacrity" displayed by the officers and men of the 'Atalanta' and 'Queen,' no less than by those of H.M.'s ships. The Admiral says in his despatch of the 17th of July, that he proceeded to Ningpo, on the 13th, in the 'Atalanta,' the squadron, with the exception of the 'Wellesley,' having preceded him, and, after establishing a blockade of the river, returned to Chusan.

On the 7th of January, 1841, a portion of the army and fleet, the latter under Sir Gordon Bremer, now acting Commander-in-chief, Admiral Elliot having proceeded to England sick on the 4th of December, captured the forts of Chuenpee and Tykoktow,* and, on the 20th, preliminaries of peace were signed between the British and Chinese commissioners, but it was soon found that the latter were acting with the duplicity of which we have since had so many instances in our dealings with the Celestials. On their faithlessness becoming manifest, the fleet captured, during the months of February and March, the Bogue forts, as the extensive batteries on the Bocca Tigris, to bar the passage of the river, were called. At the capture of the strong chain of forts defending Canton, by the military and naval forces under Sir Hugh Gough, between the 23rd and 27th of May, the 'Atalanta' was of great service towing the boats and other craft carrying the right column of attack, the left division being towed by the 'Nemesis.' "The 'Atalanta,'" says Sir H. Senhouse,† senior naval officer, "was then placed so as to enfilade the line of the batteries in front of the city." Captain (the late Admiral Sir) Thomas Herbert, of the 'Cal-

* In this action the following Company's steamers were engaged The 'Queen,' Mr Warden, 'Madagascar,' Mr Dicey, and 'Nemesis,' (which arrived from England in November, 1840), Mr W H Hall, then a master in the Navy, who gained the soubriquet of 'Nemesis Hall,' and is now an Admiral

Mr Bernard wrote a work in two volumes, entitled "Narrative of the Voyages and Services of the 'Nemesis,' from 1840 to 1843, compiled from the notes of her Commander" "The 'Nemesis,' which was built in England for the service of the East India Company, went to sea," says Mr Bernard, "a merchantman, although heavily armed, she was never commissioned under the Articles of War,

verpool,

was 700 tons, her engines of 120 horse-power, her length 184 feet, breadth 29 feet, depth 11 feet, and with twelve days' supply of coal, water and provisions for four months, and stores, she only drew six feet

† This officer died on the succeeding June 14, of exhaustion and fatigue, consequent on his exertions at the attack on Canton Between March 31, when Sir Gordon Bremer proceeded to Calcutta, to confer with the Governor-General, and up to the time of his death, Sir H Senhouse was in command of the fleet. Sir G. Bremer returned to Macao on the 22nd of June.

liope,' commanding the advanced squadron, to which the 'Atalanta' was attached, in his despatch describing the storming of the French fort on the 26th of May, makes special mention of Lieutenant Grieve and Mr. Midshipman Eden of the latter ship. Captain Warren, of the 'Hyacinth,' also says in his despatch to Sir H. Senhouse, "I cannot conclude without expressing my approbation of the steadiness of Commander Rogers, of the Indian Navy, in conducting the 'Atalanta' to her station." Again, in a despatch of the 2nd of June, he says:—"By the indefatigable attention of Commander Rogers, of the Hon. Company's steam vessel 'Atalanta,' who, for three days, was almost in constant motion, all the transports and ships of war were assembled, excepting two of the former which grounded." The operations at Canton were completely successful, and the forts, mounting forty-nine guns, were captured with the loss of fifteen killed and one hundred and twelve wounded.

On the 24th of August the 'Atalanta' left China with Sir Gordon Bremer, and arrived at Bombay on the 26th of September. Commander Rogers, who was suffering from ill-health, had arrived at the Presidency shortly before, and, on the occasion of his being placed in orders on the 21st of September, to proceed to Europe for the benefit of his health, the following notification was issued from Bombay Castle:—"The Hon. the Governor in Council regrets the necessity which has compelled Commander Rogers' departure from China at a juncture of such importance, and desires to take the occasion of recording his sense of the distinguished services of this officer, while in command of the Hon. Company's steam sloop-of-war 'Atalanta,' during the recent operations in China. These services, which have been reported in terms of marked approbation by Her Majesty's Chief Superintendent, the Hon. the Governor in Council will have much satisfaction in bringing to the notice of the Hon. Court of Directors." The Court, on his arrival in England, presented Commander T. E. Rogers with a sword of the value of one hundred guineas in acknowledgment of his services, and appointed him to the lucrative post of Master-Attendant at Calcutta.

Pecuniary rewards were also granted to those who had participated in what may be called the first phase of the China War. "The Queen," so ran the notification of the Home Government, "as a mark of the high sense Her Majesty entertains of the gallant behaviour of the officers and men," directed that a portion of the sum of money received from the Chinese authorities at Canton, under the convention concluded by Captain Elliot, should be paid, as batta, for twelve or six months, according to length of service, to the Military and Naval forces of the Queen and Company, engaged at Canton, Chusan, and elsewhere in China, up to the end of June, 1841.

Accordingly, the Governor-General in Council issued an order, dated the 2nd of March, 1842, in which was published a copy of the Treasury Minute, by which it was ordered that "officers and men of the East India Company's steamers should receive the same allowances as officers and men of Her Majesty's ships."

In July, 1841, Admiral Sir William Parker, the newly appointed Commander-in-chief, arrived at Bombay, and, accompanied by Sir Henry Pottinger, who had been nominated "sole Plenipotentiary, Minister Extraordinary, and chief Superintendent of British Trade in China," sailed from Bombay in the steam frigate 'Sesostris,' Commander Ormsby, which arrived at Macao on the 9th of August.

Throughout the succeeding operations, whenever seamen were landed from the fleet, the Naval Brigade included a detachment from the 'Sesostris,' which was placed under the command of the senior lieutenant, Mr. J. Rennie. Sir William Parker had opportunities of judging of Lieutenant Rennie's seamanlike qualities when he was a passenger on board the 'Sesostris' from Bombay to China, and his quick eye recognised in him the efficient officer and smart seaman. The Indian Navy worked, on the whole, amicably with the Royal Service; but, occasionally, difficulties arose, owing to the friction caused by the jealousy unhappily existing between the two Services, and by the attempts sometimes made to treat the commissioned officers of the Indian Navy on the same footing as those of the uncovenanted Bengal Marine, which were always resented by the former. On such occasions, whenever Sir William Parker was appealed to, and Lieutenant Rennie especially was quick to resent any attempt to slight in his person the status of an old and distinguished Service, the Admiral would discourage any endeavour to treat its representatives as inferior in position to the officers of his own Service, and, with the kind-heartedness and geniality for which he was remarkable, always ended by inviting to dinner the offender and the officer whose *amour propre* had been ruffled, when a hearty shake of the hand, or a few words, would soon set all right between the belligerents.

On the 21st of August, the fleet,* accompanied by twenty-one transports, with troops, sailed for Hong Kong in three divisions, the centre led by the 'Wellesley,' carrying the flag of Sir W. Parker, the weather division by the 'Queen,' having Sir H. Pottinger on board, and the lee division by the 'Sesostris;'

* H M ships 'Wellesley,' 'Blonde,' 'Druid,' 'Modeste,' 'Cruiser,' 'Columbine,' 'Pylades,' 'Algerine,' and 'Rattlesnake' troop-ship. Hon. Company's steam ships 'Sesostris,' 'Queen,' 'Nemesis,' and 'Phlegethon.' The steamers 'Enterprise' and 'Madagascar' returned to Calcutta for repairs in September, 1841, when the latter caught fire at sea and blew up. At this time Captain Elliot, the Commissioner, proceeded to England.

immediately in rear of the 'Queen' and 'Sesostris' were the steamers 'Phlegethon' and 'Nemesis.' The fleet rendezvoused off the harbour of Amoy on the 25th, and, on the following morning, the defences were reconnoitred by Sir Hugh Gough and Sir William Parker. These appeared to be of vast extent and great strength, and the battery is described by Mr. Mc Pherson, in his account of the war, as upwards of a mile in length, faced with mud and turf, several feet thick, and mounting about one hundred guns. It was decided that the line-of-battle ships 'Wellesley' and 'Blenheim' should attack the strongest batteries, the forty-four gun frigates 'Druid' and 'Blonde,' and the 'Modeste,' sixteen guns, the island of Koolangsoo, while the 'Cruiser,' 'Columbine,' 'Pylades,' and 'Algerine' engaged the extreme point of the line, and covered the landing of the troops, flanked by the 'Sesostris' and 'Queen.'

"About a quarter past one," says Sir W. Parker, in his despatch, of the 31st of August, to the Governor-General, "a steady and favourable breeze having set in, the squadron weighed and proceeded to their stations. The 'Sesostris,' being the most advanced, received a heavy fire before any return was made. She was soon joined by the 'Queen,' and both commenced action with good effect." The 'Wellesley' and 'Blenheim' anchored at 2.30, within four hundred yards of the principal battery, and opened fire, the remainder of the fleet commencing to engage about the same time. Lieutenant (now Admiral Sir) Richard Collinson, in the ten-gun brig 'Bentinck,' who was employed sounding ahead of the 'Wellesley,' anchored within the entrance of the harbour, "where he was joined," says the Admiral, "by the 'Sesostris,' which was placed by Captain Ormsby in a very judicious situation for relieving her and the other ships from a raking fire" "The fire of the Chinese," he continues, "soon slackened, under the excellent gun practice of the squadron," and about 3.30 the troops, with detachments of seamen, were landed and carried the batteries."

On the following day the city was entered, and the citadel, with its vast magazines and granaries, fell into the hands of the victors. The Admiral says:—"I have the highest satisfaction in reporting the gallantry, zeal, and energy, which have been manifested by every officer and man in H.M.'s Navy and Royal Marines, as well as those of the Indian Navy under my command. They have vied with each other in the desire to anticipate and meet every object for the public service, and are fully entitled to my best acknowledgments, and the favourable consideration of the Board of Admiralty and Indian Government." A small garrison of five hundred and fifty men was left on the island of Koolangsoo, together with the 'Druid,' 'Pylades,' and 'Algerine,' for their support.

The following account of the service rendered by the 'Sesostris' at the capture of Amoy, on the 26th of August, appears in the Asiatic Journal for January, 1842:—"The plan of attack seems to have been soon arranged, for, at one o'clock, the 'Sesostris' and 'Queen' steamed up to the long battery, consisting of seventy-six guns, on the right of the harbour; these allowed them to come very near without firing. The first shot was fired at the 'Sesostris,' and was followed by eleven others before she returned the compliment; she then, however, kept up a good fire from three of her guns, passed along the whole length of the battery (more than half a mile) till she came opposite the white semicircular battery, behind which the suburbs of the town on this side of the hill commence; here she remained all alone for more than half-an-hour, firing shot and shell at the battery and into the town in right good style, when she was relieved by the 'Wellesley' and 'Blenheim' coming up and anchoring so near as to render her further presence unnecessary. She then passed on to the batteries on the island (Colun-soo) and added her guns to those of the 'Blonde,' 'Modeste,' and 'Druid,' who had taken up their position there; here she remained until the close of the whole affair, dividing her favours between the batteries on that island and another strong one in front of part of the suburbs of the city, which was also within her range. When the 'Queen' had done as much mischief as she thought proper to the battery at the end of the wall, or rather as soon as she had finished protecting the landing of the troops at that point, she joined the 'Blonde,' 'Druid,' 'Modeste,' and 'Sesostris,' in their attack upon the island and town. The two small steamers, 'Nemesis' and 'Phlegethon,' were most usefully employed in landing the troops."

The combined naval and military force sailed from Amoy on the 5th of September, and, on the 21st, reached the Chusan islands, which had been evacuated in February by the British garrison. On the 26th, a reconnaissance was made of the defences of Tinghae and Chusan harbour, when it was found that the place had been considerably strengthened since its capture by Sir Gordon Bremer. The 'Wellesley' was moored as close as possible to the intended point of landing, and the 'Cruiser' and 'Columbine' were advanced within 200 yards of the beach. By occasional well-directed round shot from those vessels, and shells from the 'Sesostris,' the Chinese were completely kept in check. The disembarkation of the troops took place on the morning of the 1st of October, in two columns, that destined for the attack of the sea defences being strengthened by a detachment of seamen and marines; in landing the troops, the 'Sesostris' rendered great assistance. "The steam vessels," says the Admiral, "moved into the inner

harbour as soon as the troops were landed, to assist in the reduction of Tinghae," upon which the main body, led by Sir Hugh Gough, having carried the line of batteries, now rapidly advanced. By two o'clock the place was in possession of the British, who captured thirty-six new brass guns. In the report of his proceedings, the Admiral says:—"The unremitting exertions of every officer and man of H.M.'s squadron, Royal Marines, and Indian Navy, throughout the operations, merit my warmest commendation," and again:—"The fire from the ships and steam-vessels covering the landing party, did much execution."

The weather did not permit further proceedings till the 7th of October, when the troops were re-embarked and proceeded to Chinhae. The defences of this city, situated at the entrance and on the left bank of the Tahee, or Ningpo river, were very extensive and had been strengthened by the Chinese in expectation of an attack. The wall enclosing the city was 37 feet in thickness and 22 feet high, and nearly two miles in circumference; on a commanding position was the citadel, which was regarded as the key of Chinhae, and of the large and opulent city of Ningpo, fifteen miles up the river. The fortifications, according to Sir Hugh Gough, "presented both a sea defence and a military position of great strength." The plan of attack embraced the landing of two columns of troops on the right bank of the river, while the attack on the citadel and city on the left bank, was assigned to the ships-of-war. Early on the morning of the 10th of October, the troops were landed, and while the citadel was cannonaded by the 'Wellesley' and 'Blenheim'—towed to their stations by the 'Sesostris,' "with very commendable activity," says the Admiral—assisted by the 'Blonde,' and 'Modeste,' the 'Sesostris,' 'Queen,' and 'Phlegethon' shelled the citadel in flank and enfiladed such of the harbour batteries as the guns could bear upon. Soon after eleven, the citadel was breached and the defences reduced to a ruinous state, when the Chinese abandoned the guns. The first column of troops had already entered some of the batteries, and, before noon, a battalion of soldiers and seamen had carried the citadel by assault. The high wall of the city was now escaladed, the garrison having fled, and Captain Herbert remained in command until the evening, when Sir Hugh Gough arrived, and a body of troops was conveyed across the river in the 'Phlegethon.' The total number of ordnance captured, amounted to ninety iron, and sixty-seven brass, guns. The Admiral, in his despatch to the Governor-General, again expressed his sense of "the gallantry and good conduct of every officer and man of H.M.'s ships and the Indian Navy," under his command, and the pleasure he had "in bearing testimony to his lordship, that the same spirit of enterprise has

been conspicuously evinced by Commander H. A. Ormsby, and Lieutenant McCleverty, Mr. Hall and Mr. Warden, and indeed by every officer and man in the steam vessels attached to the expedition."

A garrison of about five hundred men, and the 'Blonde,' were left at Chinhae, and the military and naval chiefs having decided to attack Ningpo, only fifteen miles up the river, the remainder of the troops were embarked in the 'Sesostris,' 'Queen,' 'Phlegethon,' and 'Nemesis,' the supernumerary seamen being distributed in the 'Modeste,' 'Cruiser,' 'Columbine,' and 'Bentinck.' On the morning of the 13th of October, the Expedition proceeded up the river, and the vast city, with a population of 300,000 souls, was captured in the afternoon without any resistance, the troops and mandarins having fled a few hours before, leaving considerable booty and a large amount of cash. A lull now took place in the prosecution of active operations, and the British commanders awaited the arrival of reinforcements, while Sir Henry Pottinger proceeded to Hong Kong, where he arrived on the 1st of February.

The Chinese having occupied some places in the neighbourhood of Ningpo, on the 27th of December, Sir Hugh Gough and Sir William Parker proceeded up the river to Yuyao, with seven hundred troops, embarked in the small steamers, and the enemy were dislodged from their positions; a second Expedition to Fungwa, on the 10th of January, 1842, was equally successful. During the absence of the Commander-in-chief the garrisons at Ningpo and Chinhae repulsed, with heavy loss, two columns of Chinese troops, which made a determined attack on the morning of the 10th of March. At Ningpo, where the fighting was severe, a number of fire-rafts, lashed together with chains, were floated down the river, across which they extended; and had it not been for the promptitude of the officers of the 'Sesostris,' assisted by the boats of the 'Modeste,' which towed the fire-rafts into the mud, where they burnt harmlessly, the former ship would have been destroyed.

Captain H. B. Watson, commanding H.M.S. 'Modeste,' says: —At half-past twelve a.m., a shot was fired from two guns, planted on the bank of the river, at H M.S. 'Columbine,' and, at three a.m., four fire-rafts were discovered drifting down the south-west branch of the river, with the ebb tide, ahead of the Hon. Company's steamer 'Sesostris,' extending the whole way across it. I immediately sent Lieutenant Pearse, with Messrs. Halkett and Crofton, mates, with two boats to assist in towing the fire-rafts clear of her. and, by the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Roberts, her master, with the boats of the 'Sesostris,' and the quickness with which Commander Ormsby slipped one of his cables, they were happily grounded clear of her, and ahead of the 'Modeste,' where they exploded. During this time a smart

fire was kept up on the boats by the enemy from the banks of the river. As soon as the fire-rafts were lit, it appears to have been the signal for a general assault upon the city of Ningpo; for immediately a heavy discharge of matchlocks and jingals followed; soon after an officer hailed the ship from the shore, to say that the gates on the southern and western side had been attacked by a strong body of Chinese troops. The boats of H.M.'s ship 'Modeste' and the Hon. Company's steamer 'Sesostris,' under the command of Lieutenant Birch, were sent higher up the river to fire on the advancing columns of the Chinese, and at daylight the 'Sesostris' and 'Phlegethon' took up a position to do so more effectually, whilst the 'Queen' moved up to cover the north gate, astern of the 'Columbine.' Soon after eight a.m., the firing had all ceased, the enemy having been beaten at all points with a most severe loss. Lieutenant Birch, with the boats of the 'Modeste' and 'Sesostris' under his command, proceeded up the south-west branch of the river, towards Foong-wa, and no traces either of fire-rafts or an enemy being seen, returned on board. I cannot close my letter without expressing my thanks to Commander Morshead, of H.M.'s sloop 'Columbine,' Commander Ormsby, of the Hon. Company's steamer 'Sesostris;' Lieutenant McCleverty, of the Hon. Company's steamer 'Phlegethon;' Mr. Warden, of the Hon. Company's steamer 'Queen;' and to all the officers and ships' company's employed, for their valuable assistance on this occasion." This eulogium was heartily endorsed by Sir William Parker, in his despatches to the Admiralty, dated "Chusan, March 18, 1842."

The naval and military commanders-in-chief, who proceeded to Ningpo, acknowledging the desirability of following up the repulses at Chinhae and Ningpo, determined to make a rapid movement on the Chinese camp at Tsekee.* Accordingly, the small-arm men and marines of the squadron, numbering four hundred and ten men, were placed under the command of Captain T. Bourchier, of the 'Blonde,' the 'Sesostris' contributing a detachment, under Lieutenant J. Rennie and Messrs. A. J. Smith and H. Broughton. On the morning of the 15th of March, about eight hundred and fifty troops and four guns, in addition to the naval brigade, accompanied by Sir Hugh Gough, embarked in the 'Nemesis,' 'Phlegethon,' and 'Queen,' which immediately proceeded up the river. The combined force was landed and in full march for Tsekee by two p.m., the 'Phlegethon' being sent up the river to harass the retreat of the Chinese army. About four o'clock

* Sir Hugh Gough, on March 13, made a preliminary movement as far as Latso seven miles distant, with a force of six hundred bayonets and two guns, flanked by the 'Sesostris,' which moved up the river parallel to his route, but his Excellency returned on finding that the Chinese had retreated over the hills the preceding night.

the city walls were escaladed by the seamen and marines, without resistance on the part of the enemy, who, to the number of five or six thousand men, were strongly posted in fortified camps on the two high hills of Seagon, in front and on the left. The assault of the former was assigned to the 49th Regiment, and of the latter to the naval brigade. The attack was completely successful, and the hills were carried in gallant style, the Chinese, who kept up a hot fire during the ascent, not waiting to cross bayonets with their foes. The loss of the naval brigade was only three killed and fifteen wounded, while the Chinese left between eight hundred and a thousand dead on the field. The Admiral conveyed his "best and cordial thanks to every individual of Her Majesty's squadron and the Indian Navy, attached to the naval brigade, whose conduct was as exemplary for steadiness in their quarters as in the field."

Ningpo was evacuated on the 7th of May, a small garrison was left at the citadel of Chinghae, and the fleet sailed for Chapoo, a port distant sixty miles to the northward of the latter place. On the 18th of May, the troops, in three columns, with a total strength of fourteen hundred men, having disembarked in a bay about two miles to the eastward of the city, under cover of the steamers and small vessels of war, marched to dislodge the Chinese from the defences of the surrounding heights. The combined attack of the three columns commenced simultaneously; and while the 'Cornwallis,' seventy-four guns, 'Blonde,' forty-four guns, and 'Modeste,' eighteen guns, engaged the sea batteries, the 'Sesostris' shelled the field works for the purpose of dispersing the Chinese, as the troops advanced to the attack. The heights were carried in fine style by the troops; and Sir W. Parker having joined the General with the seamen and marines of the fleet, under command of Captain Bourchier, C.B., of the 'Blonde,' the batteries were carried by the Naval Brigade before the mines in them could be sprung, and the gates in the city were occupied. The Chinese attempted to retreat, but were intercepted in every direction and suffered severely, their loss being between twelve and fifteen hundred men, while that of the British was eleven killed, including Colonel Tomlinson, commanding the 18th Royal Irish, and fifty-five wounded.

The Admiral, in his despatch of the 23rd of May, reported in favourable terms of the conduct of the Naval Brigade, which included a detachment from the 'Sesostris,' under their officers, Lieutenant J. Rennie, Mr. A. J. Smith, mate, Mr. Henry Broughton, midshipman, and Mr. Patrick Cruickshank, assistant-surgeon.

While the fleet lay at anchor off Chapoo, the long-expected reinforcements arrived from India and England. These

consisted of Her Majesty's 98th, with artillery, and several regiments of Madras Native Infantry; Her Majesty's ships 'Vindictive,' fifty guns; 'Thalia' and 'Endymion,' forty-four guns; 'Cambrian,' thirty-six guns; 'North Star,' twenty-six guns; 'Dido,' twenty guns; 'Pelican' and 'Harlequin,' eighteen guns; 'Childers,' 'Clio,' 'Hazard,' 'Wanderer,' 'Serpent,' and 'Wolverine,' sixteen guns; 'Chameleon,' ten guns; steamer 'Vixen,' eight guns Also, the Indian Navy steamers, 'Auckland,' Commander R. Ethersey; 'Ariadne,' Lieutenant J. Roberts; and 'Medusa,' Lieutenant H H. Hewett; and the Bengal Marine steamers, 'Tenasserim,' 'Hooghly,' 'Pluto,' and 'Proserpine.'

After the necessary delay in destroying the batteries, magazines, and other public buildings at Chapoo, the troops were re-embarked, and the Expedition quitted that port on the 28th of May. On the 8th of June the fleet rendezvoused off the Amherst Rocks, when steps were taken to define the shoals on the north side of the channel leading into the Yang-tse-kiang river. This point was not reached, however, without the occurrence of a serious accident to the 'Ariadne,' a new flat-bottomed steamer of the Indian Navy, which had recently joined the fleet under the command of Lieutenant J. Roberts. The 'Ariadne' struck on the point of a rock,* before unknown, and, a hole being knocked in her bottom, the engine-room compartment was speedily filled with water. Lieutenant Roberts promptly got a sail under her bottom, and, having received assistance from the squadron, the leak was sufficiently stopped to enable her to be towed to Chusan† by the 'Sesostris,' which then returned to the fleet.

The weather continued too thick for the ships to break ground until the 13th of June, when the 'Cornwallis,' 'Blonde,' 'Columbine,' 'Medusa,' 'Phlegethon,' and 'Tenasserim,' joined the 'Modeste' at the anchorage off Woosung, a distance of thirty miles, whither she had proceeded, in company with the 'Nemesis' and Pluto,' to intercept any communication with that place. At the point where the river Woosung joins the Yang-tze-kiang, the banks were lined with strong batteries, the western side, between the cities of Paoushan and Woosung, presenting for three miles an uninterrupted fortified embankment, mounting one hundred and thirty-four guns. Again, on the opposite bank of a creek bounding the latter city, the Chinese had constructed a semi-circular battery, mounting ten

* This rock, which is a-wash at low water, but had four or five feet of water on it at the time of the accident, is now known as the "Ariadne rock"

† The 'Ariadne' was doomed to misfortune. On her arrival at Chusan she was run ashore for repairs, and was set afloat on the night of June 23, when she slid off a mud bank and sunk in ten fathoms of water, and the officers and crew escaped with their lives though three Chinamen perished. The vessel was irrecoverably lost as it was found impossible to raise her.

24-pounders, while a strong fort,* armed with twenty-one guns, at the mouth of the eastern entrance of the Woosung river, completed the sea defences, making a total of one hundred and seventy-five guns, which were all placed in judicious positions.

On the 14th of June, the military and naval commanders-in-chief made a close reconnaissance of these works in the Company's steamer 'Medusa,' which acquired the name of "the Cornwallis' child," as she always accompanied the flag-ship as tender throughout the succeeding operations; and her gallant commander, Lieutenant H. H. Hewett, won the admiration of every officer and man of the fleet for his *bonhomie* and dashing seamanlike qualities.† As no spot appeared available where the troops could be landed, except under the protection of the guns of the fleet, Commanders Kellett and Collinson, assisted by the masters of the ships-of-war, sounded and buoyed the channel during the nights, and the 'Medusa,' supported by guard-boats, was then advanced as near the batteries as was possible, without exposing her to destruction, for the purpose of preventing the Chinese from removing the buoys. In this she was successful, and, as the Admiral said in his despatch, "by the vigilance of Lieutenant Hewett, none of them were disturbed."

The 'Sesostris' returned from Chusan on the 15th of June, just in time to participate in the ensuing operations. The wind being adverse for the ships taking up their assigned positions under sail, the Admiral, at daybreak on the following morning, the state of the tide and weather being favourable for the purpose, caused the steam-ships to be lashed alongside the sailing-vessels, and, at six a.m. of the 16th of June, the whole moved to the attack on Woosung in the following order:—The leading ship 'Blonde,' towed by the 'Tenasserim;' the flag-ship 'Cornwallis,' towed by the 'Sesostris;' the 'Modeste,' towed by the 'Nemesis;' the 'Columbine,' towed by the 'Phlegethon;' the 'Clio,' towed by the 'Pluto;' the 'Algerine' to proceed as close as possible under sail, the 'Medusa' being reserved to meet any unexpected contingency. The 'Blonde' and 'Cornwallis,' says the Admiral, in his despatch, "were directed to anchor against the heaviest batteries, at the entrance on the western side, and, when placed, the sloops were to proceed higher up under cover of their fire, to attack those

* The distance between this fort on the east side and the main battery on the west line, was about a mile, and the channel running in a curved direction between them on the west side, was not more than 320 yards in width

† It would appear as if these qualities were characteristic of the family, as the British Navy does not possess a finer seaman or more popular officer than his nephew, Commodore Sir William Hewett, while his brother, Mr Prescott Hewett, F R S, President of the Royal College of Surgeons, is equally famous in his profession.

adjoining the village of Woosung, and the flanking battery immediately opposite to it; and it was in order that she might be in readiness to support the sloops, should they require it, that the 'Blonde' preceded the flag-ship, for the narrowness of the channel made it doubtful whether she could pass her. Captain Bourchier, closely followed by the 'Cornwallis,' towed by the 'Sesostris,' and piloted by Commanders Kellett and Collinson, led the squadron into action with his accustomed gallantry, and the advancing ships were met by a heavy fire from the batteries on both sides, which they were obliged to approach end on. About half-past six, the two ships were anchored by the stern, within five hundred yards of the batteries, the sloops, with the exception of the 'Algerine,' which anchored astern of the 'Cornwallis,' passing in succession to their stations.

The 'Sesostris,' after casting off from the flagship, proceeded to take up a station to enfilade the fort on the eastern side; unfortunately, she took the ground, but, says Sir William Parker, "in a position which enabled Commander Ormsby to render very essential service, of which he ably availed himself." The 'Tenasserim' proceeded to tow the 'North Star,' twenty-six guns, into position ahead of the 'Blonde,' and then attempted to close the eastern battery, with which the 'Sesostris' and some of the larboard guns of the 'Cornwallis' were engaged, but, in doing so, she likewise grounded, although in a situation to render very effective service. The squadron maintained so heavy a fire that, by eight o'clock, the enemy were driven from the batteries, which were in a ruinous state. During these proceedings, the 'Modeste,' 'Columbine,' and 'Clio,' towed by the steamers, having silenced the battery opposed to them, Commander Watson, senior officer, landed his men and took possession of it, after a brief resistance from the Chinese troops in that quarter. On perceiving this movement, the main body of the seamen and marines, who were already in their boats, immediately disembarked under command of Captain Bourchier, and, forming a junction with Commander Watson's party, which included a detachment from the 'Sesostris,' under Lieutenant Rennie, the whole line of the western batteries was speedily occupied. Shortly afterwards, the Chinese in the eastern battery, which had also suffered considerably under the fire of the 'Sesostris,' retired, upon which Commander Ormsby promptly landed with a party of men from his ship and the 'Tenasserim,' and destroyed the guns and works. The three steamers, 'Nemesis,' 'Phlegethon,' and 'Pluto,' which had towed the sloops, contributed by their fire to Commander Watson's success, and the 'Medusa,' under her spirited commander, well performed her share in a warm morning's work. The steam vessels were now sent for the troops, and, before one o'clock, the

whole were disembarked under Sir Hugh Gough's orders, and the combined force entered Paoushan without resistance. In this action, the squadron lost only two men killed, and thirty-five wounded, among whom were Mr. E. Roberts, master, Mr. A. J. Smith, mate, and three men of the 'Sesostris.' The ships were much cut up aloft in their rigging, and it is surprising that the casualties were so few, considering how well the Chinese served their guns. The 'Blonde' had fourteen shot in her hull, the 'Sesostris' eleven, and the other ships were all more or less "peppered." The Chinese loss was severe; and seventy-nine heavy, and eighty-six light, guns were captured in the batteries at Woosung

On the following day, the Admiral sent Commander Kellett, with the 'Medusa' and 'Phlegethon,' to reconnoitre the river, when they found two strong batteries about six miles above Woosung, that on the left bank mounting forty-six guns, and that on the opposite side, fourteen guns. These batteries were occupied, on the 18th of June, by Commander Watson without opposition, the enemy having deserted them. On the following morning, the destruction of the guns and military stores at Woosung and Paoushan being completed, the troops were embarked in the steamers 'Tenasserim,' 'Nemesis,' 'Phlegethon,' and 'Pluto.' which respectively took in tow the 'North Star,' 'Modeste,' 'Columbine,' and 'Clio,' and proceeded up the river, the military and naval Commanders-in-chief embarking, with the marines of the squadron, on board the 'Medusa' By half-past one, the squadron had approached within sight of Shanghai, which is about twelve miles above Woosung, but the Chinese defending the formidable batteries, had been so dispirited by their recent ill-success, that, after a few broadsides from the ships and steamers, they fled with precipitation; the seamen and marines were at once landed, under Captain Bourchier, and took possession of the batteries mounting forty-nine guns. which, with the exception of seventeen of brass, were destroyed, together with all the military stores. The troops were also disembarked from the steamers, and the city was occupied without resistance. On the 20th, Captain Bourchier and Commander Kellett proceeded in the 'Medusa' and 'Phlegethon,' thirty miles up the river without interruption, and, on the following day, Sir William Parker embarked in the 'Medusa,' accompanied by the 'Phlegethon' and 'Nemesis,' and succeeded in ascending the river for a distance of forty-seven miles above Shanghai, when they were stopped by the shallowness of the water at the entrance of a large lagoon. On the 23rd of June, the troops were re-embarked at Shanghai, when the squadron dropped down the river to Woosung, where they were transferred to their respective transports.

On the 22nd of June, the 'Memnon,' Commander F. T.

Powell, a new steam frigate of the Indian Navy of the same class as the 'Sesostris,' arrived at Singapore from England direct, and proceeded to Hong Kong. Here she found H.M.S. 'Vindictive,' Captain Nicholson, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane,* who proceeded in her up the Canton river to join the squadron, consisting of H.M.'s ships 'Nimrod,' 'Cruiser,' and 'Wolverine.' A little later the 'Akbar,'† steam frigate, constructed at Glasgow, of 1,200 tons, 350 horse-power, and carrying six 8-inch guns, arrived at Hong Kong, under command of the veteran Captain Pepper, who had been specially appointed Senior Officer of the Company's ships serving on the China station. The 'Akbar' remained at Whampoa, as guard-ship, for nine months, and the 'Memnon' did not get further than Chusan, so that neither of these ships participated in the subsequent operations of the war, though the 'Akbar' was engaged with pirates in the Cap Sing Moon

The fleet of seventy-three men-of-war and transports, was detained at Woosung by bad weather and adverse winds, until the 6th of July, on which day they proceeded up the noble Yang-tze-Kiang (at this point upwards of ten miles from bank to bank), in the following order:—

Advanced Squadron.—Surveying. H M S. 'Starling,' six guns; 'Plover,' six guns; 'Modeste,' eighteen guns; and 'Clio,' sixteen guns. Hon. Company's steamers 'Phlegethon' and 'Medusa.'

General Squadron.—1st Division. H.M.S. 'Cornwallis,' seventy-four guns, flagship; 'Calliope,' twenty-six guns; and steamer 'Vixen'; transport 'Marion,' with Sir H. Gough and staff: and seven other transports.

Second Division.—H M.S. 'Blonde,' forty-four guns. Hon. Company's steam frigate 'Auckland;' and ten transports.

* Sir Thomas Cochrane succeeded to the command-in-chief of H M 's ships on the return to England of Sir W Parker on the conclusion of the war

† The 'Akbar' and 'Berenice,' which was launched in 1836, were both constructed by those famous shipbuilders and marine engineers, the Messrs Robert Napier and Sons, of Govan, Glasgow, whose plant and goodwill were sold by auction in March, 1877 The firm was founded about fifty years ago by Mr. Robert Napier, who had previously carried on business as a blacksmith in Glasgow. Mr Napier constructed his first marine engine in 1823, and in 1836 and 1841 he built the 'Berenice' and 'Akbar' His first contract for a steamer for Her Majesty's Government was obtained in 1840 Along with Sir Samuel Cunard, Mr. Napier projected the celebrated Cunard Line, and built its first ships, to which many were added from the same yard Messrs Napier and Sons constructed for the British Navy, the 'Erebus,' 'Black Prince,' 'Hector,' 'Audacious,' 'Invincible,' 'Hotspur,' and 'Northampton,' all armour-clad vessels, representing a tonnage of 26,938 tons, the engines representing 5,450 horse-power One turret ship was built for the Danish Navy, three of 4000 tons each, with engines of 400-horse power, for the Turkish Government, and two of 3,000 tons and 500-horse power, for the Dutch Government. The firm have in addition supplied engines to fifty-two vessels of Her Majesty's Navy, and to twenty-nine of Foreign Governments. They were also extensively employed by private shipowners.

Third Division.—H.M.'s troop-ships 'Belleisle' and 'Jupiter.' Hon. Company's steamer 'Queen;' and nine transports.

Fourth Division.—H.M S. 'Endymion,' forty-four guns. Hon. Company's steam frigate 'Sesostris;' and thirteen transports.

Fifth Division.—H.M S. 'Dido,' twenty guns; and troopships 'Apollo' and 'Rattlesnake;' and eight transports.

Thanks to the exertions of the surveying officers, chief among whom were Commanders Kellett and Collinson, the fleet proceeded up the river, a distance of 170 miles, without loss, though, owing to the difficulties and unknown dangers of the navigation, "every ship of the squadron and many of the transports," says the Admiral, "have been on shore," but the bottom being everywhere of soft mud, they sustained no damage. Some opposition was offered from three batteries at Sheshan, about five leagues below the intersection of the Grand Canal, but they were abandoned, and the whole of the works destroyed.

The fleet was detained some days off Seshan by scant winds, and the Hon. Company's steamers 'Medusa' and 'Phlegethon,' while prosecuting the surveys, were opposed, on the 15th, at the entrance of the narrow channel between the island of Tseaoushan and a commanding promontory on its south side. by a battery of twelve guns. Lieutenants McCleverty and Hewett engaged these works and silenced them, "with much credit," as the Admiral wrote. The same afternoon, Sir Hugh Gough and Sir William Parker proceeded, with the 'Vixen' and 'Medusa,' to reconnoitre the approaches to Chin-Kiang-foo, when they not only found the battery and adjoining village deserted, but passed on without the slightest opposition close to the suburbs of the city, and above the island of Kinsham.

On the 17th, Captain Bourchier was sent with a strong squadron to blockade the entrances to the Grand Canal, and, on the 19th and 20th, the remainder of the fleet succeeded in reaching the anchorage at the entrance of the South Grand Canal, and preparations were made to attack the great city of Chin-Kiang-foo. The disembarkation of the troops was commenced at daybreak on the 21st of July, under cover of the guns of the 'Auckland,' the small steam vessels, and the armed boats. The right brigade, under Lord Saltoun, moved forward to attack the entrenched camp, which was carried after a brief resistance, and, about the same time, General Schoedde, with his brigade, ascended the heights on the river-side, "supported," writes the Admiral, "by a well-directed fire of shot and shells from the 'Auckland,'" to which, on this occasion, was allotted the place of honour. General Schoedde, with the left brigade, entered the city by escalading the northern wall, while General Bartley, with the centre brigade, accompanied by Sir Hugh

Gough, blew in the west outer gate, and carried all before him; and Captain Richards, of the flagship, with a naval brigade, including a strong detachment of the Indian Navy, escaladed the wall at another point.

"The enemy," wrote General Schoedde, "defended himself with the greatest gallantry, disputing every inch of ground, and fighting hand to hand with our men;' and the Admiral reported that "incredible numbers of Tartars, in some cases including whole families, have unhappily died by their own hands." Such was the capture of Chin-Kiang-foo, a city situated some two hundred miles from the mouth of the mighty Yang-tze, and only thirty miles from Nankin, the ancient capital and second city of China. The British loss was heavy, numbering one hundred and eighty-five killed and wounded, of whom about twenty had died from sunstroke, the day being oppressively hot.

The Admiral spoke in high terms of "the zeal and gallantry evinced by every officer and man of the Royal and Indian Navy and Royal Marines under my command, which has been equally manifested in bringing the fleet up this river, as in the subsequent operations on shore, in which they have been engaged."

A strong detachment of troops was left to occupy the heights —the city being uninhabitable owing to the number of decaying corpses—and to secure the mouth of the Grand Canal, and the remainder of the force embarked for Nankin, where they arrived on the 9th of August "This vast city," says Sir Hugh Gough, in his despatch, "which contains a population of one million souls, is surrounded by a wall twenty miles in circumference, and in some parts seventy feet high; and the garrison numbered fifteen thousand men, of whom six hundred were Tartars, exclusive of militia. The nearest part of the wall is 1000 yards' distance from the river, and at this point the ships of war took up their stations in order to shell the city." On the 11th, the force was landed, and the guns placed in position, the 13th being fixed for the bombardment. But the Commanders-in-chief were anxious to avert the scenes of horror they had witnessed after the assault of Chin-Kiang-foo, when "women and children in dozens were hanging from beams, or lying on the ground with their throats cut, or drowned in deep wells, to prevent their falling into our hands." The fall of one of the strongest cities in China had, at length, taught the Emperor and his advisers that the white "barbarians" were invincible, and, a truce being granted, full powers were given to three high Commissioners to conclude a treaty of peace.

After some conferences this instrument was signed on board the 'Cornwallis,' on the 29th of August, by the Commissioners Keying, Elepo, and New-King,—exactly three years from the

day on which the English were expelled from Macao by Lin. By the terms of this treaty, the Chinese Government agreed to pay an indemnity of 21,000,000 dollars; conceded the opening of the ports of Canton, Amoy, Fow-chow, Ningpo, and Shanghai, to British merchants, consular officers to reside there, and just tariffs to be established; ceded the island of Hong Kong in perpetuity—of which Sir Henry Pottinger, the able Plenipotentiary, was appointed the first Governor and Commander-in-chief; and agreed to other articles of minor importance.

On the payment of the first instalment of the indemnity, the fleet dropped down the river, and the greater portion of the force returned to India, garrisons being left at Chusan and Amoy, and one thousand eight hundred men at Hong Kong.* The 'Sesostris' left Nankin on the 1st of September, and Hong Kong on the 10th, with intelligence of the conclusion of peace; and, on the 16th of September, on receipt of the ratification of the treaty by the Emperor of China, Major Malcolm, secretary to Sir Henry Pottinger, proceeded in the 'Auckland' to Suez, on his return to England.

The 'Sesostris,' nearly the whole of whose crew were on the sick list, owing to the exposure and heat, arrived at Bombay on the 11th of October, and, in the following month, Commander H A. Ormsby proceeded on sick leave to the Mahableshwur Hills, when Lieutenant J. Rennie assumed temporary command. On the 7th of January following, Commander Ormsby resumed command of the 'Sesostris,' but the state of his health compelled him to proceed to Europe in the following March.† Lieutenant Rennie, also, had suffered so greatly in health that he had to take sick leave to England. In this expedition he first displayed that daring and aptitude for war, both as a seaman afloat and on shore with the Naval Brigade, for which he was distinguished in his subsequent career.

On the conclusion of hostilities, a general promotion of commanders to captains, and first lieutenants to commanders, took place in the Royal Navy, and, on the 14th of February, 1843, a vote of thanks was passed in both Houses of Parliament, to the military and naval forces of the Queen and Company en-

* We have stated the scale of batta paid to officers and men engaged in the operations in China, up to the end of June, 1841 By a Minute of the Treasury, dated July 26, 1844, it was ordered that the soldiers and seamen of Her Majesty and the East India Company "engaged in the whole of the operations commencing from August 21, 1841, and terminating with the signature of the treaty of peace on August 29, 1842," should receive twelve months' batta, and those employed on the Yang-tze-Kiang only, or in occupation at Hong Kong and other stations, six months' allowance.

† Commander Ormsby arrived at Bombay from Europe on the 12th of May, 1844, and, on the 8th of June, was appointed to the command of the 'Auckland;' but his health again gave way and he proceeded to the Neilgherry Hills in January, 1845, and to England in the following November. In June, 1846, he finally retired from the Service.

gaged in the China War. The Duke of Wellington, in moving the vote in the Lords, spoke of the operations in detail, and expressed his admiration "of the skill and energy of the officers and men engaged;" as regarded the attack on Canton, he described it "as unprecedented in the military and naval history of the country." The late Lord Derby (then Lord Stanley), in moving the vote of thanks in the House of Commons, also spoke in eulogistic terms. Sir William Parker wrote a despatch to the Governor-General, published in General Orders, the 7th of February, 1843, relative to the efficient aid rendered by the vessels of the Indian Navy; and Lord Auckland, successively First Lord of the Admiralty, and Governor-General, on the occasion of the banquet given by the Directors, on the 20th of February, 1847, to Sir Willoughby Cotton, the newly-appointed Commander-in-chief at Bombay, made allusion to the services of the Indian Navy in China, in the following complimentary terms:—"While thanking them on the part of the British Navy, he bespoke their good feelings in favour of a branch of the public service, though less considerable in number, not inferior in gallantry and devotion—he meant the Indian Navy. He had had occasion to remark the services and gallant actions performed by the officers of the Indian Navy in the Chinese War."

And yet we will venture to assert that most general readers, and many officers of the army and navy, who are familiar with the events of the China War of 1840-42, possess but a very hazy notion of the eminent services rendered by the officers and men of the Indian Navy. May these pages place them on record before a public which has relegated to obscurity a Service which did good and honourable work in its day.

On the conclusion of the war, the only ship of the Service that remained in China, was the 'Medusa,' of whose proceedings we will give a brief notice. The 'Medusa'—which, like the ill-fated 'Ariadne,' was sent out from England in pieces, and put together in Bombay Dockyard, under the superintendence of Captain Turner, of the Engineers—was a flat-bottomed iron steamer of 432 tons, 70 horse-power, and carried three swivel guns. She left Bombay for China on the 21st of September, 1841, under the command of Lieutenant H. H. Hewett, her officers being Midshipmen Adams, Way and Martin,* with the rank of acting mate, conferred under warrant of the commander, the day after leaving Bombay. On her arrival at

* Messrs Way and Martin left the 'Medusa' before the commencement of the operations up the Yang-tze-Kiang, ending with the treaty at Nankin. Midshipmen Twynam and Williams were sent from Bombay to replace them, and in February, 1844, Mr. Adams proceeded to Bombay to pass his examination for Lieutenant, though he had already done so with credit on board H.M.S. 'Cambrian.'

Manilla, the 'Medusa' filled up with wood, there being no coal available. Crossing the Formosa Channel for Hong Kong, she encountered a gale of wind, which freshened into a cyclone, and, as her fuel was expended, Lieutenant Hewett found himself under the necessity of bearing up for Singapore, and narrowly escaped losing his ship in the Gulf of Tonquin. The 'Medusa' put into Cameran Bay, in Cochin China, for fire-wood, which was procured from the natives ready cut and dried, in exchange for sheets and blankets. About midnight, after sailing thence, she encountered a terrific storm of thunder and lightning between Great and Little Catwicks, but the following morning broke fine, and the officers of the 'Medusa' were able to take observations for the first time since bearing up, when they found that the compasses were no less than three points out in deviation, although only half a point when proceeding up the China Sea. On his arrival at Singapore, Lieutenant Hewett refitted his ship with new bulwarks and had scarcely thoroughly repaired her when he received orders to proceed to Moulmein, as a war with Burmah was apprehended. The 'Medusa' remained there from January, 1842, to March, when she sailed for Calcutta, and was employed towing down the river the transports with reinforcements for China. In April, after being docked, she proceeded to China, joined the Expedition up the Yang-tze-Kiang, and was engaged, as already detailed, in the capture of Woosung, Shanghai, Ching-Kiang-foo, and also in numerous affairs with forts while serving as pioneer of the fleet.

After the conclusion of peace, the 'Medusa' was employed surveying Nimrod's Sound, and the North-East group of the Chusan Archipelago, and her name and that of her gallant commander were perpetuated in Chinese waters by the "Medusa Rock" and "Hewett Channel." On the 21st of November, 1845, the 'Medusa' left Hong Kong for Bombay, where she arrived on the 27th of December. While employed in China, Lieutenant Hewett was a universal favourite among all classes, and, when he returned to Bombay, the merchants of Hong Kong, who had often enjoyed his hospitality when proceeding as his guest, on business to the treaty ports, subscribed the sum of five hundred guineas and presented him with a handsome gold repeater watch and some plate. Lieutenant Hewett was remarkable in the Service for his dash and open-handed generosity, and he possessed, in addition, the scientific acquirements of an accomplished surveyor. Writing of this time, Mr. Adams, his first-lieutenant, says:—"He was a general favourite, and my *beau ideal* of a naval officer. He was always ready for any work, and from him I learnt that *can't* was not in the naval vocabulary," and, we may add, in justice to this officer, he carried the lesson into practice, and *can't* was a word which the

whilom first-lieutenant of the 'Medusa,' throughout his career, employed no more than did the commander of that vessel. On the 16th of February, 1846, Lieutenant Hewett was placed in temporary charge of the Draughtsman's Office, *vice* Lieutenant Montriou, who had sailed in the 'Taptee,' on the 22nd of October preceding, to prosecute the survey of the west coast as far as Beypore; but, on the 15th of July, he proceeded to Europe for three years on sick leave. While in England, the Court of Directors, in acknowledgment of the ability and zeal he had uniformly displayed during the period he was in command of the 'Medusa,' presented him with a sword of the value of one hundred guineas, bearing the following inscription:—"Presented by the Court of Directors of the East India Company to Lieutenant Harry Heald Hewett, of the Indian Navy, in testimony of the high sense the Court entertains of his services in command of the Honourable Company's steam-vessel 'Medusa,' while employed with the Naval Expedition in China, and in the China Seas, to the close of the year 1845."

The career of another ship, which arrived in China only to witness the closing scenes of the war, was as brief as it was unfortunate. The steam frigate 'Memnon,' under the command of Commander F. T. Powell, sailed from England for China early in 1842. Before leaving the Thames, an event occurred which negatived the prevalent opinion that the ships of the Indian Navy could not legally fly the pennant to the westward of the Cape of Good Hope, if this privilege was regarded as the evidence of authority to exercise Martial Law. A seaman behaved disrespectfully to the first-lieutenant, and, when seized, fell down the hatchway and broke his arm. He brought a complaint before the magistrate of the Thames Police Court, who, after looking at the Articles of War, intimated that he must dismiss the case, as it was beyond his jurisdiction and amenable to Martial Law. While on this point of Naval Discipline, we may mention a cognate case. In 1846, the Honourable Company's steam-frigate 'Ajdaha,' while on her way to India, proceeded into Portsmouth harbour flying the pennant; and, on her right to do so being referred to the Admiralty, a reply was received to the effect, that the Naval Commander-in-chief had better not interfere with this privilege of the Indian Navy.

The 'Memnon' arrived at Bombay, on her return from Hong Kong, on the 26th of January, 1843. She was then employed in carrying the mails to Suez, and, on the 22nd of July, for the last time, left Bombay for that port. The wind and sea were not worse than during ordinary monsoon weather, up to the 31st of July, when the ship being off the coast of Africa, it blew a strong gale with a heavy sea; at four p.m., sea and wind

went down very suddenly, and the ship was kept away N. by E. during the night. At eleven a m. on the 1st of August, there being a strong gale with a heavy sea, the tiller got jambed hard a-starboard, and could only be cleared at last by breaking up the deck over the head of the rudder, and cutting away all the slide groove. Matters were got to rights again about 1 30 p m.; but, during the whole of this time, the ship had been rolling about almost a helpless log on the water, the fore and main topmasts being struck. The delay occasioned by this accident was, in all probability, in some measure, the cause of the loss of the ship that night, as otherwise the high land of Guardafui would have been sighted early in the evening. About eleven p.m , the officer of the watch went down to Commander Powell and reported that the ship was close ashore. The captain proceeded on deck, and turned the hands up, but it was too late as the ship was in the midst of breakers, with the high land of Guardafui distant about eight miles on the larboard quarter. A heavy sea now struck the 'Memnon,' and she went on shore with a tremendous crash, broadside on; the engines were instantly shattered, her back broken, and the engine-room swamped. The ship then fell over on her starboard side, which was then to windward, and the deck thus became fully exposed to every sea that struck her. The lee fore-rigging, which was taut from the laying over of the ship, was immediately cut, when the foremast went over the side to windward; the same was done with the mainmast, but it would not go until the body of the mast had been cut into about eight inches, when it also fell over the side, carrying with it the starboard cutter, and the funnel followed immediately afterwards. The ship then forged rather nearer the shore. Lieutenant Leeds, and a few hands, lowered and manned the port cutter, but the line they carried paid out so fast that it was lost, and with it that hope of establishing a communication with the shore. The boat and party, however, landed in safety under the lee of the ship. The seas now came sweeping over the ill-fated 'Memnon,' which continued rolling and striking heavily. Little could be done, but wait patiently for daylight, which all hands did without noise and confusion, though the night was bitterly cold, and there was great danger of the ship suddenly breaking up All that could be got at, such as beds, trunks, &c., were thrown overboard on the chance of their being washed ashore. About three o'clock a.m., the ship began to show signs of breaking up, as the framework was evidently loosening, and the deck planks were opening and closing. Commander Powell then commenced endeavours to establish a communication with the party on shore; and, after failing to do so by means of a rocket and kite, succeeded in veering a line ashore, made fast to a spar, which the party there secured; a hawser was soon

stretched, and communication established by hauling the cutter to and fro, under the lee of the ship The passengers and sick were first despatched ashore, and as much provisions as were procurable—about twelve days' biscuit and some preserved meats—with arms and ammunition. About midday the cutter was unfortunately stove in, but the people on shore managed to patch her up, so that, with constant baling, she made two more trips, and brought off the remainder of the crew, Commander Powell being the last to leave his ship.

They now found themselves on a desert shore, without a drop of water; but, at night, a small quantity was brought in by the Soomalies, for which they asked the exorbitant price of 2 rupees per skin. From this date until the 4th, officers and men took up their quarters on the sand, under a hurricane-house, composed of planking from the wreck.

At eleven o'clock a.m. on the 4th of August, the whole party, with the exception of Commander Powell and a few men, marched under command of the First Lieutenant, Mr. (now Captain) Balfour, for a watering place about seven miles distant. The route lay over a plain of burning sand, and the sufferings of the whole party from thirst were very great; a large portion of the men fell before reaching the water, and one died of apoplexy. Water was sent back to those who had dropped on the road, and, about three o'clock p.m., the whole had come up. In the evening Commander Powell joined, with all the remaining sick on camels, which had been procured from the Soomalies. It was now determined that no more day marches should be attempted.

On the 5th, they marched, at sunset, to a watering-place on the road to Hulloolah, seven miles distant. Here water was found by digging holes in the nullah. but it had a strong alkaline taste. On the following day the Sherreef of Hulloolah came into camp, and recommended them. instead of undertaking a march to that place, which they would find very distressing, to return again down to the coast, to a place a few miles distant from the wreck, where he had boats all ready, with abundance of water, to take the whole party on to Hulloolah, where he promised to provide them with baghalahs to carry them to Aden. He said he would ask no price for his services, but trusted to the English Government for remuneration. This proposal was eagerly closed with; and, in the evening, the party marched to a spot on the beach, called Bunder Lug, where they found one small boat of about twenty tons, and four small fishing boats, but not a drop of water. On the 7th, it was found that nothing could be done until the Sherreef had been paid 800 rupees, nearly their whole stock of cash. After waiting under a burning sun, without a drop of water, until three p.m., they waded out to the boats, in which they were forced to sit, like herrings

in a barrel, for twenty-four hours in their wet clothes. On the 8th, at three p.m, they came to an anchor at a watering place called Boa, about seven miles from Hulloolah, where the nacodah of the boat advised them to make their camp; the Sherreef tried to induce them to go to that town, but they refused to have anything more to do with him.

A military officer, who was a passenger on board the 'Memnon,' says of their later proceedings:—

"On coming to an anchor, we had to swim ashore through the surf. Our encamping ground was a beach of fine white sand, which made a most comfortable bed, and plenty of water to be had by scooping out the sand about two feet deep with our hands. We slept every night in the open air, and were always soaking wet through in the morning, but from low living, and having no liquor whatever, we all kept our healths; there was not even a cold amongst the whole of us Our daily allowance was at first half a handful of biscuits and two handsful of dates. When the biscuit fell short we had to take to jowary. On the 16th, Rubeah bin Salem, an Arab merchant at Fetuk, came into camp, and changed the face of affairs. by offering to supply everything on credit. Orders were, therefore, given to him to complete a month's supply for the whole party. Some days previous to this, after a long discussion, an arrangement had been made with the nacodah of the boat we came to Hulloolah in, to take a party to Aden to obtain assistance; this, after some time, he agreed to do for 300 dollars, to be paid on reaching Aden. On the morning of the 17th, at eight, a party, consisting of Lieutenant Balfour, Mr. Stradling, and three seamen of the 'Memnon,' with five passengers, embarked on board her, and put up sail, with three cheers from the whole party on shore. We had a hazardous cruise of eight days in this craft, several times having had most narrow escapes of being upset during the heavy land squalls. On the 22nd got sight of a barque, which, on approaching, we found to be the wreck of the 'Captain Cook,' of Scarborough; we boarded her, and found the Soomalies plundering her. As the crew had been taken to Aden by a brig, we imagined that some craft would soon be sent down from that place to the wreck. We wrote up a description of the wreck of the 'Memnon' on the mast with tar, and gave a note in pencil to one of the Soomalies, who promised to deliver it to any ship that might come. On the morning of the 23rd, finding that our water was failing and no chance of procuring more, we decided at once to bear up for Aden. All hands were put upon two measures of water per diem, the measure being a tin wafer box, and we weighed anchor with a stiff land breeze. From the part of the coast whence we took our departure, Aden bore, by a rough calculation, north-west about 130 miles. We had neither chart, compass,

nor sextant, but, thank God, made the high land of Aden at half-past ten a m. of the 25th. Got to the entrance of Back Bay at nine p.m., but the wind failing, did not come to anchor until eleven. On reporting our arrival to the Political Agent, the Hon. Company's ship 'Tigris' was immediately ordered to proceed to Hulloolah to bring up the rest of the crew, and we were most hospitably received."

Great credit was due to the officers and men of the 'Memnon,' and, particularly, to Lieutenant Balfour, for the discipline that was maintained under very trying circumstances; watches were kept as if the ship had been in commission, and perfect order and obedience were enforced, no punishment being inflicted after the first day. When it is remembered that at this spot, Hulloolah, twenty years later, a commissioned officer and thirteen seamen and marines of H.M.S. 'Penguin,' though armed with Enfield rifles, were massacred to a man by a party of Soomalies, the immunity from attack enjoyed by this party of half armed and starving seamen, burdened with sick and passengers, and fainting for want of water, aggravated by long marches over a burning desert, was, doubtless, due to the discipline of the men and the firm attitude assumed by the officers.

The 'Clive' and 'Constance' proceeded from Aden to the scene of the wreck off Cape Guardafui, or Ras Assair—the north-east point of Africa, on which the 'Memnon' was wrecked—and were employed in saving the specie and mail boxes.

On hearing of the loss of the 'Memnon,' Sir Robert Oliver ordered Lieutenant C. D. Campbell, then in command of the 'Palinurus,' guard-ship at Kurrachee, to return to Bombay and proceed to the wreck for salvage purposes. The 'Palinurus' reached Bombay on the 6th of October, and sailed for Cape Guardafui on the 17th, with the necessary submarine apparatus for recovering stores. Lieutenant Campbell reached the scene of the wreck on the 31st of October, and, anchoring in twenty fathoms of water, at once set to work. On the 20th of December gales set in, and he was forced to run for shelter to Oolock Bay. On the 10th of January, 1844—the surgeon having been drowned in the surf five days before—the 'Palinurus' proceeded to Aden, where she discharged the recovered stores and copper, amounting to sixty tons On the 2nd of March she again arrived at the wreck, by the 17th got in the remainder of the stores and the iron 68-pounder guns—no light work with the appliances at his disposal and a small brig of less than 200 tons—and, heavy weather again coming on, on the 22nd ran round to Oolock Bay. Finding nothing more could be done, he left for Aden, which was reached on the 29th of March. Having discharged the recovered stores, amounting to thirty tons, to the 'Tigris,' 'Queen,' and 'Semiramis,' Lieutenant Campbell

sailed on the following day for Bombay, which he reached on the 2nd of June; on reporting himself at the Marine Office, Sir Robert Oliver saluted him with the frank avowal:—"Glad to have you back all safe, did not expect to see you again."

After discharging at the dockyard, the remainder of the stores and the 68-pounders, Lieutenant Campbell, whose health had suffered by the arduous nature of his services in Mesopotamia with the Euphrates Expedition, and at the wreck of the 'Memnon,' where he played the part of chief diver, proceeded to England on sick leave.

Commander Powell was arraigned before a court-martial on the 3rd of April, 1844, for the loss of his ship, but was fully acquitted of all blame. The officer of the watch on the night of the 1st of August, was also tried by court-martial on the 18th of May, for neglecting to heave the lead as ordered by Commander Powell, but was acquitted, upon which the singular anomaly was presented of Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas McMahon, the Commander-in-chief of the Bombay Army—to whom, under the existing regulations as to Martial Law, the Superintendent of the Indian Navy had to apply to convene a court-martial—remarking upon the finding of the Court, which he disapproved.

During the year 1841, an important augmentation in the numerical strength of the officers of the Indian Navy, was sanctioned by the Court of Directors. The following is the Government Order:—

"Bombay Castle, November 5, 1841.

"The following extract of a despatch from the Hon. the Court of Directors, No. 62, dated the 27th of August last, is published for general information:—

"21. The establishment, of which our despatch of the 30th of January, 1839, contemplated that the Indian Navy might eventually consist,* is therefore inadequate to the performance of the duties required of it. And in order that a sufficient number of officers may be always available for the various demands of the public service afloat, or otherwise, after making due allowances for furloughs or absence on sick leave, we have resolved that the following be the establishment of the Indian Navy, allowing, in accordance with the practice observed in the Royal Navy, those midshipmen who have passed their final examination, to be styled 'mates,'† and to receive an increased rate of pay, viz.:—captains, six; commanders, twelve; lieutenants, forty-eight; mates and midshipmen, seventy-two; total, one hundred and thirty-eight.

"22. Of this aggregate number, after deducting for absentees,

* Captains, four, Commanders, eight; Lieutenants, forty, Midshipmen, forty-eight,—total, one hundred

† It was not until 1855, that by General Orders of the 8th of August, mates were made commissioned officers.

a proportion of one-third in the grades of captains and commanders, of one-sixth in that of lieutenants, and of one-tenth in those of mates and midshipmen, there will remain effective, four captains, eight commanders, forty lieutenants, sixty-four mates and midshipmen, total, one hundred and sixteen; so that besides the officers employed in the ships and boats already mentioned, there will generally be a few of each grade available for other duty.

"23. And here it will be proper that we should state, with reference to the concluding paragraph of the Governor's Minute of the 24th of December, respecting what are termed 'shore appointments,' that it is desirable that the posts of assistant to the Superintendent of the Indian Navy, of assistant-secretary to the Military Board in the Naval Department, and of draughtsman, should be filled by officers on the effective list, holding either the rank of commander or of lieutenant; and with the exception of those three posts, it must be a rule that officers accepting a shore appointment must be removed altogether from the effective list of the Indian Navy

"24. The situation of 'Master-Attendant' is now reserved as an appointment for a captain of the Indian Navy, on certain conditions,* one of which being that he shall first resign the active service; and the office of 'Indian Naval Storekeeper' should also be reserved for one of the captains of that Service, upon the same terms and conditions, but we do not propose to disturb the present tenure of Captain Simpson.

"26. You will make the requisite promotions consequent upon the increase of establishment authorized upon this letter, and we shall furnish you with an adequate supply of young gentlemen as volunteers.

"28. In conclusion we would remark, in reference to the command allowances of the new ratings under Captain Oliver's scheme of August, 1839, which has already been adverted to, that in our despatch of the 31st of December, 1829, we approved of a scale, whereby we allowed to a captain of a first rate, 900 rupees a month; second do., 800 rupees; commander third do., 600 rupees; fourth do., 500 rupees. Captain Oliver's scheme makes no allusion to first-rate vessels, and reduces the command allowance of third-rates to 500 rupees per month; but it is our wish that the senior officer in the Persian Gulf should continue in the receipt of the first-rate allowance: that when the command of a second-rate be given to a commander, the allowance be reduced from 800 rupees to 700 rupees a month, and that the allowance of a third-rate vessel, when commanded by an officer holding the rank of commander, should remain as before at 600 rupees a month.

* Salary Rs 15,000 per annum. Pension—The retired to which the regulations would have entitled him at the time he resigned the active service.

"29. It being intended by the scheme to place lieutenants in command of fourth-rates, the command allowance of that class of vessels at 400 rupees a month is proper; but should the command of a vessel of the fourth-rate be given to a commander, his allowance ought to be raised to the former amount, viz., 500 rupees a month."

It will be seen by Paragraph 28 of the preceding that Captain Oliver, in his zeal for economy, proposed that the Court should cut down the allowances of commanding officers to a point below that at which they had been placed by the Court more than ten years before. When it is considered that officers of the Indian Navy were paid at a rate much lower than that received by their brethren of the Army, or even the branch pilots at Calcutta, and, therefore, might legitimately have asked for an increase, it cannot be a subject of wonder that Captain Oliver's interference in a sense opposed to the interests of those whose just claims he ought to have been foremost to defend, rendered him an object of dislike and distrust to the officers of the Service.

As regards the payment of 900 rupees to the captains of all vessels called first-rates, no such class existed, and, therefore, the order remainder unfulfilled. The command allowance for the eighteen-gun sloops had always been 800 rupees per mensem, by whomsoever it was held, but now that they were classed as third-rates, the steam frigates alone being called second-rates, the officer in charge, if a commander, was to receive 600 rupees, and, if a lieutenant, 500 rupees.*

* The following order was published in the Marine Department —

"November 13 Consequent on the augmentation of the Indian Navy, the following promotions are made, to have effect from the 11th of October, 1841 — Commanders W Lowe and Stafford B Haines to be captains, on augmentation Lieutenants Frederick T Powell and George Robinson to be commanders, *vice* Lowe and Haines promoted Richard Ethersey, James A Young, Henry A. Ormsby and G B Kempthorne to be commanders, consequent on the augmentation Midshipmen Henry W Grounds and Andrew Nesbitt to be lieutenants, *vice* Powell and Robinson, promoted John Roberts, Albany M Grieve, Frederick E Manners, and George W Leeds, to be lieutenants, *vice* Ethersey, Young, Ormsby, and Kempthorne, promoted Samuel B King, and Edward C Zouch to be lieutenants on the augmentation"

In the year 1843, the commissions of the undermentioned midshipmen, were antedated as follows, by a General Order, dated Bombay Castle, March 2, issued in pursuance of the orders of the Hon Court of Directors Mr J Sheppard, *vice* Wyburd, struck off the list, October 16, 1837 Mr M W Lynch, *vice* Rogers, promoted, December 13, 1837 Mr J F. Jones, *vice* Harvey, deceased, December 16, 1837 Mr. H H. Hewett, *vice* Clendon, deceased, April, 16, 1838. Mr J S Grieve, *vice* Sawyer, retired, January 21, 1839 Mr A E Ball, *vice* Lloyd, retired; February 13, 1839 Mr J Stephens, *vice* Harris, retired; April 9, 1839. Mr W C Barker, *vice* Powell, retired, April 10, 1839. Mr. A McDonald, *vice* Denton, retired, July 1, 1839 Mr. W. Christopher, *vice* Swan, retired, July 1, 1839 Mr W Fell, *vice* Prentice, retired, July 1, 1839. Mr W E Campbell, *vice* Sharp, retired, July 8, 1839 Mr. A H Gardner, *vice* Warden, retired, July 9, 1839 Mr. H A Drought, *vice* Rogers, retired, July 15, 1839. Mr. J S. Draper, *vice* Pruen, retired; July 18, 1839. Mr. J.

The Indian Government having come to the resolution to remove the British troops from the island of Kharrack, on the 4th of January, 1842, the Hon. Company's steam frigate 'Auckland,' Captain W. Lowe, proceeded to the Persian Gulf, and was followed, on the 6th, by the corvette 'Coote.' These ships, assisted by the schooners 'Royal Tiger' and 'Mahi,' embarked the troops and heavy guns from Kharrack, which was thus evacuated after an occupation of two years and a half. And here we would take the opportunity of protesting, as we did some years ago in a letter published in the 'Times,' against the unwisdom of our ceasing to hold this most important strategical position. Kharrack commands at once the mouths of the Shatt-ul-Arab and Bushire, and it is difficult to exaggerate its importance, of which its first European occupants, the Dutch, were fully alive. It may be said that, like Perim, having once been occupied by a British garrison, it can be re-occupied without exciting alarm or international jealousy, and this, indeed, is the only satisfactory reason that can be advanced for its evacuation. With Kharrack in our possession at one extremity of the Persian Gulf, and Ormuz at the other, that inland sea would be, practically, a British lake, in the event of any future complication with a great European Power, or the seizure of the Euphrates valley by Russia. Ormuz possesses the one great drawback of being without water, but, like Perim, the requirements of the garrison might be satisfied by condensers in the event of the supply from the mainland being cut off, as happened during the memorable siege of 1622, when the prowess of the Company's sailors gave Portuguese ascendency in the East its death blow. Kharrack, on the other hand, has the advantage of possessing an ample supply of water, and the island, which was surveyed, during our occupation, by Major Goodfellow, of the Bombay Engineers, could be easily made defensible During the Russo-Turkish War, now in progress, Lord Derby informed Prince Gortschakoff that he considered British interests demanded the freedom from Russian control, of Constantinople, the

Rennie, *vice* Dent, retired, July 18, 1839. Mr R. McKenzie, *vice* Buckler, retired, July 29, 1839 Mr B Hamilton, *vice* Buckle, retired, September 17, 1839 Mr C J Cruttenden, *vice* Bowring, retired, September 26, 1839 Mr. A Ford, *vice* Wood, retired, November 23, 1839 Mr W B Selby, *vice* Winn, retired, May 31, 1840 Mr W Balfour, *vice* Offer, deceased, August 22, 1840. Mr C H Berthon, *vice* Lynch, deceased, December 27, 1840 Mr G W. Wollaston, *vice* Porter, promoted consequent on Captain Moresby's retirement, April 1, 1840

Though there was an augmentation of lieutenants, there was no increase in their pay, and it will scarcely be credited that up to the time of the abolition of the Indian Navy, the lieutenants, who ranked with captains in the Army, received only 145 rupees per mensem, a sum considerably less than their compeers in the Royal Navy, and this injustice was perpetuated, though military officers of all ranks received a higher rate of pay than Royal officers. The officers of the Service memorialised the Court of Directors on this injustice, but, under Orders dated the 22nd of February, 1844, their prayer for redress was rejected.

Suez Canal, and the Persian Gulf. As regards the appearance of any Russian force in the Persian Gulf, the idea would appear to be most chimerical, for it could do nothing when it got there as long as we have command of the sea, and the road to India, by the Euphrates valley to the head of the Gulf, or through Persia, will scarcely ever be adopted by a Russian army seeking to invade our Eastern Empire, which must make the attempt, if ever such a mad project is put into execution, by the passes through which every conqueror, from Alexander and Mahmoud of Ghuznee, has penetrated. Nevertheless, it is impolitic, we think, to cease to occupy so advantageous a position as Kharrack.

Captain W. Lowe was appointed Commodore of the Persian Gulf squadron from the 1st of January, 1842, Commodore Brucks' term of service having expired, and shifted his broad pennant to the 'Elphinstone,' being succeeded in the command of the 'Auckland' by Commander R. Ethersey, who, on the 15th of March, sailed for China, where he was of signal service during the concluding operations of the war, as already narrated.

On the 26th of February in this year, a fine steam frigate, named the 'Semiramis,' was launched from the dockyard, and added to the Service Her dimensions were as follow:—length, 189 feet; breadth, 34 feet; depth of hold, 21 feet Her burden was 1,040 tons, and her steam-power about 250 horses. She was fitted with two 68-pounder pivot guns, and six heavy guns on the main deck, though this armament was subseqnently changed for six 8-inch guns

An extraordinary instance of mortality from cholera* occurred, in 1842, on board the Hon. Company's steamer 'Zenobia,' while carrying troops from Bombay to Kurrachee. In a few hours there died no less than thirty-four men, chiefly belonging to H.M's 28th Regiment, on passage to Scinde, who, having been drenched with rain when brought on board, were subjected to great heat during the passage

By notification, dated the 11th of August, 1842, the Governor in Council made public the dates of despatch of mails and passengers by the Company's steamers. They were to leave Bombay for Suez on the 1st of each month, except during the monsoon months, June to September inclusive, when there would be no despatch. This was, however, soon changed, and we find that, in the following year, the steamers made the passage in the teeth of the monsoon to Aden, a task of no little

* Attacks of cholera were more frequent and virulent in those days, owing to the want of the most ordinary sanitary precautions and bad diet In June, 1846, an outbreak occurred at Kurrachee, when, in nine days there died, two officers, fifty sergeants, seven hundred and sixty-three privates, thirty-two women, and forty-eight children, besides five hundred and ninety-five Sepoys

difficulty and danger with vessels of the insufficient horse-power of some of the Company' ships. On the 22nd of March, 1843,* Captain R. Cogan,† who had returned to England after a few months passed at Bombay in the previous year, brought forward a motion before the Court of Proprietors, censuring Captain Oliver for his administration of the Service, in appointing "adventurers" to the command of ships, mentioning the case of a Mr. Newman being appointed, as an acting-master, to the command of the 'Zenobia,' in October, 1842, while Lieutenant A. Nesbitt, an officer of twelve years' standing, who had been severely wounded in action in the Company's service, "was sent in charge of the mails on about one half Mr. Newman's salary."‡ His motion also censured Captain Oliver, "for arbitrarily suspending, degrading, and dismissing officers without court-martial or any inquiry," instancing the dismissal of Commander Young from the 'Berenice,' Commander Kempthorne from the 'Victoria,' and Lieutenant Bird from the 'Cleopatra.' The motion was opposed, and the oppression denied, by the Chairman, General Sir James Law Lushington, and by Mr. Loch, and it was negatived by a large majority.

* In 1843, the Governor in Council published the following order —

"March 6 The following extract of a despatch, No 70, dated the 30th of December, 1842, from the Hon the Court of Directors, is published for general information —We direct that when an officer, holding the rank of captain or commander on the effective list of the Indian Navy, shall be employed in any office or situation on shore to which a staff salary or allowance is attached, he be allowed to draw, in addition to such staff salary or allowance, the reduced or shore pay only of his rank, viz., if a captain, Rs 400 a month, if a commander, Rs 300, unless the staff salary or allowance may have been fixed under special and peculiar circumstances on the principal of consolidation, as in the instances of the present political agent at Aden, and the timber agent at Calicut, in such cases the pay of the officer will merge for the time being in the consolidated salary of the situation We further direct, that if a captain or a commander on the effective list, and not drawing either of the established command allowances, shall be employed temporarily under orders of Government doing duty on shore, for the performance of which no staff salary is allotted, he shall, during such temporary employment, be paid at the following rate, viz, if a captain, at Rs 602 a month, if a commander, at Rs 422 ditto"

† Captain Cogan, who was one of the most distinguished officers of the Service, died on the 26th of November, 1847, aged forty-nine

‡ It should be stated, in justice to Mr Newman, that he had been employed as an acting-master in the Indian Navy since the year 1837 or 1838, and had done good service. He commanded the 'Zenobia' at the time of the outbreak of cholera already referred to, and in the "Conquest of Scinde" will be found a letter by Sir Charles Napier to his brother, describing him as "a noble fellow" Whatever the most unceasing kindness and attention could effect, Mr Newman did for the poor sufferers, and Sir Charles Napier, Lord Altamont, and other military officers on board, presented him with a gold snuff-box in testimony of their admiration and esteem

It appears that by General Orders, dated the 10th of March, 1843, Lieutenant Nesbitt, the officer mentioned by Captain Cogan, was gazetted to the temporary command of the 'Victoria' in the place of Lieutenant J S Grieve, who proceeded to Europe on sick leave; and we find that Mr. Newman was transferred to the command of the Hon Company's iron steamer 'Indus,' which was employed between Bombay and Kurrachee, and in 1843 he was given the command of the 'Hugh Lindsay,' which was henceforth employed on the Madras side. The

In 1843, Commodore Brucks presented a Memorial to the Court of Directors, praying that increased honours and emoluments might be conferred on the Service, but, though the Directors were, doubtless, well disposed towards their ill-requited, but long-suffering, Naval Service, the Court, the Admiralty, and "the Authorities" generally, utterly ignored it, and, as the Indian Navy boasted no friends in high places, or possessed any back-stairs influence, the reception of the Memorial was similar to that which had befallen one presented, in 1823, by Commodore Sir John Hayes—that is to say, its prayer was not granted. The officers of the Royal Navy, for their conduct during the China War, received promotion throughout all ranks, and a liberal dispensation of the Bath, such as the irreverent have, in later times, dubbed "a shower bath," but the only reward vouchsafed the Indian Navy, beyond the repeated thanks of the gallant old Commander-in-chief, Sir William Parker—and, perhaps, after all, this acknowledgment is, and should be, the most valued by military and naval men—the only reward, we say, was the honour of knighthood conferred by Her Majesty upon Captain Oliver, their Superintendent, who, "rose up," as the saying is, Sir Robert Oliver, Knight! As Voltaire would have said, this treatment of an ancient and honourable Service, which had always confessedly done its duty, must have had for its object, "*pour encourager les autres.*" This advancement to a dignity highly appreciated, and much sought after, by civic dignitaries, who regard the honour as a suitable reward for having entertained royalty, was conferred upon Captain Oliver—as we gather from a notification published by the Bombay Government after the death of the gallant officer —"expressly in acknowledgment of the zeal and ability with which he had exerted himself to further Her Majesty's service in relation to the Expedition sent to the China Seas."

We have already mentioned that, in 1838-39, at the time of the invasion of Afghanistan, a flotilla, for the transport of troops and *matériel*, was established in Scinde, with head-quarters at Kotree, having for its Superintendent and Assistant-

officers of the Indian Navy who held commissions and joined the Service under a "covenant" that, subject to the rules of seniority, they were entitled to receive commands as they became vacant, had just grounds of complaint when, after struggling on for six years as midshipmen on a monthly pittance of 50 rupees, and a further indefinite period as mates on 100 rupees, and as lieutenants on 145 rupees a month, they were denied the commands to which they were justly entitled. On this point, the "Bombay Times," of May, 1849, on the occasion of Mr Acting-Master Kingcombe, of the 'Indus' flotilla, assuming command of the 'Medusa,' which he had before held, observed "During his former command, in the time of Sir R Oliver, a considerable noise was made, and we think with great justice, that an acting-master should hold charge of a steam-vessel on a salary of 250 rupees a month, while there were many unemployed lieutenants enjoying the magnificent allowance of 145 rupees"

Superintendent,* commissioned officers of the Indian Navy, and, for the subordinate ranks, acting-masters, and crews, all under Martial Law. The duties of the Superintendent and his Assistant were most arduous and responsible, among the successive occupants of the former post, being Captains Nott, Ethersey, Daniell, Hamilton, and Balfour; and of that of Assistant-Superintendent, Lieutenants Hopkins, Holt, James, and Child.

Early in 1843 Scinde became the scene of stirring events, in which the flotilla participated At this time Commander A. H. Nott was Superintendent, and the vessels under his command, consisted of the 'Mootnee,' head-quarter vessel, and five steamers, having European and Native crews, and armed with two heavy pivot guns. Having transported Sir Charles Napier and his army from Sukkur† to the left bank of the Indus, Commander Nott detached the 'Satellite' and 'Planet,' vessels of 335 tons and 60 horse-power, to accompany the army on its march to Hyderabad, the capital, in order to keep open communications and prevent any hostile bands from crossing the river; and Commander Nott himself followed a few days later in the 'Comet,' for the same purpose.

On the 15th of February, 1843, the British Residency at Hyderabad was treacherously attacked by a force of eight thousand Belooches, with six guns, commanded by Meer Shahdad Khan, one of the principal Ameers. The Residency, which was protected, on three sides, by a low wall only four or five feet high, and, on the fourth side, by the 'Planet,' steamer, was held by a garrison of one hundred men, the Light Company

* The Assistant-Superintendent also held the appointments of Superintendent of Boats on the Indus and Government freight-agent, and, as Senior Naval officer at Mooltan, after its capture in 1849, had charge of the Government stores and treasure at that important town, and the superintendence of the embarkation of the troops and passengers to and from the Punjaub and North-West Provinces

† We cannot resist extracting the following singular General Order of Sir C. Napier, dated "Sukkur, the 21st of November, 1842," which evinces an eccentricity not without example in men of genius —"Gentlemen, as well as beggars, may, if they like, ride to the devil when they get on horseback, but neither gentlemen nor beggars have a right to send other people there, which will be the case if furious riding be allowed in camp or bazaar The Major-General recalls the attention of all in camp to the order of Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace (dated the 18th ultimo), and begs to add that he has placed a detachment of horse at Captain Pope's orders, who will arrest any offender, and Captain Pope will inflict such a fine or other punishment as the bazaar regulations permit. This order to be published through the cantonment by beat of drum for three successive days. Captain Pope is not empowered to let any one off punishment, because, when orders have been repeatedly not obeyed, it is time to enforce them Without obedience, an army becomes a mob and a cantonment a bear-garden The enforcement of obedience is like physic, not agreeable, but at times very necessary" The above can only be matched by an Order of Sir Lionel Smith, the officer who commanded the expedition against the Beni-boo-Ali Arabs in 1821, prohibiting "pariah dogs and galloping cadets" from appearing on the Poonah parade-ground during Divine Service.

of H.M.'s 22nd Regiment, under Captain Conway, forming the escort of the Resident, Major (the late Sir) James Outram. This small force, assisted by the fire of the 'Planet,' kept the enemy at bay for four hours, and killed ninety of them; but, at length, their ammunition being expended, they retired in the best possible order to the 'Planet' and 'Satellite,' which had fortunately arrived, and joined Sir Charles Napier at Hala

Major Outram gives the following account of this affair in a despatch to Sir Charles Napier, dated "On board the 'Planet' steamer, fifteen miles above Hyderabad, six p.m., February the 17th, 1843:—At nine a.m. this morning, a dense body of cavalry and infantry took post on three sides of the Agency compound, (the fourth being defended by the 'Planet' steamer about five hundred yards distant) in the gardens and houses which immediately commanded the enclosure, and which it was impossible to hold with our limited numbers A hot fire was opened by the enemy, and continued incessantly for four hours; but all their attempts to enter the Agency enclosure, although merely surrounded by a wall, varying from four to five feet high, were frustrated by Captain Conway's able distribution of his small band, and the admirable conduct of every individual soldier composing it under the gallant example of their commanding officer, and his subalterns, Lieutenant Harding and Ensign Pennefather, of H.M.'s 22nd Regiment, also Captain Green, of the 21st Regiment Native Infantry, and Wells of the 15th Regiment, who volunteered their services, to each of whom was assigned the charge of a separate quarter, also to your aide-de-camp, Captain Brown, Bengal Engineers, who carried my orders to the steamer, and assisted in working her guns and directing her flanking fire. Our ammunition being limited to forty rounds per man, the officers directed their whole attention to reserving their fire, and keeping their men close under cover, never showing themselves or returning a shot, except when the enemy attempted to rush, or showed themselves in great numbers; consequently great execution was done with trifling expenditure of ammunition and with little loss. Our hope of receiving a reinforcement and a supply of ammunition by the 'Satellite' steamer (hourly expected) being disappointed, on the arrival of that vessel without either, shortly after the commencement of the attack, it was decided at twelve a.m., after being three hours under fire, to retire to the steamer while still we had sufficient ammunition left to fight the vessel up the river. Accordingly, I requested Captain Conway to keep the enemy at bay one hour, while the property was removed, for which that time was ample, could the camp followers be induced to exert themselves. After delivering their first loads on board, however, they were so terrified at the enemy's cross

fire on the clear space between the compound and the vessel, that none could be persuaded to return except a few of the officers' servants, with whose assistance but little could be removed during the limited time we could afford; consequently much had to be abandoned, and I am sorry to find that the loss chiefly fell upon the officers and men, who were too much occupied in keeping off the enemy to be able to attend to their own interests. Accordingly, after the expiration of another hour (during which the enemy, despairing of otherwise effecting their object, had brought up six guns to bear upon us), we took measures to evacuate the Agency. Captain Conway called in his posts, and all being united, retired in a body, covered by a few skirmishers, as deliberately as on parade (carrying off our slain and wounded), which, and the fire from the steamboats, deterred the enemy from pressing us as they might have done. All was embarked, and I then directed Mr. Acting-Commander Miller, commanding the 'Satellite' steamer, to proceed with his vessel to the wood station, three miles up the river on the opposite bank, to secure a sufficiency of fuel for our purposes, ere it should be destroyed by the enemy, while I remained with the 'Planet,' to take off the barge that was moored to the shore. This being a work of some time, during which a hot fire was opened on the vessel from three guns which the enemy brought to bear on her, besides small arms, and requiring much personal exposure of the crew (especially of Mr. Cole, the commander of the vessel). I deem it my duty to bring to your favourable notice their zealous exertions on the occasion, and also to express my obligation to Messrs. Miller and Cole for the flanking fire they maintained on the enemy during their attacks on the Agency, and for their support during the retirement and embarkation of the troops. The 'Satellite' was also exposed to three guns in her progress up to the wood station, one of which she dismounted by her fire. The vessels were followed by large bodies of the enemy for about three miles, occasionally opening their guns upon us to no purpose. Since then we have pursued our voyage up the Indus about fifteen miles without molestation, and propose to-morrow morning anchoring off Muttaree, where I expect to find your camp. Our casualties amount to two men of H.M.'s 22nd Regiment, and one camp follower, killed; and Mr. Conductor Kelly, Mr. Carlisle, Agency Clerk, two of the steamer's crew, four of H.M.'s 22nd Regiment, and two camp followers, wounded, and four camp followers missing. Total, three killed, ten wounded, and four missing.

Sir Charles Napier, hearing that the Ameers were at Meanee, about ten miles from his own position at Muttaree (whither he had moved on the 16th from Hala, having left Hyderabad on the 6th), marched thither on the 17th, with his slender force of

two thousand eight hundred men of all arms, and twelve pieces of artillery. The Belooch soldiery, twenty-two thousand strong, against whom he pitted his small army, at odds of nearly ten to one, were no despicable foe. They fought on this famous field of Meanee not for their rulers, whom they hated and despised, but for their own supremacy and pay, for their religion, and, more than all, for the privilege of rapine. They "opened a most determined and destructive fire upon the British troops, and, during the action which ensued, with the most undaunted bravery, repeatedly rushed upon them, sword in hand." After a resolute and desperate contest, which lasted for upwards of three hours, the enemy was completely defeated and put to flight, with the estimated loss of about five thousand men, one thousand of whom were left dead on the field, together with the whole of their artillery, ammunition, and standards. During this memorable action, the 'Comet,' under the immediate command of Commander Nott, was the means of preventing a large body of the enemy assembled at the village of Sehwan, from crossing the river to form a junction with the main Belooch army at Meanee.

Speaking of the services of the other steamers, the 'Planet' and 'Satellite,' on the 17th of February, Sir Charles Napier says, in his despatch, written on the field of battle:— "I ought to have observed in the body of this despatch that I had, the night before the action, detached Major Outram in the steamers, with two hundred Sepoys, to set fire to the wood, in which we understood the enemy's left flank was posted. This was an operation of great difficulty and danger, but would have been most important to the result of the battle. However, the enemy had moved about eight miles to their right during the night, and Major Outram executed his task without difficulty at the hour appointed, viz., nine o'clock, and from the field we observed the smoke of the burning wood arise. I am strongly inclined to think that this circumstance had some effect on the enemy."

The day following the battle, six of the principal Ameers surrendered unconditionally as prisoners of war. Thus, as the Governor-General stated in his notification, "victory placed at the disposal of the British Government the country on both sides the Indus, from Sukkur to the sea." One of the principal Ameers, Ali Moorad, of Khyrpore, who had succeeded by our means in obtaining "the turban of the Talpoors," and was the most powerful chief in Upper Scinde, remained faithful to his engagements. On the other hand, the Chief of Meerpore, Shere Mahomed, who, in June, 1841, had voluntarily entered into the same engagement as the Hyderabad Ameers, like them receded from it.

After the action at Meanee, the British force proceeded down

to Hyderabad, where Sir Charles Napier formed a fortified camp, the river side of which was defended by the steamers 'Comet' and 'Meteor.' On the 20th of February a portion of the British force, accompanied by a party of seamen, proceeded into Hyderabad to take formal possession of the city, and, on that day, Commander Nott hoisted the British flag upon the citadel. This was accomplished without opposition, when the force returned to camp.

During the months of February and March, Shere Mahomed was enabled to collect an army of twenty thousand Belooches, with which he took up, and strongly entrenched, a position at Dubba, about four miles from Hyderabad. Intelligence having been received that as soon as Sir Charles Napier should march out to give battle, Shere Mahomed intended to attack the entrenched camp to rescue the six captive Ameers, the protection of the river face devolved upon the flotilla, and Commander Nott made the necessary arrangements. The captive princes were embarked on board the 'Comet,' which was under steam, prepared to act, under Commander Nott's immediate orders, as circumstances might require, while other steamers took up positions to guard the camp.

Sir Charles Napier, who had detached a small force on camels to Emaum Ghur, which was blown up on the 24th of March, marched out with five thousand men to attack Shere Mahomed; and, after a severe action, the Belooch army was defeated and dispersed, three chiefs were slain, and the Ameer himself fled to the desert. The British troops took possession of Meerpore a few days later, as well as the important fortress of Omercote, which was abandoned. In announcing his victory at Hyderabad, the General concluded that "not another shot will be fired in Scinde," and after this he asserted that "Scinde is now subdued;" but in these expectations he was premature.* The flotilla was much employed in conveying troops, and, on one or two occasions, was actively engaged with the enemy. A few days after the action at Dubba, one of the steamers, having embarked a detachment of troops, was employed in sinking and destroying some boats, and preventing the Belooches from crossing from the western to the eastern bank to join Shere Mahomed. Again, on the 27th of May, the 'Satellite,'

* Shere Mahomed being engaged in further hostile preparations, Sir C. Napier disposed his forces, for the purpose of surrounding him, but the Ameer, finding himself beset by three several bodies, determined to attack the weakest, under Captain Jacob, who, however, on the 14th of June, defeated and dispersed his four thousand Belooches, the Ameer with ten followers again taking refuge in the desert. Another of the Ameers, Shah Mahomed, a few days previously (the 8th of June), was captured, and his force of two thousand men dispersed by Colonel Roberts, in command of one of the detachments moving against Shere Mahomed. In the course of these marches, the troops suffered much from heat, and several men and one European officer were struck down with sunstroke.

Acting-Master R. C. Miller, was actively engaged, and performed some good service, as appears by the following despatches from Sir Charles Napier and the officer in command of the troops embarked on board the steamer :—

Extract of a letter from Sir Charles Napier, dated Hyderabad, the 30th of May, 1843 :—

"As Shere Mahomed found that he could not recruit his troops in Scinde, he resolved to draw reinforcements from the mountains of Beloochistan; I therefore sent Lieutenant Anderson, of the 1st European Regiment, with a steamer and one hundred men, to destroy the boats collected on the right bank for the Belooches of Sukkur to cross over to Scinde. This officer has performed his duty in a brilliant manner, and he speaks highly of the way in which Master Miller of the steamer manœuvred his vessel. The rumour of this skirmish in Beloochistan will have good effect in Scinde."

The following is Lieutenant Anderson's letter to Sir Charles Napier's Military Secretary :—

"Above the Luckie Pass, 27th May, 1843

"Sir,—I had the honour to inform his Excellency, Sir Charles Napier, K C.B., Governor of Scinde, this morning, that I had expectations of finding some five hundred Belooches of Meer Shah Mahomed assembled below the Luckie Pass, to give us fight on our arrival there. When we came in shore, the Belooches fired into the steamer, and, to judge from their fire, they must have been three hundred or three hundred and fifty strong. The steamer immediately returned their fire, doing some warm execution. We then ran down, and landed the Sepoys of the 25th Regiment, who chased the enemy out of their strong position, and drove them up the steeps beyond. It being useless to pursue them any further, the Sepoys returned leisurely on board, after having killed and wounded about ten of them. During the skirmish the steamer kept up a splendid fire of grape and round shot at the retreating Belooches, killing and wounding, it is supposed, forty men. Mr. Lowry received a slight wound leading on his men, and two Sepoys were killed and seven wounded carrying the heights. On board the steamer Captain Miller received a slight wound, and two European sailors and one stoker were severely wounded. I must beg to express my thanks to all parties for their activity during the affair, which lasted altogether three hours, from one to four p m. of this day."

On the 9th of March the Hon. Company's corvette 'Coote, Commander H. B. Lynch, sailed for Kurrachee with troops, and, on the 26th of March, proceeded to Bombay with Hussein Ali Khan, one of the Ameers captured at Meanee, and two of his cousins, with a retinue of thirty-two persons. No better selec-

tion could have been made by Government than Commander Lynch to take charge of the unfortunate and high-bred Scindian noble, as the Captain of the 'Coote' was not only an accomplished linguist who could converse freely in Persian, but a polished gentleman who knew how to respect misfortune, and treated the young Ameer as an honoured guest, and not as "a nigger," according to the too general phraseology adopted by British officers in speaking of all natives, even those of the highest rank. The 'Coote' continued to be employed on the Scinde coast.

The officers and men of the flotilla received the Scinde medal and clasps for Meanee and Hyderabad, and the question as to whether they should share in the prize-money, was referred to Sir Charles Napier, who replied with an emphatic affirmative. The 'Shannon' and 'Palinurus,' as well as the 'Coote,' which were employed on the Scinde coast, between the 17th of February and 24th of March, 1843, also participated in the one-sixth of the Scinde prize-money, and the same was notified by Order dated the 10th of June, 1848. An Order relative to the second distribution, was issued under date the 6th of September, 1849; and for prize-money for Meanee and Hyderabad, under date the 6th of May, 1850. The money distributed was considerable, Commander Nott, who shared as a field-officer, receiving, we believe, £8,000.* This officer proceeded to Bombay on the conclusion of hostilities, and, a few months later, was appointed to the command of the 'Coote' and proceeded as Senior Naval Officer to the Persian Gulf. In July, 1846, he retired from the Service, and was appointed Indian Navy Storekeeper, which appointment he resigned, from ill-health, in the following year, when he returned to England.

In 1844 † a bi-monthly overland communication between Eng-

* The survivors of this Scinde campaign had no cause to complain on the score of prize-money; and Sir Charles Napier received, including the second and final distribution, no less than 683,522 rupees, or over £68,000, being one-eighth of the entire value of the booty.

† In 1844, the following Government General Order was published, relating to the accession of retired officers who had served the prescribed period, upon the Senior List of £800 per annum, in the terms of the Court's despatch in the Marine department, dated the 31st of October, 1827.—

"Bombay Castle, June 17.

"The Hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to publish in General Orders the following Resolution by the Hon. the Court of Directors, communicated in their despatch, dated the 1st of May, 1844.—We have resolved that it be no longer a rule of the Service that an officer of the Indian Navy must continue upon the effective list to entitle him to the senior list pension of £800 per annum, but that in future every officer of the Indian Navy, who shall have held the rank of captain for seven years, or who shall have completed a period of thirty years' active service in India, without reference to the rank he may have attained, be allowed to quit the active duties of his profession, and to remain in Europe upon a pension of £360 per annum, with the privilege of eventually succeeding to one of the senior list pensions of £800 per annum, in which his retired pay will merge

land and India was arranged, which came into operation from January in the following year. The steamships of the Indian Navy were to continue the conveyance of one mail a month from Suez to Bombay, whence it was to be distributed over the three Presidencies, and the second mail was to be conveyed by the Peninsular and Oriental Company from Suez to Madras and Calcutta, dropping Bombay letters, and also a mail for the Straits Settlements and China, at Galle. For this latter service, including both the Calcutta and China lines, the Peninsular and Oriental Company were to receive £160,000 per annum, towards which the Company contributed £20,000 a-year, and relinquished the annual grant of £50,000 voted by Parliament for the promotion of steam navigation in the East.

On the 26th of October, 1844, Sir Robert Oliver, under special permission of the Court of Directors, left the Presidency for England on one year's leave, the state of his health necessitating a surgical operation. On his departure the Governor in Council appointed Captain John Pepper, who had been Indian Navy Storekeeper since the death of Captain Simpson, from the 31st of January, 1844, to act as Superintendent of the Indian Navy; and Commander H B. Lynch, who had officiated temporarily as assistant to Sir Robert Oliver, to be permanent Assistant-Superintendent. In April, 1845, Captain Pepper was compelled to proceed to England on sick leave, when Commander H. B. Lynch was appointed Acting-Superintendent, with Commander H. C. Boulderson as his assistant.

During portions of the years 1844-45, the steam frigates 'Auckland,' Commander Carless, 'Sesostris,' Commander Young, and 'Akbar,' Lieutenant Leeds, and other ships, were employed in carrying troops to Vingorla, to assist in quelling the insurrection in the Southern Mahratta country, and in bringing them back to the Presidency on its suppression. Colonel (now

on the occurrence of vacancies in such list; promotion being made in the room of such officer from the date of his so quitting actual service."

"Captain G B Brucks succeeded to the senior list, *vice* Captain Crawford, deceased, from the 10th of November, 1843."

The following General Order of importance was also issued this year:—

"Bombay Castle, September 3, 1844.

The following extract, Para 3, from a letter from the Hon. the Court of Directors, dated the 20th of February last, No. 16, is published for general information "With regard to the general question raised by your Military Auditor-General in his report of the 15th of March, 1843, we are of opinion that officers of the Indian Navy ought, upon the same principle as officers in our Army, to be allowed compensation for the wounds and bodily injuries they may unfortunately receive in action with the enemy, and we have accordingly resolved that henceforth the regulations for the grant of pensions and gratuities to the officers of the Company's Army wounded in action, be extended to the Indian Navy, the pensions therein provided for wounded officers being, when applied to the Indian Navy, the same as those fixed by the scale for officers of corresponding *rank in the Army.*"

General Sir) William Wyllie,* then commanding the troops in the Southern Concan, writes to us :—"Captain Carless was of great service to me at Vingorla, having landed nightly some eighty European seamen for many nights when I was very hard up for men, and he brought me supplies of provisions from Goa, which were of great service to me as well as to the troops in the interior during the rebellion in those parts."

In the year 1845, the Indian Navy Club was founded under the auspices of Commander H. B. Lynch, Acting-Superintendent, and a representative Committee of officers from all the commissioned grades of the Service. The Club soon acquired a great celebrity for its *cuisine* and general good management under Messrs. Bone and Keys, pursers, and also for the liberal terms on which its doors were opened for the admission, as honorary members, of officers of the Naval, Military, and Civil Services.† Early in this year,‡ the Hon. Company's schooner

* Of his estimate of the Service generally, derived from lengthened experience of its officers on active service, Sir William Wyllie writes to us under date the 27th of April, 1877 —"I had many friends in the glorious old Service, which has now ceased to exist Possessing a great knowledge of Eastern seas, they knew their work well and did it well No men could have performed it better"

† On the abolition of the Indian Navy, the plate, furniture, and effects of the Club were sold, and realised a sum which recouped to the original members the amounts of their entrance fees, the balance being handed over to a local charitable institution

‡ On the 29th of January, 1845, there died at Singapore, in command of the Hon Company's steamer 'Phlegethon,' an officer who had served for some years in the Bombay Marine, where he increased the reputation he had acquired in His Majesty's Navy In 1809, at the age of eleven years, Captain Scott entered the Royal Navy, and served successively in H M 's ships 'Swiftsure,' 'Scipion,' seventy-four guns, and 'Ocean,' ninety-eight guns, under Sir Robert Plampton He was wounded three times in one action, and was three years a prisoner of war, when he obtained his release at the general peace of 1814 In the beginning of 1815, through the influence of Mr J Bebb, then Chairman of the Court of Directors, and of Captain Agnew, he was appointed a midshipman in the Hon. Company's ship 'Carnatic,' and came to India with letters to the Local Government of Bengal, by which he was transferred to the Hon Company's cruiser 'Antelope,' twelve guns, Captain J Hall, belonging to the Bombay Marine, but at this time in the pay and under the orders of the Supreme Government He served in the 'Antelope' in the Eastern Islands until the latter portion of 1818, when he embarked for England in the hope of obtaining a commission in the Army Being cast away, however, on the passage, his purpose was frustrated; and he was persuaded to try his fortune in the South American cause, under Lord Cochrane, and afterwards in the Brazilian cause, under Commodore Jewitt and Lord Cochrane, till after the capture of Bahia, when he retired from that service. In July, 1824, he again hastened to India, for the purpose of rejoining the Bombay Marine in the Burmese Expedition, but arrived too late Under the patronage of Commodore Hayes, he first joined the Country Merchant Service, as chief officer of the 'Forbes' steamer, and, in July, 1830, entered the Harbour Master's Department, which he left in April, 1831, on being appointed, by Commodore Hayes, Superintendent of the Middleton Point Station. He frequently displayed great intrepidity in saving life and property, and, in the gale of May, 1831, the lives of forty-six natives were rescued by his activity and exertions. He was subsequently appointed to the command of the 'Jumna' inland steamer, and while in this department of the Service his surveys and various reports on inland navigation, and particularly of the Bhaugarutty river, rendered the Government and the country much service. In 1842, he assumed command of

'Emily,' Acting-Master Litchfield in command, was lost in the Persian Gulf by running at night on the west side of the island of Kenn.

Sir Robert Oliver is certainly entitled to credit for having encouraged the young officers of the Service to perfect their scientific attainments as regards the study of steam, and to keep themselves up to the level of an age, when this new agency had revolutionized the motive power of ships, and improvements were so rapidly introduced that, to this day, we appear to be entering upon some new phase of the ever-changing problem of nautical warfare. He also did more than any of his predecessors to encourage gunnery, that most important part of a naval officer's education, and which, since the introduction of steam, has become of even more vital importance than in those days, when Sir John Jervis taught the British Navy that it conduced to success in maritime war, in a degree not less than seamanship itself. The Court of Directors, at the request of Sir R. Oliver, obtained permission from the Admiralty for some of their officers to study gunnery* on board H.M.S. 'Excellent' at Portsmouth, and the first to take advantage of this boon were Lieutenant Griffith Jenkins (who had returned to England on sick leave from Aden, where he was Assistant Political Resident) and Lieutenant A. H. Gordon. At a later date other officers of the Service studied on board the 'Excellent,' including Lieutenants Grounds, Robinson, and Mitcheson.

Lieutenant Jenkins, during the twenty months he served in the 'Excellent,' went through the entire course, and obtained a first-class certificate. On his return to India, he was appointed Gunnery Officer on board the receiving-ship 'Hastings,' and, in 1850, when the gunnery establishment was removed to Butcher's Island, in Bombay Harbour, he proceeded thither with his staff. Between the years 1843 and 1854, when Lieutenant Jenkins returned on sick leave to England, and was succeeded by Lieutenant Grounds, every officer passing for lieutenant and hundreds, of seamen, training for the grades of warrant and petty officer, served under his orders. The good effects of the system were apparent at the time of the second Burmese War in 1852, when three hundred seamen-gunners, trained by Lieutenant Jenkins and his instructors, were drafted on board the ships forming the Expedition, and the accuracy of the fire of the

the 'Irrawaddy' steamer, and in 1844 resigned that vessel to take the command of the war-steamer 'Phlegethon,' to which he was specially appointed by Lord Ellenborough, who rightly appreciated Captain Scott's character and talents. Up to the time of his death, he rendered conspicuous service in the suppression of piracy and the destruction of numerous proas in the Straits His remains were followed to the grave by the Governor of Singapore and all the officers of H.M.'s and the Hon. Company's services on the station.

* Acting-Lieutenant G N Adams was appointed gunnery officer of the 'Medusa,' Mr. Midshipman W. G Pengelley of the 'Auckland,' and other officers, of the 'Sesostris' and other ships.

Company's ships throughout the operations of the war, was remarked by officers of all services, and received the commendation of the press. On the removal of the gunnery establishment to Butcher's Island, batteries were erected for exercise, also class rooms, and a laboratory fitted with all the necessary appliances.

Sir Robert Oliver, in furtherance of his laudable desire, issued the following Order on the 25th of June, 1842:—"With the view of rewarding lieutenants and midshipmen who acquire scientific attainments, the Government have sanctioned the entertainment of a gunnery officer for all vessels to a fourth-rate inclusive, also for fifth-rates carrying revolving 32-pounder guns. Officers to be qualified for the appointment must hold first-class certificates from the naval instructor and teacher of gunnery. The gunnery officer is to forward quarterly a journal of his proceedings to the Superintendent's Office, accompanied by a certificate from the commander of the vessel, countersigned by the senior officer if on a station, to the effect that he has performed his duties in strict accordance with the regulations, and that he has complied with all instructions received." On the 19th of December following, the subjoined order was published relative to the duties of Lieutenant Griffith Jenkins, who, having gained a first-class certificate on board H.M.S. 'Excellent,' was appointed gunnery officer of the 'Hastings,' in place of the instructor hitherto employed:—"The gunnery officer to have the supervision of this branch of the duties of a vessel of war, and is to visit all vessels for the purpose of exercising a surveillance over the gunnery department. The gunnery officer or superintendent of naval gunnery, is to be borne on the books of the 'Hastings,' receiving and gunnery ship, but is not to interfere with her internal arrangements or duties further than may be required in the performance of his duties; such officers and seamen as may be placed under the gunnery officer for instruction are not to be interfered with by the commander or officers further than for the preservation of discipline; they are to be considered as under the immediate orders of the gunnery officer. When the gunnery officer visits a ship, the commander and officers will render him every assistance in the performance of his duties, and comply with all his requisitions. The junior gunnery officers are frequently to place themselves in communication with Lieutenant Jenkins, through whom their reports and journals are to be submitted to the Superintendent. The means of qualifying themselves in this branch of naval education being open to all, the Superintendent calls officers to take every opportunity of perfecting themselves; at the same time he will report to Government any particular instances of proficiency either by the officers or ship's company, as a selection

may be made of the most efficient to any service where honour and credit are to be gained."

On the 28th of October, 1845, there was a great conflagration in Bombay, to assist in extinguishing which, parties were landed from H.M.'s ships 'Fox' and 'Pilot,' and from the guardship 'Hastings,' the sloop-of-war 'Coote,' and the steam frigates 'Semiramis' and 'Akbar,' who were directed by their officers and by Commander Lynch, Superintendent, and Commander Boulderson, his assistant. There was great destruction of property, one hundred and ninety houses and shops being burnt, and fifteen lives were lost. All the seamen worked gallantly and well, but Commander Boulderson and eight sailors of the Indian Navy greatly distinguished themselves by their gallantry in removing 4,000 lbs. of powder from the midst of the flames, when the service appeared to involve instant death. The 'Bombay Courier' wrote as follows of this deed of daring:—"After some hours of toil, the men expressed a desire to 'splice the mainbrace.' This was speedily complied with, and gave them fresh vigour for after efforts. During the conflagration notice was given to the police, that in the lower floor of a house, the upper part of which was on fire, there was a number of barrels of gunpowder. A party of sailors immediately volunteered the dangerous task of removing them, and actually removed the whole quantity while showers of sparks were falling around them. Had a spark fallen upon one of these barrels, unprotected as they were by any wet cloth or covering, the communication would have been instantaneous, and the consequences fearful to reflect on. The daring displayed by the seamen was no doubt gratifying to the feelings of the Service to which they belong. Two officers and a midshipman of the Indian Navy were severely injured, the former by the falling of a portion of a building, and the latter by the explosion of some gunpowder; a seaman, too, of the same Service, was injured to an extent that endangered his life."

The Government issued a General Order thanking the officers and seamen engaged in extinguishing this great conflagration, and rewarded the eight seamen who had risked their lives by a donation of fifty rupees each. Sir Charles Napier, ever foremost in recognising deeds of personal gallantry, wrote, on the 12th of November, to Mr. C. C. Rivett, Magistrate of Bombay, in the following terms of the devotion they had displayed:—

"My dear Rivett,

"No man can read of Mr. Danvers and Captain Boulderson, with the fine fellows who went with them to save the powder, without admiration. What noble fellows! I hope the Government will publish an account of this gallant deed to all India, and reward them by making their gallantry known to the world, if not in more substantial ways. If Danvers and Boulderson

and you are friends, do tell them that I have rarely known more courageous conduct—indeed, never. It cannot be surpassed, unless on those extraordinary occasions when men voluntarily devote themselves to *certain* death. Danvers, Boulderson, and their companions, are gloriously bold men."

While on the subject of this fire, we take the opportunity of referring to the frequent occasions on which the officers and crews of the ships of war of the Indian Navy lying in Bombay harbour, rendered timely aid in assisting to extinguish conflagrations on shore and afloat. An instance occurs to mind in the case of the burning of the 'Thomas Grenville,' in 1843, when the merchants of Bombay addressed a letter of thanks to Sir Robert Oliver, for the succour rendered by the officers and crews of the Hon. Company's vessels in harbour, and presented a sum of 5,000 rupees for distribution among the men thus engaged.

In December, 1845, Sir Robert Oliver returned overland from England, and resumed his duties at the head of the Service from the 14th of that month, Commander Lynch reverting to his post of Assistant-Superintendent, and Commander Boulderson to the charge of the Draughtsman's Office, whence, in February, 1846, he was transferred to the command of the 'Auckland.'

CHAPTER IV.

1846—1849.

The 'Elphinstone' in New Zealand—Loss of the 'Cleopatra'—Increase of the Indian Navy in Ships and Officers, and Changes in its Constitution—Deaths of Captains Sanders, Pepper, Ross, and Carless—Death of Sir Robert Oliver—Review of his Character and Public Career—Surveys during the Administration of Sir Robert Oliver—Temporary Appointment of Captain Hawkins as Superintendent—Services and Death of Lieutenant Christopher—The Indian Naval Brigade before Mooltan—Appointment of Commodore Lushington—Death of Captain Hawkins, and Notice of his Services.

IN 1845-46, the Hon. Company's sloop-of-war 'Elphinstone,' eighteen guns, Commander J. A Young,* was actively engaged in the military operations then in progress in New Zealand, and participated in the capture of Ruapekapeka, the pah, or stronghold, of the famous Maori chief, Kawiti. The 'Elphinstone' sailed from Bombay on the 19th of August, 1845, with Major (the late Sir) William Robe, appointed Governor of South Australia; and, on her arrival at Adelaide, she embarked Captain (afterwards Sir) George Grey, who was appointed by Lord Stanley—the late Earl Derby—then at the head of the Colonial Office, Governor of New Zealand, in place of Captain Fitzroy, R.N., who was recalled. In passing through Bass' Straits, the 'Elphinstone,' which was deeply laden with ammunition, encountered a tremendous gale of wind, but the practised seaman in command brought his ship in safety to Auckland. Here the Governor was sworn in, and, immediately, proceeded in the 'Elphinstone' to the Bay of Islands, where a strong force, under command of Colonel Despard, 99th Regiment, was collected to chastise the chiefs Heki and Kawiti, who had hitherto defeated all attempts to reduce them.

The 'Elphinstone' arrived at the Bay on the 22nd of Novem-

* Commander James A. Young, who was appointed from the 'Sesostris' to the command of the 'Elphinstone,' was an elder brother of Commander John Wellington Young, who received the distinction of the Bath for his services in the Persian War of 1856-57, and was at this time in command of the 'Akbar,' to which he had been promoted from the 'Atalanta,' where he was succeeded by Lieutenant A. H. Gordon, commanding the 'Euphrates.' Commander J. A. Young, on assuming command of the 'Elphinstone,' was succeeded in charge of the 'Sesostris' by Commander J. Frushard.

ber, when Governor Grey landed at Kororarika, and, after some negotiations with the two chiefs, which proved abortive, it was decided that an advance should be made on Kawiti's pah, which was situated about eighteen miles inland. The Governor returned to Auckland in the 'Elphinstone,' which had left behind her a party of seamen, with two field pieces, and her marines, consisting of fifteen Europeans of the Bombay Artillery, under the command of Lieutenant G. W. Leeds, first-lieutenant of the 'Elphinstone.' On the 8th of December, this detachment, with three hundred soldiers, under command of Colonel Wynyard, of the 58th Regiment, embarked on board the transport 'Slain's Castle,' and proceeded to the mouth of the Kawa Kawa river, at its junction with the Waikari, about four miles from the Bay, where H.M.S. 'North Star,' twenty-six guns, was lying at anchor. Here the detachments were landed, and, on the 10th, the remainder of the troops having arrived, the march inland commenced.

As the boats were insufficient to carry the whole force, one hundred and fifty men marched by land on the left bank of the river; great difficulty was also experienced in transporting the heavy guns and stores, owing to the lack of bullocks and drays. Colonel Despard had neglected to make roads, and effect the necessary reconnaissance before the advance of the force, as we have seen Sir Garnet Wolseley did with such good effect in the Ashantee War—so that it was not before the 22nd of December, that one division, five hundred strong, including one hundred and fifty seamen, with three guns, took up a position cutting off Heki's approach to Kawiti's pah, and the remainder of the troops, seven hundred in number, encamped in a high commanding situation about three-quarters of a mile from the pah at Ruapekapeka. Owing to the nature of the country this slow progress was unavoidable. "At one place," says the Commander of the force, "the troops were obliged to move in single file, the path being very narrow, and on both sides covered thickly with ferns, two and three feet in height, mixed with a description of brushwood, called tea-tree, six and seven feet high. The country was a constant succession of hills, many of them extremely steep." At another place there was an almost perpendicular ravine, so that a new road had to be opened for the guns "by cutting away the bush and burning the fern," and Colonel Despard adds, "it frequently required fifty or sixty men, in addition to a team of eight bullocks to each gun, to get it up the hills and through the woods" H.M.S. 'Castor' arrived on the 15th of December, when one hundred men marched up country to join the Expedition, and, on the 20th of December, the 'Elphinstone' anchored in the Bay on her return from Auckland, with the Governor on board, when a second party of forty seamen immediately marched to join Colonel Despard.

With this detachment proceeded the Governor, Captain Graham, of H.M.S. 'Castor,' and Commander Young of the 'Elphinstone.'

On the 28th of December a detachment of one hundred men of the 58th Regiment arrived from Norfolk Island, so that the total force before the pah was composed as follows:—Thirty-two officers and two hundred and eighty seamen from H M.'s ships 'North Star,' twenty-six guns, 'Racehorse,' eighteen guns, 'Osprey,' twelve guns, and the Hon. Company's ship 'Elphinstone,' eighteen guns, the whole under Commander Hay, of the 'Racehorse,'—the contingent from the 'Elphinstone,' being sixty seamen and fifteen Bombay artillerymen acting as marines, under Lieutenants W. Leeds and Ralph, and Midshipmen H. H. Garrett and W. M. Pengelley. Royal Marines, three officers and eighty men under Captain Langford; 58th Regiment, nineteen officers and five hundred and forty-three men, under Colonel Wynyard; 99th Regiment, six officers and one hundred and fifty men, under Captain Reed; Volunteers from Auckland, forty-two men, under Captain Atkyns. Also Captain Marlow, R E. and Lieutenant Wilmot, R.A. Total, sixty-eight officers and one thousand one hundred and ten men, besides four hundred and fifty native allies. The ordnance consisted of three 32-pounders, one 18-pounder, two 12-pounder howitzers, one 6-pounder brass gun, four 4½-inch mortars, and two rocket tubes.

Between the 28th and the 31st of December, the troops were employed bringing up the guns to a new defensible position taken up by the native allies, about 1,200 yards from the pah. "Two guns, a 32-pounder and a 12-pounder howitzer," says Colonel Despard, "were placed in battery on an elevated position in front of the camp, and several shells were thrown from them into the pah with great accuracy, doing great credit to the two officers who directed them, Lieutenant Bland, H.M.S. 'Racehorse,' and Lieutenant Leeds, Hon. Company's ship 'Elphinstone.'" A rocket battery was also established on the same ground, about 650 yards from the pah, under the command of Lieutenant Egerton, of H.M.S. 'North Star,' but though it was well served, from some defect in the composition, the rockets frequently fell short. As there was a great deficiency of carriage the tents were left at a depôt formed on the road, and, there being abundance of wood and bush, the men were enabled to hut themselves without difficulty.

On the morning of the 1st of January, 1846, a strong party pushed forward to within 350 yards of the pah, and a stockade was commenced on an open spot in the only wooded space that now divided them from the enemy, to afford protection to a breaching battery of two 32-pounders, brought up with great labour from the 'Elphinstone,' with room for a magazine; the stockade, being on lower ground than the pah, was constructed

of sufficient height to protect the guard from the enemy's fire. A small battery was also formed in rear of this stockade for the four mortars, two of which were afterwards removed to the advanced battery. So well did the sailors and soldiers work, that before night the stockade was far enough advanced to render it secure against any attack of the enemy. On the afternoon of the following day, the enemy sallied out from the pah in great strength with the apparent view of turning the flank of the working party in the advanced stockade, but they were repulsed with loss by the native allies, the Europeans acting as a reserve. With a view to prevent a renewed attempt of the enemy to make a sortie under protection of the woods, Colonel Despard caused the construction of a third battery to the right, within 150 yards, for the reception of one 18-pounder and one 12-pounder howitzer, which were to bear upon the same face, the western, of the pah; this battery was also protected by a stockade of rough timber.

As soon as the batteries were sufficiently advanced to admit of their being unmasked without danger, all the pioneers were employed in cutting down the wood in their front, which was completed by the 9th of January, when the entire face of the pah was left bare As by that date the supply of shot in camp was considered ample, about ten o'clock on the morning of the following day, all the batteries opened simultaneously, and their fire was kept up, with little intermission, during the greater part of the day. At first but little impression appeared to be made, and it was not until several hours' firing that the outer works showed signs of giving way; by sunset the outer stockade was completely broken down in two places, "but, nevertheless," says Colonel Despard, "it was evident that the inner fences and the strong stockades, which crossed the body of the work in different directions, were scarcely injured." Towards evening the British fire slackened, but was occasionally continued during the night to prevent any repairs being made to the breaches. In the meantime the enemy had begun to retire during the night, which it was impossible to prevent owing to the woods coming close up to the pah in several places. On Sunday morning a party of the native allies, perceiving the pah silent, crept up to it, when Colonel Despard, seeing them in the breach, proceeded towards the pah with one hundred men, under Captain Denny of the 58th Regiment, and entered the breach. An entrance had scarcely been effected than the enemy, still remaining in the work, opened a heavy fire from the right, but the advance pushed in, and having gained some of the inner stockades, they maintained themselves until a reinforcement arrived, when the Maories were driven out of the pah. The enemy, however, desirous of carrying off their killed and wounded, kept up a hot fire from the woods, and even made

some attempts to retake the work itself, but were repulsed, and, after three hours' sharp firing, they finally retreated. "We had thus gained," says Colonel Despard, "in little more than twenty-four hours, the strongest fortress which the New Zealanders had ever erected, and one, which the natives throughout the whole colony hoped and expected would have resisted our utmost efforts. Their whole attention was turned to what the result of this attack would be, and had it been different from what it was, there is no doubt but our enemies would have multiplied four-fold.

This pah of Ruapekapeka—of which a plan was made by Captain Marlow, R.E., and Lieutenant Leeds of the 'Elphinstone,' which appears in Vol. III. of the New Series of the Professional Papers of the Royal Engineers—was about 120 yards by 70 in extent, and much broken into flanks; it had two rows of palisades three feet apart, composed of timber twelve to twenty inches in diameter, and fifteen feet out of the ground. Inside these two rows, says Captain Marlow, in his despatch, was a ditch four feet deep, with earthen traverses left in it, and the earth was thrown up behind to form an inner parapet; each hut inside was also surrounded by a strong low palisade, and the ground excavated inside the hut, and the earth thrown up as a parapet * The British loss, which was chiefly confined to the seamen who followed the enemy into the forest in the most daring manner, was twelve killed and thirty wounded, including only one officer, Mr. Midshipman Murray, of the 'North Star.' Two iron guns, one split by an eighteen-pound shot from the batteries, were found in the pah. On the following day, the 12th of January, the works were burned to the ground, and, on the 14th, the camp was broken up and the return march commenced, the soldiers and seamen carrying the ammunition and dragging the light guns and the carriages of the heavy ordnance, which were transported in drays to the river. During the afternoon of the 15th and two succeeding days, the guns and stores were embarked in the boats and sent down to the

* "On closely examining this fortress," says Colonel Despard, "we were all surprised at the singular mode adopted for strengthening it. The outward stockade was almost entirely composed of whole trees, deeply sunk in the ground, and supported on the inside by a thick embankment of solid earth. It was also loop-holed in many parts close to the ground, so that a man could lie in the ditch and fire through, without being himself exposed In the interior, nearly every hut was stockaded with a deep excavation underground, into which the inhabitant could retire, and shelter himself almost entirely from both shot and shell. The earth, taken out from these excavations, formed a low rampart to support its stockade, thus rendering each hut a little fortress There was great ingenuity displayed in this sytem of defence, more, probably, than had ever been before exhibited by any race of savages we had yet been acquainted with. The chief's, (Kawiti) hut attracted particular attention. It was remarkably neat, with a low verandah in front, and an extensive excavation underneath, as well as being strongly stockaded on the side exposed to attack, by upright timber, with others laid horizontally behind, and supported by an embankment."

shipping, with as many men as could be accommodated, the remainder proceeding, as before, by land. On the 18th of January the ships sailed for Auckland with the troops, a detachment of two hundred men of the 58th remaining behind at the Bay of Islands.

A few days after the capture of his pah, Kawiti and Heki, who had joined him there the evening before the assault, wrote to the Governor asking for peace in the most submissive terms, and thus was brought to a successful conclusion the northern campaign, which had lasted since July, 1844. The troops and seamen engaged in this decisive affair, received the thanks of Her Majesty; Colonel Despard, Colonel Wynyard, and Captain Graham, R.N., senior naval officer, were awarded the C.B.; and Captain Marlow. R.E., Captain Denny, 58th, and Lieutenant Wilmot, R.A., received brevet promotion.*

* Mr Midshipman (now Commander) Pengelley of the Indian Navy, who served as midshipman with the 'Elphinstone's' Brigade, has kindly supplied me with the following account, derived from memory, of the operations at Kawiti's pah —

"We numbered about twelve hundred in all. These marched to the front, and in due course opened fire from batteries composed of boats' guns and 12-pounder field pieces. It was quickly ascertained, however, that this description of light ordnance produced little or no effect on the stout palisades made of the tough trunks of the cowrie gum. The 'Elphinstone' therefore sent back a detachment of her seamen to Kororarika, for a couple of her medium 27 cwt. 32-pounders, which were conveyed through the bush and over hill and dale in native canoes welded round with strong iron bands, and dragged bodily eighteen miles to the front by our seamen and marines, inspirited by the sound of fife and drum The guns were placed in position without loss of time, and a day appointed on which to open a simultaneous fire After blazing away with shot, shell, and Congreve rockets for some hours, a breach was made, but it was not until the following day (Sunday) that we advanced Our native allies on that morning informed us that a considerable body of rebels had gone out at the back of the pah We, therefore, went in at the front, and avoided bloodshed thereby, agreeably with the earnest wishes of Governor Grey, who was present during our operations, having Captain James Young with him

"The bravery of the enemy was undeniable, and their conduct in the field chivalrous in the extreme For instance, our pioneers were daily engaged cutting in the dense jungle a passage, through which we intended, on unmasking, to open fire. The native sentries, many of whom spoke English, used to call out 'You may come so far—but, if one step beyond, we shall fire on you' Then occasionally, as if for amusement, they would hang up a blanket about fifty yards from their 'pah,' and with loud gesticulations would invite our native allies to come and take it down. This, in turn, would be done by our own people, who were headed by a renowned chief named Tomati Waka, only recently deceased. Scarce a day passed without a brisk passage of arms taking place, resulting, after a large expenditure of powder on both sides, in the deaths, perhaps, of one or two, and a half-dozen or so wounded. Of course, much to their chagrin, none of the European force were permitted to engage in this desultory and highly irregular kind of warfare They merely looked on, passed their remarks, enjoyed the sport, and 'bided their time.' Another somewhat peculiar custom we noticed, namely, of an evening, after fighting all day, sometimes in a regular and sometimes in an irregular kind of way, as detailed above, a few of the enemy would boldly enter into our native camp, and mingle freely with Tomati Waka's men, telling them, perhaps, that on the following or such a day they intended making a grand 'sortie,' and chatting gaily, apparently in a friendly spirit, over a dish of boiled potatoes, about the stirring events of the day. As for conceal-

Extracts from correspondence, commendatory of the officers and crew of the 'Elphinstone,' when employed in New Zealand, were published in General Orders under date the 26th of June, 1846, and also, on the 18th of October following, the Court's despatch highly eulogising Commander Young and those under his command.

The 'Elphinstone' proceeded to Auckland and thence to Sydney with Colonel Despard, and, on the 25th of February, sailed with despatches for Aden, where she cast anchor on the 22nd of May. On the 27th, Commander Young went on shore on sick leave, Lieutenant Leeds remaining in temporary command, and, on the arrival of the 'Semiramis,' Commander E. W. S. Daniell, with the mails from Suez, he proceeded in her to Bombay, arriving there on the 27th of June. After a short residence on shore, his health being sufficiently restored to permit of his returning to duty, Commander Young was appointed to the command of the 'Cleopatra,' Lieutenant J. Rennie being transferred to the schooner 'Constance;' and, on the arrival of the 'Elphinstone' at Bombay, the ward-room officers (with the exception of Lieutenant Leeds, who was sent on shore sick), and men who had served under him, were drafted from the sloop-of-war to the steam-frigate, much to their satisfaction, as a better seaman or more kind and considerate officer than Commander Young never trod a ship's deck. The 'Cleopatra' had been employed conveying the mails to Suez, and Commander Young, for a short period from the 26th of November, 1846, was in temporary charge of the duties of Senior Naval Officer at Aden, an appointment newly constituted by the Court of Directors in consequence of the growing importance of that place, and published to the Service in the following Government General Order:—

"The following extract from a despatch from the Hon. Court of Directors, dated the 20th of May, 1846, No. 38, is published

ment, they were undoubtedly as conversant with the strength of our force as we ourselves were, a simple, dogged, determined, yet good-tempered spirit animated them cheerfully and bravely to await results, without one thought of yielding. The fire-arms of the enemy were generally equal, and frequently superior, to ours in range, being good Kentucky rifles, supplied evidently by the South-Sea American whalers, to whom the dollar was of course irresistible They were such excellent shots that our officers, both naval and military, were obliged to dress as much like the men as possible, as the enemy gave out that they had no desire to kill our men, but the officers only Very rarely did they make a night sortie in force; just about daylight being the favourite time for a New Zealander to commence an attack. Regularly, therefore, an hour before daylight, at the sound of the bugle, we stood to arms. The climate we found most healthy and invigorating. Although we could only boast of having two tents—one for the Governor, and the other belonging to Colonel Despard, the senior military officer —yet there was no case of either fever or rheumatism, though the nights were generally rainy, and the sun powerful during the daytime. We slept as best we could in our own self-made "warries," or huts manufactured from the branches of bushes."

for general information:—'The Red Sea Station, which includes the Gulf of Aden, is of increasing importance, and we think that the senior Indian Navy officer stationed at Aden may usefully exercise supervision over the vessels serving in the Red Sea, and as his duties thereby become more onerous and responsible, we have resolved that a special allowance be made to the senior officer employed in command on the Red Sea Station, under the denomination of table money. We do not, however, deem it necessary to assign to him the amount drawn by the Commodore in the Persian Gulf, but we desire that the allowance according to rank appointed in our letter of the 23rd of April, No. 36, of 1845, for the senior officer in the Gulf when the Commodore is absent, may be granted to the senior officer stationed at Aden, in addition to the command allowance of his ship. It must be understood at the same time, that the tour of service of the senior officer on the Red Sea Station is to be assimilated with the practice which obtains in the Persian Gulf Station.'"

In April, 1847, the 'Cleopatra' was placed under orders to convey one hundred convicts to Singapore, although, when making the passage from Bombay to Aden in the voyage immediately preceding her last, she had worked together to such an extent that Commander Young had actually to secure her paddle-boxes by chains thrown across the decks and fastened on either side. This he officially reported on his return. The condition of the ship being so unsatisfactory, Commander Young proceeded to the office of the Superintendent and remonstrated with him against sending a ship to battle against the approaching south-west monsoon in a notoriously unfit condition. Sir Robert Oliver, who was at no time remarkable for the possession of an amiable temper, was furious at a subordinate officer attempting to remonstrate, no matter how respectfully, against his orders, and he turned upon the noble seaman before him, whose whole life had been characterized by unselfish devotion to duty, with a bitter taunt that he was deficient in nerve. Commander Young made no reply, but went on board his ship, which sailed from Bombay on the 14th of April, and from that day no word was ever heard more of the 'Cleopatra.' The ill-fated ship had scarcely cleared the coast than one of the most terrible cyclones on record, swept over the Indian Ocean, and, it is supposed, engulphed the 'Cleopatra' and the gallant hearts on board her.*

* Captain T. G. Carless wrote a paper, which appeared in Vol. VIII of the Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society, entitled "Remarks on the Course of the Hurricane which occurred on the Malabar Coast, in April, 1847, and on the probable position of the steam frigate 'Cleopatra' at the time, with a sketch." This Paper, which was drawn up from information derived from the log-books of the 'Sesostris' and 'Victoria,' and the ships 'Buckinghamshire,' 'Mermaid,' 'Faize Rubahny,' and 'Atiet Rohoman,' is a valuable exposition of the nature of this rotatory storm or cyclone. Allowing 428 miles as the whole

We would not say that the loss of the 'Cleopatra' and the valuable lives on board her, is to be laid at Sir Robert Oliver's door, for it is probable that the stoutest ship would have succumbed to the cyclone had she been caught in its vortex; but, equally, we cannot acquit the Superintendent of serious wrong in disregarding the remonstrances of the Captain of the 'Cleopatra,' which might have battled through that terrible ordeal had she been made perfectly seaworthy. For the sad calamity that overtook that ship, after the incident that occurred in his office, Sir Robert Oliver is entitled to the commiseration of every one in a degree only less than the gallant seamen who were lost in the 'Cleopatra.'

Great anxiety was entertained at Bombay for the safety of the 'Sesostris,' which had left Aden for Cannanore, with troops, on the 5th of April, and, no steamer being available, Commander Frushard, on the 27th of April, sailed in the sloop-of-war 'Coote,' for Vingorla, where he found the 'Sesostris' at anchor, she having arrived in safety at Cannanore, on the 22nd of April. The 'Mermaid' and other vessels were wrecked at Vingorla, and the 'Buckinghamshire,'* a fine Indiaman of 1,700 tons, which got into the vortex of the cyclone within sixty miles of Vingorla, was totally dismasted during the storm, which raged with unparalleled fury from the 16th to the 19th of April. No special search was at this time made for the 'Cleopatra,' and the 'Coote' returned to Bombay; but, as time wore on, and no news was received of her arrival at Singapore, anxious fears began to be whispered about, and, at length, on the 28th of August, Lieutenant John Wellington Young was despatched to the Laccadive Islands in the 'Auckland,' to make

distance run from Bombay, he says, the probable position of the 'Cleopatra,' "at 8 a.m on the 17th, was in lat 12° 5' N. about forty miles from the land, with Elicalpine Island, the nearest of the Laccadives, fifty miles to the windward A reference to the chart will show that she was nearer its vortex than the 'Mermaid,' 'Faize Rubahny,' or 'Victoria,' and consequently must have been more exposed to its greatest violence than either of these vessels"

* The 'Buckinghamshire' was built in Bombay Dockyard, of teak and copper-fastened, for the Hon Company's Mercantile Service, and, probably, a nobler ship never left the builder's hands The hurricane raged with such unparalleled violence, that one of her heavy cutters was torn from the davits and blown across the poop like a straw, and the poop ports having been forced in by the wind, the bulkheads of the cuddy were blown down. During the calm, while in the vortex of the hurricane, her decks were covered with dead and dying birds, and probably few ships but those built by the Parsee shipbuilders at Bombay, would have escaped destruction during an ordeal as terrible as that encountered by the 'Salsette' frigate in the ice of the Baltic The cost of the 'Buckinghamshire' to the Company was no less than £93,000, and she was sold, on the lapse of the Company's charter, in 1833, for £10,500 In the year 1848, the 'Euphrates,' brig, afforded another proof of the strength of the Bombay-built ships, for having grounded on the coral reef surrounding the island of Corgo, situated two miles north of Kharrack, a dead lee shore, during a south-easter, on a December night, she remained hammering away on the coral reef for four or five days, until she knocked herself a bed, and, finally, got off without any material damage.

inquiries regarding his missing brother, and rescue him if, perchance, his ship was cast away on that inhospitable shore. But it was all to no purpose, and the sickening dread of the worst was soon confirmed in the breast of the gallant commander of the 'Auckland.'

"How sleep the brave who sink to rest,
By all their country's wishes blest."

No officer or man in the Indian Navy but offered the tribute of a sigh to the memory of the good and noble Young, and his brave officers and crew, who had added lustre to the Service, and gained the applause of all with whom they had served by their conduct in the recent affair in New Zealand.*

The ship's company of the 'Cleopatra' numbered one hundred and fifty-one souls, and, in addition, there were on board, for passage to Singapore, one hundred convicts, with a strong marine guard, under charge of Mr. Anderson, Chief Constable of the port; so that probably there were nearly three hundred souls on board the 'Cleopatra' when she foundered in mid ocean. A monument, executed in white marble, by Mr Bovey, of Plymouth, was erected, in Bombay Cathedral, to the memory of the officers and crew of the ill-fated ship. The design is simple and appropriate, and the entablature has the following inscription:—"Sacred to the Memory of the Commander, Officers, and Ship's Company of the Hon. East India Company's steam frigate 'Cleopatra,' which is supposed to have foundered in a hurricane off the Coast of Malabar, on the 15th day of

* Lieutenant W. H Carpendale, of the 'Cleopatra,' who is now a clergyman of the Church of England, writes to us as follows of the condition of the ship at the time of her last voyage —"I served in the 'Cleopatra' some time, and proceeded in her in an awful south-west monsoon trip from Aden to Bombay in June, 1846, when her waterways opened, and one of her bolts worked out of the port side by the gangway as much as eight or ten inches The sea was very high, and Hamilton, who commanded, standing with one leg on either side of the open seam on the quarter-deck, exclaimed, and I shall never forget it, 'Ah, Cleopatra, this is the last trip you'll ever make in a heavy sea!' He was right Spite of all this, she was never docked Spite of James Young's protest or respectful remonstrance, for Young succeeded in command, she was only cooked up by dockyard hands, and was sent to sea to join the Admiral at Singapore, taking two hundred convicts on board She foundered, and nothing more was ever heard of her I was one of the last officers in her, and prayed Young to get the order cancelled that ordered me out into the 'Auckland' with Hamilton, but he had no power with the chief, Sir Robert Oliver, and thus, in the Providence of God, I escaped But it was a dastardly thing that she should have been sent to sea, and on service, too, after such discoveries, without being docked James Young was a fine fellow Possibly you know all the details of his destruction in this ship I mean how surely he apprehended mischief—how, after representing the state of the ship to the chief, who asked, 'Do you refuse to command her?' he replied, 'No, Sir Robert.' How he left his plate on shore, and other valuables, and how he returned a second time to say good-bye to his relation at Colaba Poor old Oliver, I know, felt the loss of the ship, and once earnestly questioned me about her during that last bad trip, and I told him we all thought her rotten."

April, 1847. There were lost in the ill-fated vessel, J. A. Young, Commander; C. Eden, H. Ralph, T Lawes, Lieutenants; J C. Carr, Assistant-Surgeon; F. Nott, Mate; J. Soady, Midshipman; J. Croad, Clerk in Charge; W. S. B. Hadley, Captain's Clerk; together with a crew of one hundred and forty-two souls. This monument is erected by the Officers and Seamen of the Indian Navy as a tribute of respect to their lamented comrades."

The 'Cleopatra,' like some other steamships constructed by contract in England and Scotland, such as the 'Akbar,' 'Ajdaha,' (added later) 'Queen,' and 'Sesostris,'* and the Zenobia,' (purchased into the Service) was a bad bargain from the first: the finest and most seaworthy ships of the Indian Navy being the 'Victoria,' 'Semiramis,' (second of that name,) 'Auckland,' and 'Ferooz,' (launched in 1848), which were all built at Bombay.

Lieutenant J. W. Young, though unsuccessful in ascertaining the fate of his hapless brother's ship. was enabled to relieve the wretched inhabitants of the Laccadive group, over two of which, Kalpeni and Underoot, the sea had made a clean breach, and swept away two hundred and fifty persons; while one hundred and sixty-two died from starvation on Underoot, and five hundred and thirteen on Kalpeni from hunger and when attempting to escape to the Malabar coast Altogether one thousand eight hundred souls were said to have perished The wretched survivors had been subsisting on the roots of the young cocoa-trees, and the opportune arrival of the 'Auckland,' with supplies, was the means of saving them from a lingering death Captain Biden, the well-known and highly-respected Master-Attendant at Madras, wrote as follows of the relief afforded to these poor islanders:—

"Except on a small bank off Minicoy, there is no anchorage amongst the Laccadives. Captain Young had a most anxious duty to perform on his approach to the islands, which was done by steaming close to them and then backing off. On one occasion, the 'Auckland's' boat was nearly swamped in the surf, and could not be got through it when she attempted to return; however, the natives carried the boat across the island to where it was smooth water, and all the operations, in performance of a duty grateful to every British seaman, were well and ably performed by Captain Young and all under his command. The poor famished people, so opportunely relieved,

* In August, 1849, Commander C D Campbell, reported of the 'Sesostris' that she was so loose in frame and decayed in timber that in a seaway the butts of her deck planks opened and closed, and he stated in his official report, that she made so much water that he had to ease the engines when off Socotra On his representations, and remembering the fate of the 'Cleopatra,' both the 'Sesostris' and her sister ship, the 'Queen,' had new decks laid.

evinced every feeling of thankfulness and gratitude for their deliverance."

Commander Young* proceeded in the 'Auckland,' in the following year, to Singapore and the newly established colony of Labuan, of the progress of which he brought satisfactory accounts.

During the year 1846, an addition was made to the strength of the Indian Navy, by the arrival of a new steam-frigate, and the Service also sustained a loss by the stranding of a sloop-of-war The former was the 'Moozuffer'—a word signifying "Victorious"—a fine ship, 256 feet in length, and 1,440 tons measurement, which was built at Messrs Fletcher's yard, at Limehouse, and was launched on the 27th of January, 1846, in the presence of the Chairman and Court of Directors, who were afterwards present at the customary lunch. The 'Moozuffer' had engines of 500 horse-power, made by the Messrs Seaward and Capel, and was constructed to carry eight heavy guns, (commonly called 68-pounders), throwing hollow 56 lb. shot, and having a calibre of 8-inch. That fine officer, Commander R. Ethersey was appointed to the command of the 'Moozuffer,' which left England under steam and sail on the 25th of October, 1846, but did not arrive at Bombay until the 21st of February in the following year, having thus been one hundred and nineteen days on the passage, during sixty of which, however, she was becalmed near the line.

Commander Ethersey commanded the 'Moozuffer' for nearly three years, during which time, among other duties, he brought Lord Dalhousie from Suez to Calcutta, and took thence his predecessor, Lord Hardinge, on his return to England. He was succeeded by Commander Harry Heald Hewett, an equally fine officer, who, in 1849, made the passage to Aden by the direct route in eleven days and nine hours, thus eclipsing the feat of Commander J. W. Young, who, in the preceding year, was considered to have done wonders by getting to Aden in twelve days and four hours. Hitherto, the steamers of the Indian Navy, owing to their small steam power, were forced, during the monsoon, to make the south-west passage, which frequently occupied from eighteen to twenty days, and it used to be a joke that the gallant officers went down "to see how their friend the equator was getting on." The feat of Commander Hewett in the 'Moozuffer' remained unrivalled by any steam vessel, and when, in July, 1855, acting on the advice of Lieutenant Fergusson, the Indian Navy draughtsman, conveyed to Mr. Ritchie, the Peninsular and Oriental Company's Superintendent at Bombay, their steamer, the 'Cadiz,' Captain Oldham, made the direct, or north-west, passage, in twelve days and nine hours, the Bom-

* His commission as Commander was dated the 13th of September, 1847.

bay "Telegraph and Courier" had a lengthy leading article on the achievement.

The addition to the Service of the 'Moozuffer' was almost neutralized by the loss of the 'Coote.' This fine sloop-of-war sailed from Bombay under the command of Lieutenant J. S. Grieve, who had only joined her on the 15th of the month, and, on the morning of the 1st of December, grounded on a reef near Calicut, to which port she was bound. Every exertion was made by the officers and men to get her off, but without avail, and, on the 3rd of December, she was abandoned, after all her guns and a great portion of her stores and ammunition had been safely landed. The crew were accommodated on shore until the arrival of the 'Medusa,' which took them to Bombay. The hull of the 'Coote' was sold for 10,000 rupees, but her purchaser sustained a total loss, owing to her having grounded, while being towed ashore, on a mud bank, from which it was impossible to remove her. Her unfortunate commander, Lieutenant J. S. Grieve, brother to the late Commander Albany Grieve,—both smart officers and eminent surveyors,—did not long survive the loss of his ship, but died at Calicut on the following 7th of April.

In the year 1847 another steam-frigate, of the same size and armament as the 'Moozuffer,' called the 'Ajdaha,' or "flying dragon," was launched in London, and sailed from Gravesend on the 25th of September, under command of Captain Sanders (Lieutenants H. A. Drought and H. W. Grounds proceeding in her to India, on their return from furlough), and cast anchor in Bombay harbour on the 28th of December.

In February, 1847, the Colaba Lighthouse, which was under the charge of Lieutenant Hayman, of the Invalid Establishment, was fitted with a light on the revolving principle, exhibiting its greatest intensity every two minutes.

We have seen that, by the Orders of the Court, dated the 30th of January, 1839, and promulgated at Bombay on the 4th of April following, the Indian Naval Establishment was fixed at four captains, eight commanders, forty lieutenants, and forty-eight midshipmen—total one hundred. Again, consequent on a despatch of the Court, dated the 27th of August, 1841, and published in General Orders of the 5th of November in that year, the strength of the Service was fixed at six captains, twelve commanders, forty-eight lieutenants, and seventy-two midshipmen—total one hundred and thirty-eight. Again, by a General Order, dated the 13th of September, 1847, in accordance with the Court's despatch of the previous 28th of July, there was a further augmentation* of the Service, the establish-

* By the augmentation, the following officers received promotion from the 13th of September, 1847 —Commanders H B. Lynch and J P Sanders to be captains, Lieutenants C. D Campbell, E W Daniell, A H Gordon, J G. Johnston, J. F. Jones, and J. W. Young, to be commanders, and Mates E.

ment of which was placed at the following scale:—Eight captains, sixteen commanders, sixty-eight lieutenants, and one hundred and ten midshipmen—total two hundred and two officers of the combatant branch; also fourteen pursers and twelve captains' clerks. In addition to these "covenanted" officers, there were now in the Service, or engaged within the next two years, fourteen masters and twenty-one second-masters, who were employed to fill any temporary vacancies on board the sea-going ships, and also officered the Indus flotilla and the steamer 'Comet,' stationed on the River Tigris, and commissioned by a Commander of the Service, who also held the appointment of Surveyor-General of Mesopotamia

By the Order of the 13th of September, 1847, the Superintendent was made a Commodore of the First Class in the Indian Navy, and it was also directed that the Assistant-Superintendent was to be a captain on the effective list, and to hold his appointment for three years; but, if for the advantage of the public service, he might be re-appointed for a further term. The nomination of a secretary to the commodore, was also sanctioned, and Mr. Frederick G Bone, Purser, received the appointment, which he filled with success, and to the satisfaction of his superiors and the Service generally, from the year 1847 to the date of the abolition of the Service in 1863.*

The following was the Government General Order on this augmentation, and the appointment of Sir Robert Oliver as a First Class Commodore, "to command all officers and men, the vessels and establishments of the Indian Navy afloat or ashore."

"The Governor in Council deems this a fitting occasion to offer to Sir Robert Oliver the warmest acknowledgments, on the part of the Government, for the able manner in which he has for many years conducted the department under his control, and by his indefatigable exertions drawn forth from its very inadequate and defective means most important services to the State, and the Governor in Council feels confident that the additional powers now placed in the hands of the Superintendent

Bode, A Chitty, E F T Fergusson, E Giles, J Bernard, B Crome, S B Hellard, G Holt, R Jermyn, L Jolliffe, R Leeds, F Nott, G T Robinson, J Sedley, J S Stevens, P Taylor, A D Taylor, C Walker, G E Way, W M Pengelley, and C Y Ward, to be lieutenants. Commander H B Lynch, having obtained his captaincy on the augmentation, was reappointed Assistant-Superintendent from the 24th of November, the terms of the Warrant requiring that the appointment should in future be held by an officer of that rank, though in the past, lieutenants had frequently filled the office, which was now, however, made of a much more responsible character, owing to the introduction of steam, and increase of the Service

* During Mr. Bone's absence on sick-leave to England, in the administration of Commodore Wellesley, Mr W H D Williams, purser, a gentleman much and deservedly liked in the Service, filled the office of Secretary to the Commander-in-chief.

will enable him to improve the discipline of the Indian Navy, to raise its character, and to promote its efficiency in all its parts."

On the 4th of April, 1848, a Government Order was issued appointing Sir Robert Oliver, Commander-in-chief of the Indian Navy, and, in January of the following year (1849), an Act was passed by the Supreme Legislative Council by which the Governor-General and the Governors of Bombay and Madras were empowered to direct any superior officer, being a captain or commander, of the Indian Navy, to hold courts-martial in the Eastern seas, the officer in question presiding over such court, which was to consist of commissioned officers of the Indian Navy, whether in command or not, or, when a sufficiency of such of suitable rank could not be found, of officers of the Company's army above the rank of captain, and officers of the Royal Navy, should such be disposed to act. Courts-martial had been held during the past few years under Sections 5 and 6 of Act XII. of 1844, whereby the Governor-General of India in Council, and the Governors in Council of Madras and Bombay, respectively, were authorized to grant commissions "to any officer commanding-in-chief any fleet or squadron of ships or vessels of war," to call and assemble courts-martial; provided always that "no Commander-in-chief of any fleet or squadron of the Indian Navy, or detachment thereof, consisting of more than five ships or vessels, shall preside at any court-martial, but that the officer next in command to such officer commanding-in-chief shall hold such court-martial and preside thereat." By these enactments, for the first time in the annals of the Service, the Commander-in-chief, or Acting-Superintendent, of the Indian Navy, by virtue of his rank of Commodore afloat, having his broad pennant flying on board the 'Hastings,' were empowered to convene courts-martial for the trial of offenders, and the authority hitherto vested in the General officer commanding-in-chief the Bombay Army, to assemble a court and revise its finding, was abrogated. Finally, in 1856, a bill was brought into the Supreme Legislative Council to amend the Articles of War of the Indian Navy. Under the original Act, officers belonging to the Service were not responsible to a court-martial for acts committed on shore. The new bill repaired this omission, and provided that any officer guilty of "scandalous, infamous, cruel, oppressive, or fraudulent" conduct anywhere within the dominions of the East India Company, was liable to be tried by court-martial.

In June, 1847, under the auspices of Sir Robert Oliver, was completed the enlargement of the dock, next the factory, constructed in 1810, and called after Mr. Duncan, Governor of Bombay. The entrance to this dock was enlarged to the width of sixty-three and a half feet, and was thus of sufficient extent

to admit the largest steamers, with the usual height at spring-tides of upwards of twenty feet of water at the gates. At the same time the extensive wood-yard and slips to the east and south were also formed.

On the 18th of May, 1848, a steam frigate for the Indian Navy was floated out of Bombay Dock,* and received the name of the 'Ferooz.' She was a noble ship, 240 feet in length, 64 feet beam, with engines of 550 horse-power, and carried eight heavy guns. The ceremony of christening the 'Ferooz' was performed by Lady Falkland, in presence of the Governor, Lord Falkland—who had arrived in the 'Sesostris,' Commander Lowe, from Suez, on the 27th of April, in succession to Mr. (now Sir) George R. Clerk—and all the *élite* of Bombay society, including Sir Willoughby Cotton and Sir Robert Oliver, the Military and Naval Commanders-in-chief. The 'Ferooz' was of the same class as the 'Ajdaha' and 'Moozuffer,' but was incomparably a stouter ship, being built of teak, under the directions of the Parsee shipbuilder, Cursetjee Rustomjee, who—like the Wadia family,† during their lengthened connection with the Indian Navy—never "scamped" his work. The strength of build of the 'Ferooz' was put to a test not less severe than that encountered by the 'Salsette' frigate, constructed by the same family, which has already been recorded. When the 'Ferooz,' under command of her first captain, Commander Frushard, after conveying the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, from Scinde to Bombay, Ceylon, Straits Settlements, Moulmein and Calcutta, was on her way down the Hooghly, under charge of a branch pilot, she ran aground on the "James and Mary," probably the most dangerous quicksands to be found in any river; she was aground six days and five nights, and, eventually, was carried over them by the action of the "bores," with which each flood-tide sets in. This marvellous escape from destruction was, undoubtedly, owing to the excellence and strength of her build, and the 'Ferooz' came off with slight damage to her sheathing, and the breakage of her rudder pintles. There are few recorded instances of vessels having escaped submer-

* On the 6th of February, 1848, H M 's brig 'Nerbudda,' sixteen guns, was launched from the same dock She was a beautiful craft, of 420 tons, and 119 feet in length, with 33 feet beam, and being fitted out, sailed, on the 29th of February, for England in charge of Commander Pierce, of the 'Cruiser,' from which the spars, masts, and guns had been transferred. The sailing qualities of the 'Nerbudda' were remarkable, and she arrived at Portsmouth on the 2nd of June, making the passage in ninety-three days A second brig of the same class, called the 'Jumna,' was launched on the 3rd of March, and was fitted anew throughout, she was, however, not so fortunate as the 'Nerbudda,' for sailing for England on the 12th of April, under the command of Lieutenant Rodney, she encountered a hurricane within ten days' sail of Bombay, and was dismasted and forced to put into Trincomalee under jury-masts

† One of the same family of the Wadias, Ardaseer [illegible] filled the office of Superintendent of the Steam Foundry.

sion in the "James and Mary" sands, after grounding upon them even for one tide.

On the 2nd of February, 1848, Commodore Plumridge arrived from England in the 'Cambrian,' forty-four guns, to relieve Commodore Sir Henry Blackwood, who proceeded home in the 'Fox.' On the 23rd of the same month, Rear-Admiral S H. Inglefield, C B., Commander-in-chief of H.M's ships in India, whose flag-ship, the 'Vernon,' lay in the harbour, died at Bombay, when Commodore Plumridge temporarily succeeded to the high command. The gallant officer signalized his brief assumption of power, by denying the right of the Commander-in-chief of the Indian Navy to fly the broad pennant of the Royal Navy, notwithstanding the Warrant of His Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom—his late Majesty King William IV—dated the 12th of June, 1827, by which the ships of the Bombay Marine were "granted the privilege of wearing the Union Jack, and a long pendant having St George's cross on a white field in the upper part next the mast, with a red fly." A correspondence ensued, and, on the matter being referred to the Admiralty, it was decided, in order to soothe the susceptibilities of officers of the type of mind of Commodore Plumridge, that the broad pennant of the Commander-in-chief of the Indian Navy was to be a red flag with a yellow cross, and the Company's cognizance of a yellow lion and crown in the upper canton nearest the staff The Commodore of the Persian Gulf, being of the second class, was allowed a similar flag with a blue field.

In this year the 'Elphinstone' brought from the Persian Gulf, some of the sculptures collected by Mr. Layard and Major Rawlinson for the British Museum, which were taken to England by H.M.S. 'Jumna;' and, a little later in the year, the 'Clive' brought to Bombay a further instalment. At this time, apprehensions of war with China being entertained, the 'Semiramis,' Commander E. W S. Daniell, sailed to the eastward on the 27th of February, armed with six 8-inch guns and some of smaller calibre, and carrying a party of Bombay artillerymen to do duty as marines, as was the custom of Indian Navy ships proceeding to a distant station on active service. The 'Semiramis' however, proceeded no further than Madras. as all immediate danger of war had passed away; she arrived at Bombay on the 29th of March, and, on the 6th of May, proceeded to Suez, with Mr. Clerk, late Governor of Bombay.

Death was busy, during the year 1848,* in the removal of

* By a Government General Order, dated 22nd of June, 1848, the medical supervision of the Indian Navy was placed "under the Superintending Surgeon of the Presidency Division subject to the control of the Medical Board," and the Indus flotilla was similarly placed under the Superintending Surgeon of the Scinde Division.

some of the most distinguished officers of the Indian Navy. Captain J. P. Sanders, commanding the 'Ajdaha,' was obliged, by declining health, to proceed on shore on the 17th of March, and died before the close of the year, near Malta, on his way to England; in him the Service lost one of its most accomplished surveyors. On the 4th of August Captain Pepper died at Poona. On the conclusion of the China War he returned, in the 'Akbar,' to Bombay, and was appointed Indian Naval Storekeeper, and, for six months, during the absence of Sir Robert Oliver, officiated as Superintendent of the Indian Navy. Captain Pepper himself proceeded to England on sick leave in April, 1845, and had only returned to Bombay on the 14th of December preceding his death. A Government Order was issued, under date the 15th August, announcing the death of Captain Pepper,* whose public services were lengthy and honourable In the following September died Commander H. C. Boulderson, described in the "Bombay Times," as "an officer of considerable talents and attainments," who had filled the post of Assistant-Superintendent under Captain Lynch, and officiated as Draughtsman during the absence of Commander Montriou.

In the latter part of the year 1848, owing to failing health, Captain Ross, F.R.S., resigned the posts of Master-Attendant at Bombay, and President of the Bombay Geographical Society, the latter of which he had held since the return of Sir Charles Malcolm to England, having discharged the duties with great ability and success for the past ten years. during which time he could boast as his coadjutors many eminent men.† The Government issued a General Order, dated the 8th of November, 1848, eulogistic of Captain Ross's lengthened and distinguished services, and, on his resigning the post of President, the Geographical Society elected him Honorary President, and requested him to sit for his portrait. The Hon. J. P Willoughby was elected President in his place, Commodore Lushington, R.N. being chosen Vice-President in the place of Mr. Lushington.

On Captain Ross' retirement from the Service, the Board of Control refused to allow him the highest pension of his rank, awarding him only £360 a year. As was observed by an influential paper, in recording this misplaced act of parsimony:— "He has for fifty years been almost continually employed in

* The death of Captain Pepper gave a step in rank to Commander J P. Porter, who had returned from Europe on the 10th of March, and Lieutenant E A Ball became Commander

† We find in the list of Office Bearers for the year 1846, many men of European reputation One of the Vice-Presidents was that eminent scholar and linguist, Major-General Vans Kennedy, and among the twelve Resident Members of the Committee, appear the names of Captain Lynch, I N, Lieutenant Jenkins, I.N, Mr L R Reid, Colonel P Melvill, General E Barr, while in the list of the eight Non-Resident Members were Major H. C. Rawlinson, Captain G. Le G Jacob, Captain Carless, I.N., and Lieutenant Cruttenden, I.N.

the scientific department of the Service; he bears a name as an hydrographer, second only to that of Horsburgh; and his charts and surveys have been the means of saving numberless lives and uncounted fortunes Instead of remaining Master-Attendant on the full emoluments of his office, while the duties were discharged by a deputy, he retired, as he found the infirmities of years advancing, and has been requited with a salary less than that of the youngest boy civilian" However, Captain Ross did not long remain an object for the exercise of the miserable parsimony, if not injustice, of the Board of Control, for he died in Bombay a few months after retiring from the Service.

In a previous chapter we have described the great services he rendered to the cause of hydrography, by his surveys of the China Seas, between the years 1806-20, and of the Arracan coast at a later period Between the years 1821-33, he was Marine Surveyor General of Bengal, where he had as his assistants many officers of the Service, including Lieutenants Crawford, Maxfield, Criddle, Barnard, R. Lloyd, G. Laughton, A S. Williams, G Boscawen, T. G. Carless, C. Montriou, and C. B. Richardson. On resigning office at Calcutta, he was appointed Master-Attendant at Bombay, a post he filled for fifteen years, when the infirmities of old age induced him to retire on a pension. Daniel Ross was far in advance of his age as a scientific hydrographer, and worthily earned the honourable designation of the "Father of Indian Surveys."*

By Government General Order, under date the 14th of July, 1849, it was notified that, in future, the appointments of Master-Attendant and Indian Navy Storekeeper, vacant by the retirement and death of Captains Ross and Pepper, should be held by officers of the rank of Captain on the effective list, for a period not exceeding three years, subject to reappointment, and that the allowances were to be 800 rupees per annum, with house rent 180 rupees. Captain Lynch succeeded Captain Ross as Master-Attendant, and, on his departure to Europe soon after, Captain Hawkins received the appointment.

Before the close of the year 1848, which had been a calamitous one for the Service, in the number of distinguished officers it had lost by death, another name was added, not less honoured than those which had already gone "to that bourne whence no

* Some officers of the Service, including Captains Hawkins and Jenkins, Dr. Buist, the noted editor of the 'Bombay Times,' and Mr. (afterwards Sir) J P. Willoughby, made a proposal for the institution of a literary memorial to Captain Ross, to consist of all published charts and hydrographic memoirs, to be kept in the Town Hall at Bombay for public reference The project received general support, and a Committee was also formed in London, including the Hydrographer, (Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort,) Sir Charles Malcolm, and Sir Charles Forbes, and a considerable sum was collected and expended in furtherance of the object in view.

traveller returns." On the 16th of December there died, after a brief illness, at Bushire, Commodore T. G. Carless, commanding the Persian Gulf squadron, of small-pox complicated with an affection of the lungs. Commodore Carless was sincerely regretted by a large circle of friends, and one who knew him well, wrote to the "Bombay Times" in the following terms:—"To his own officers he was kind, affable, and hospitable; his house was always open and free to them, and they ever met a welcome. To his men he was considerate and condescending—alive to their every want, and to whatever might conduce to their comfort and happiness. In every other relationship, his conduct was no less commendable." Commodore Carless died in his forty-second year, and added another name to the long list of Indian Navy officers who have fallen victims to the climate of the Persian Gulf. He had served in the first Burmese War, but it was as a surveyor of the first distinction that the name of Captain Carless will ever be held in respect as long as the keel of an English ship ploughs the waters of the Red Sea, which he, in conjunction with Captain Moresby, mapped out, and robbed of its terrors to all future navigators. He was for some time Senior Naval Officer at Aden, and commanded the 'Sesostris' when she crossed the Indian Ocean to Cannanore with troops, at the time the 'Cleopatra' foundered in the memorable hurricane of April, 1847, of which he drew up an excellent paper. He had only succeeded to the command of the Persian Gulf squadron in the preceding April, when Commodore Hawkins, whose state of health had necessitated his return to the Presidency in the previous year, finally relinquished the command. His successor was Captain J. P. Porter, and his death gave a step in rank to Commander F T. Powell, then serving with the Indian Naval Brigade before Mooltan.

On the 5th of August, 1848, Sir Robert Oliver died at Bombay, aged sixty-five. He had expressed his intention to retire during the course of the year, but had a sunstroke on the 27th of July, and expired after a few days' illness.

Sir Robert Oliver had seen little war service, having only once been under fire, on the 4th of April, 1804, when he landed on the Calabrian coast, from the brig 'Espoir,' and spiked some guns and burnt some small vessels. On the introduction of steam he studied the new motive power, and fitted out war-steamers with pivot guns designed by himself; and, on the retirement of Sir Charles Malcolm, when the Court had decided to transform the Indian Navy into a steam Service, the Admiralty recommended Captain Oliver as a suitable officer to carry out the required changes.

The Government issued the following Notification on the character and services of Sir Robert Oliver:—

"Bombay Castle, August 9, 1848

"The Right Honourable the Governor in Council has received, with the deepest concern and regret, the report of the decease, on the morning of the 5th instant, of Commodore Sir Robert Oliver, and feels it to be his duty publicly to record the high and lasting sense entertained of the value and importance of the services which this lamented and distinguished officer has performed while filling the office of Superintendent, and latterly, of Commander-in-chief of the Indian Navy.

"Sir Robert Oliver has stood for ten years at the head of the Indian Navy; and during the whole of that period, the records of Government abundantly prove, that he has discharged the responsible and onerous functions of his high office in a manner which has elicited the warmest approbation of every superior authority in India and in England. His energy, foresight, skill, and thorough practical knowledge of every branch of his profession, have always been conspicuous; and these qualities were so displayed in the equipment and fitting out of the vessels despatched to co-operate with Her Majesty's Navy in the China Expedition, that it pleased Her Majesty, in 1843, to confer upon him the honour of Knighthood, expressly 'in acknowledgment of the zeal and ability with which that officer had exerted himself to further Her Majesty's Service in relation to the Expedition sent to the China Seas' Under the conduct of Sir Robert Oliver, the strength of the Indian Naval Force has been largely increased, and its services employed always with honour and success, in every part of the Indian Ocean. The various marine establishments connected with the Navy have been extended, reformed, or organized. A steam factory of great power and efficiency has been erected, and commodious slips for the promotion of shipbuilding at the port have been constructed. Other works and improvements, planned or advised by the same master-mind, have been completed or are in progress, the whole designed to render the dockyard of Bombay equal to the important national objects for which it may be required. The great extension given to the Indian Navy generally, and to its establishments in Western India, under the management of Sir Robert Oliver, has caused the Hon. Court of Directors recently to invest him, in his office of Superintendent, with the commission of a Commodore of the First Class, and the dignity of Commander-in-chief.

"The Right Honourable the Governor in Council feels it to be unnecessary to do more than point to these leading facts in Sir Robert Oliver's Indian career. Originally selected to fill the office of Superintendent of the Indian Navy on account of the qualifications he had been proved to possess in his own Service, the Royal Navy, he has amply fulfilled all the expectations based on his appointment. He has devoted the

whole energies of his life, with untiring zeal and unflinching honesty of purpose, to the duties of his station. He has died at his post; and the Government deeply deplores the loss of one who, for ability, integrity, and faithfulness to his trust, justly merits to be ranked among the most deserving and distinguished servants of the State."

Though this eulogium was not undeserved, Sir Robert Oliver, owing to defects of temper and judgment, was far from popular in the Service over which he ruled for ten years. That the feeling of irritation caused by his administration, among the officers of the Indian Navy, was very general, however often and forcibly the Court of Directors and Bombay Government expressed their confidence in him, is proved by the fact that no less than nineteen officers, some of them the best in the Service, men not inclined to be malcontents without good grounds, echoed the complaint of Captain Cogan, made in 1843, and separately petitioned the Court for redress against what they considered the arbitrary and unjust acts of Sir R. Oliver. more particularly in the case of Lieutenant Bird,* whom he caused by General Order, under

* The following is the Government General Order relating to these Memorials —

"Bombay Castle, May 3, 1848

"The Right Hon the Governor in Council is pleased to direct the publication in General Orders of the following extracts of a despatch, dated the 22nd of March, conveying the decision of the Hon the Court of Directors upon a number of memorials presented in September and October last, by the following officers of the Indian Navy —Lieutenants Peevor, Twynam, Dakers, Batt, King, Fraser, Manners, Constable, Adams, Etheridge, Messrs Giles, Hellard, Toby, Robinson, Taylor, Ranken, Mitcheson, Brooman, Stroyan, and Pengelley, which contained comments upon the constitution and administration of the Service to which they belong, and highly improper reflections and imputations upon their superiors The Right Hon the Governor in Council desires the most serious attention of all the officers of the Indian Navy to the observations of the Hon the Court of Directors, implicit obedience to their instructions will be strictly enforced, and the Government trust that the leniency shown in the decision now promulgated will be duly appreciated, and induce the young officers who have been misled to join in an act which is characterised by the highest authority as a flagrant breach of discipline and subordination, to endeavour, by their future behaviour, to retrieve the confidence of their superiors, and obliterate the recollection of their misconduct on this occasion. The suspension awarded to Lieutenant Manners of six months, and to Lieutenant Etheridge and Midshipman Pengelley of three months, from pay, allowances, and the active duties of the Service, will take effect from a date which will be hereafter fixed Lieutenant B Hamilton is admonished, in conformity with the Hon Court's instructions, and cautioned to be more circumspect in his conduct hereafter

"Letter from ——, dated the 10th of September, 1847 (No 85), and the 1st of October, 1847 (No 99) Transmitting, with the observations and proceedings of Government thereon, nineteen memorials addressed to the Court by certain officers and midshipmen of the Indian Navy, respecting the removal from the Service of Lieutenant Bird, under the Court's orders, respecting also the power vested in the Superintendent of the Indian Navy, and the mode in which those powers are exercised, the inadequacy of the pay of lieutenants, their severe duty, consequent on the paucity of commissioned officers, and the employment of strangers in command of Indian Navy vessels, to the disadvantage of the officers of the Service; respecting, likewise, the system under which officers of the Indian

date the 20th of July, 1847, to be struck off the list from the 1st of August following, without court-martial, for incompe-

Navy take relative rank with the Royal Navy, their not being granted honorary distinctions, &c

"With respect to the memorials from the officers and midshipmen of the Indian Navy, we concur generally in the view taken by your President in his Minute of the 14th of September, 1847, and we consider those documents, not less from their offensive tone, than from the manner in which they have been severally framed and presented, as highly objectionable and altogether inadmissible

"Letter from ——, dated the 15th of October, 1847 (No. 101) Forwarding a memorial from Midshipman Pengelley, of the same tenor as the preceding

"Every individual in our Service is at liberty to represent his case to us if he feel aggrieved, but his appeal ought to be couched in temperate and respectful terms That privilege, however, does not admit of a body of officers sending in memorials of a similarly offensive character, both in substance and in terms, as the memorials alluded to are It can scarcely be known to the officers of the Indian Navy, that among the members of a military body, such combination is, under any circumstances, highly irregular, and punishable as tending to the subversion of discipline, but in a case like the present, where the parties, under the pretence of presenting a memorial for the redress of alleged grievances, presume to call in question the acts of the constituted authorities, and to cast imputations and reflections upon the conduct of their superior officer in the discharge of his public duty, the combination constitutes a military crime, and the parties so associated should be made to understand that they are guilty of a grave offence, subjecting the individuals to serious penalties

"With reference to the imperfect state of the law at the time, there would, we are sensible, have been great difficulty in convening a court-martial for the trial of the offenders, but as the tone and language assumed by them are both intemperate and disrespectful to superior authority, and involve points of which they could not properly take cognizance, and as an insubordinate spirit and contempt of authority were evinced in the very presentation of the memorials, after the memorialists had been made aware, by their superior officers, of the impropriety of the course they were pursuing, we cannot determine otherwise than to visit this flagrant breach of discipline and subordination with punishment

"In proceeding to notice the conduct of the memorialists, we cannot divest ourselves of the impression that the spirit of insubordination, the discontented temper, and the disposition to resist authority, which have been displayed by the younger members of the Service, have been connived at and encouraged by those of more mature age and of higher rank, who ought to have shown a very different example, and to have repressed the rash proceedings of their juniors, who were permitted to proceed, step by step, in a course alike injurious to themselves and to the Service

"We are disposed, however, to make every allowance for the youth and inexperience of the junior officers and midshipmen, and to attach all due regard to your intercession in their favour, but it seems to us imperative, that for the vindication of discipline, the upholding our authority, as well as that of your Government, and of the Superintendent of the Indian Navy, the memorialists should be made to understand that their conduct cannot be passed over altogether with impunity"

(The Court then directs, by way of example, that Lieutenant Manners be suspended from pay and allowances, and from the active duties of the Service, for the period of six months, that Lieutenant Etheridge and Midshipman Pengelley be suspended from pay and allowances, and from the active duties of the Service, for the period of three months; and that Lieutenant Hamilton be admonished, and informed that his conduct has made a very unfavourable impression upon the Court).

"We are of opinion that the Superintendent of the Indian Navy has a right to expect all the support which can be accorded to him by the local authorities; and we observe with satisfaction that your Government, under whose immediate orders he is acting, and who have consequently the best means of forming a judg-

tence, and who died of chagrin and disappointment, or, as the papers said, of "a broken heart," in consequence of the treatment on his official conduct, have distinctly declared that you 'regard the imputations and reflections cast upon his conduct and motives as wholly unfounded, and that your confidence in this able and strictly upright officer is undiminished in the slightest degree' We beg you will assure Sir Robert Oliver of our cordial concurrence in these sentiments"

The "Deccan Herald" of the 8th of May, 1863, in a lengthy article on the Service at the time of its abolition, refers in the following terms to the case of Lieutenant Bird —

"That officer entered the Navy in 1828, and might in 1848 have retired on a pension of £180 a-year due to his rank. He had been appointed Harbour-Master at Kurrachee in 1845, and, having suffered from the climate, proceeded on two years' leave to the Neilgherry Hills for the benefit of his health He had, throughout, enjoyed the universal esteem and respect of his brother officers, and no complaint of any sort had been brought, or ever established against him He had had no communication with any official leading him to imagine that anything adverse awaited him, when receiving some official papers in sick-quarters, he opened them expecting to find himself gazetted as commander in consequence of the augmentation just about to be made in the number of officers in the Indian Navy. To his horror and amazement he found himself dismissed without cause, his pay stopped on the instant, and he himself left in a strange country to subsist on charity, a scanty pittance being allowed him in the shape of a pension! A portion of the Court's letter upon which this was based was afterwards suffered to see the light, and these were the only indications of the grounds of the punishment inflicted In 1843, Mr Bird had, at Aden, been unexpectedly put in command of the 'Cleopatra,' in place of an officer not then considered fit to take charge of a vessel to Suez, though afterwards rewarded with a staff appointment. Mr. Bird's ship was officered with acting-masters fresh drawn from some merchant vessels, the ship got ashore amongst some coral reefs over night, at a time when it was not usual, or in general requisite, for the commander to be on deck. He was tried by court-martial, the chief charge being the omission to heave the lead, though in seas filled with coral, like that where the steamer went ashore, there is often no bottom to be found within ten fathoms of a reef He was fully and honourably acquitted by the Court, and, one would therefore have imagined, on the common principle of justice, stood as clear of blame as if no charge had ever been laid against him. The steamer was but little injured The other ground of offence was, that while Harbour-Master at Kurrachee he had incurred the displeasure of Sir C Napier The case proved to have been this —The 'Berenice' having arrived with stores, the officer commanding (Lieutenant Selby) intimated to the Superior Naval Officer (Lieutenant Bird) that his vessel was empty and ready for sea. Of this Sir C Napier was immediately apprised, when it was found that some rifles—a dozen or two of campstools, we believe—had escaped observation and remained to be disembarked A signal was made to that effect, and a boat immediately ordered from the shore A stiff breeze had, meanwhile, sprung up, and the boats had difficulty in reaching the vessel Some hours of time were lost, the boats, knowing the difficulty of obtaining remuneration for any damage sustained by them in knocking against a steamer, were not very bold in their approaches, and ultimately, after various fruitless attempts, sheered off. By the time this had occurred, the mail from Bombay had arrived at Munnora Point, and the only alternative that remained was to delay the steamer till the weather moderated, with the risk of keeping the Scinde letters, with official despatches of importance, till too late for the overland steamer, or to dispatch the 'Berenice' at once. The latter course Lieutenant Bird wisely determined to pursue. Some warm or heated expression may, probably, on the occasion have escaped Sir C. Napier; whatever it was, it never became subject of official notice. When the matter was fully explained to him, he expressed his entire satisfaction with what had occurred, and when Mr. Bird was recalled and a non-commissioned officer put in his place, the Governor of Scinde expressed deep regret at his departure. These circumstances gave rise to the transmission of a multitude of memorials, prepared for the Court of Directors by the junior officers,

ment he had received; though, as the "Bombay Times" of the 20th of September, incidentally remarked, "he would, it is said, have been restored had he survived." Lieutenant Bird had been tried by court-martial, in December, 1843, for negligence in grounding the 'Cleopatra' near Suez, but acquitted; upon which the Commander-in-chief and Court of Directors animadverted upon the leniency of the Court, and ever since he had been a marked man.

There can be no doubt that Sir Robert Oliver possessed abilities, though they were limited to his acquisitions as a good "steam officer" and mechanic as well as sailor, but he had small claims to be considered a scientific officer, and the marine surveys, which have ever been one of the chief glories of the Indian Navy, were discouraged by him, and only the most urgent were undertaken during his *régime*. For this, however, it is more than probable that his masters in Leadenhall Street were to blame, as Sir Robert Oliver went out to India as the apostle of economy, and his orders were imperative to cut down expenditure in every department. His honesty and high principle were unquestioned, and he served the Government to the utmost extent of his capacity, regardless of the strain on his physical strength.

Active and zealous in the discharge of his duties he had obtained so completely the ear of Government and the Court of Directors, that his word was law, and he was entrusted with almost absolute power, which he did not always exercise wisely or well. The effect of his arbitrary conduct on the discipline of the Indian Navy, as we have seen, induced no less than nineteen officers, including some of the best and steadiest in the Service, to petition the Court against their chief, and, though the Directors and Government supported him, that this state of indiscipline was due to mismanagement is proved by the fact that, after his death, the Service was always loyal to the three Commanders-in-chief, who ruled over it, in succession, up to the date of its abolition, and no instances of an insubordinate spirit were ever again manifested. Sir Robert Oliver also displayed

none of whom knew but that their own turn for victimization might be at hand A reprimand of unusual violence was returned from the India House, where the Oliver interest was supreme and triumphant That a greater degree of secrecy than that in general prevailing would under such circumstances obtain, was, on this occasion, to have been expected, where there was so much meanness and tyranny to be ashamed of, and the first light let in upon the secrets of the Council Chamber, was afforded by the examinations before the Committee of Indian Affairs in 1852 Mr Willoughby, one of the ablest of our public servants and Member of Council when these oppressions occurred, stated that he had then recorded an opinion condemnatory, as it would appear, of the conduct of Sir Robert Oliver, and was told that his views being calculated, in the opinion of the Court, to promote discontent in the Service, were highly disapproved at home Mr Willoughby states that he felt so much shocked by this gratuitous insult, that he considered his independence as a Member of Council extinguished"

want of tact, to use a mild expression, by treating some of the older and more distinguished officers of the Service with scant respect. For instance, he issued an order directing, amongst others, Captain Ross, the Master-Attendant, a surveyor of world-wide repute, which was acknowledged by his being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and President of the Bombay Geographical Society, and his senior in years and service, to appear at stated hours at the Marine Office, and make his report. The order so closely resembled a proceeding of the schoolmaster of Dotheboy's Hall, immortalised by the genius of Dickens, that the name of Squeers was not inaptly applied to Sir Robert Oliver, and clung to him to the last. Of course the weapon, ridicule, gave the death-blow to the obnoxious order, which gradually fell into disuse. Sir Robert, on the other hand, entitled himself to the gratitude of the officers, particularly the juniors, whose means were limited to their scanty pay, by the establishment, in 1846, of a Sanatarium at Colaba, adjoining Bombay, in a healthy situation and well furnished. Hitherto, officers, when sent on shore sick, were obliged to have recourse to the alternative of either residing on shore with their friends, if they had any, or resorting to the European Hospital.

A brief review of the surveys undertaken during the administration of Sir Robert Oliver, will fitly close this notice of his character and career.

Commander A. Dundas Taylor says, in a "Memorandum on the Marine Surveys of India," submitted to the Indian Government on the 10th of March, 1871, that "the successor to Sir Charles Malcolm, unfortunately for the commercial interests of India, took no concern in accurate Marine Surveying, because he neither knew the value nor had any experience of it. One of the first acts of his official career put a sudden stop to all surveys. This was followed by the almost simultaneous resignation of many superior officers and clever surveyors, Captains Robert Cogan, Michael Houghton, Robert Moresby, Richard Lloyd, and Lieutenants Wellsted and John Wood, all names known to fame." He continues:—"In 1844 two surveying vessels were employed, one on the coast of India south of Bombay, the other on the south-east of Arabia, but the same parsimony that had so long suppressed all surveys, now grudged the vessels an efficient outfit, and when the rainy season hindered active operations, the surveyors were packed off to other duty before the charts and sailing directions had been completed and sent in. The resumption of Marine Surveys in 1844, was most opportune, but there was no head capable of organising a system, and subordinates were not allowed to offer suggestions, indeed, applications for necessary instruments were

refused. One vessel had no doctor, till, half of the crew and officers being sick, she was compelled to seek medical treatment at the headquarters of the nearest Collectorate, the expenses of the vessel going on whilst no work was being done"

Again, Markham says:—"Even after 1844, when a few surveys were sanctioned, they were confined to the narrowest limits, the officers were miserably found both as regards vessels and instruments, their allowances were cut down, and the acquisition of all knowledge beyond bearings and soundings was coldly discountenanced. In Sir Robert Oliver's time, the chart office of the Indian Navy was one little corner of the sail-loft in the dockyard of Bombay, where numbers of valuable documents were eaten by white ants and cockroaches The office of the draughtsman* of the Indian Navy was, afterwards, removed to the Observatory at Colaba by Sir Robert Oliver, and here the charts were compiled, drawn, and occasionally lithographed. Captain Montriou held this office from 1847 to 1852, and drew up the information called for in the Parliamentary paper printed in 1852 He was succeeded by Lieutenant Fergusson, who held the appointment until the end came in 1862. The establishment consisted of the draughtsman and two natives for copying, and its whole cost was under £500 a-year. In 1844 a few surveys were again permitted, but in such a niggard spirit, that an officer making geological or other scientific investigations, apart from sounding with the lead, was obliged to pay his own boat-hire!"

It was not without many protests that those interested in marine hydrography viewed the cessation of all surveying operations, which was one of the first fruits of Sir Robert Oliver's assumption of authority. The Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, in a letter which was read at the Quarterly Meeting of the Bombay Branch in November, 1839, adverting to the notice of this measure received through an officer of the Indian Navy, expressed great astonishment and regret that, "after all the expenditure of life and treasure in the beautiful surveys of the Persian Gulf, of the Red Sea, and half of the southern coasts of Arabia, the other half should remain unsurveyed." This referred to the discontinuance of the survey so ably conducted by Commander Haines. In the Annual Report of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1836-37, the Right Hon. Sir Alexander Johnston, as Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence, in the course of a detailed statement of the Society's operations, said that the Committee have "derived so much information from the surveys of the Indian Navy, as to render it his duty, considering the debt of gratitude which the friends

* In the latter part of 1855 the designation of the Indian Navy Draughtsman, who was actually at the head of the Survey Department, was changed for the more pretentious one of Hydrographer

of science owe to this distinguished body of men, to allude shortly to the history of their military achievements, their maritime surveys, and diplomatic negotiations." Sir Alexander Johnston then gave a succinct account of the war services of the Indian Navy from the date of the successes achieved by Commodore James in 1755, and of their triumphs in the more peaceful domain of scientific survey, and, in the course of his remarks, paid the following tribute to the officers of the Service: —"They have shown the greatest promptitude, the strictest discipline, and the most undaunted courage. They have been equally distinguished by the zeal, and by the great practical and theoretical science with which they have executed those maritime surveys by which they have been enabled, during the last forty years, to complete the most useful and valuable charts of different parts of the coasts of Asia, and of the coasts of the Arabian and Persian Gulfs."

During the China War of 1840-42, the Service found an ample field for vindicating its character for efficiency as a war marine, but when, in 1844, nearly two years after the cessation of hostilities, the surveys were resumed, it was on the meagre footing mentioned by Commander Taylor, and on the cheeseparing principles for which Mr. Markham is our authority.

On the 5th of January, 1843, Lieutenant W Christopher, commanding the 'Tigris,' sailed from Aden for Zanzibar, whither he was despatched by Captain Haines, Political Agent, with the returning envoys of Seyyid Said, the Imaum of Muscat, and was directed by that officer to make an examination of the coast to the northward, that portion between Brava and Ras Hafoon being utterly unknown except in so far as the running surveys of Captain Owen were concerned. Lieutenant Christopher made a journey into the interior, and discovered a noble river to the northward of the Juba, which he called after Captain Haines.

He says, in his interesting report, that he arrived at the town of Brava, about thirty-eight leagues to the northward of the Juba River, on the 19th of March, 1843, and, on the following day, started from the 'Tigris,' passing the town of Brava, within a mile of which is a watch-tower, erected on a rocky islet by the Portuguese some centuries ago. He then crossed the sand-hills, and, after some hours' journey, arrived on the banks of the Haines River, which, though now said to be at its lowest, was "from seventy to one hundred and fifty feet broad, ten to fifteen deep, with a current, by estimate, of a mile and a half an hour." Lieutenant Christopher was debarred from carrying out his wish to explore this river, which has no debouchure, but falls into a lake, owing to the great sickness on board the 'Tigris,' no less than thirty-one European seamen being ill. Hearing that the river approached within four miles of the sea

at a place called Galwen, he landed at Munjaia, but, owing to the unfriendly conduct of the people, was unable to proceed inland. On the 1st of April he made another attempt at Merka, where he made chronometrical observations and called on the chiefs, producing the Imaum's letter. While at Brava, Lieutenant Christopher had been warned against landing at Merka, or Mukdeesha (called also Magadoxa), and, when we remember the unprovoked attack by these people, about forty years before, on the boats of H.M.S 'Leopard' and 'Dædalus,'* when they killed Lieutenant Mears and several men with their spears, it must be owned that the character for treachery and cruelty of the natives on this coast, was fully justified. Lieutenant Christopher was gifted with that combination of gentleness with courage, which is the true attribute of all great travellers among savage races, and, after gaining the good will of the Sultan of Merka, he inspired confidence in the failing hearts of his guides, who wept with fear at being compelled to trust themselves among the natives of the interior. Passing through a country which bore evidences of great fertility, he arrived, after a march of nine or ten miles, on the banks of the river, which he found had a depth at this point of seventeen feet, with a breadth of 150 feet. On the 6th, the 'Tigris,' after taking on board 2,300 gallons of water, sailed for Magadoxa, where by dint of a judicious display of force in the shape of the boats manned and armed, with their carronades on board, and the marines as a guard, he succeeded in obtaining the requisite permission to land. The chief on the Haines River having sent Lieutenant Christopher the required written authority, he proceeded up country on the 10th of April, with two of his officers, Messrs. Robinson and Metcalf, a guard of fourteen men, marines and seamen, and ten spearmen sent by the Sheikh. On the following day the party arrived at the river, which they crossed in the presence of seven thousand spectators, and visited Giredi, the capital of the Sultan, by whom they were well received. One day was devoted to exploring the neighbourhood, and then Lieutenant Christopher returned to the 'Tigris,' having, as he says in his journal—extracts from which, as well as a map, are published in Vol. XIV. of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society†—"traced this fertilizing stream for 110 miles of direct distance, and established a friendly intercourse with the Chief resident on its banks."

* The 'Dædalus' struck on the shoal called after her when running down to pick up the survivors of the massacre, which took place at the mouth of the Juba, or Govind River, called by ancient navigators Rio dos Fuegos, or Rogues' River

† See also his "Extract from a Journal, kept during a partial inquiry into the present resources and state of North-Eastern Africa, with Memoranda," addressed to Government, by whom it was presented to the Bombay Geographical Society, in Vol. VI. of whose "Transactions" it appears.

The survey of the south-eastern coast of Arabia by Captain Haines, between the years 1833-37, which was discontinued owing to that officer being required to conduct the negotiations for the acquisition of Aden, was resumed in the year 1844, when Commander J. P. Sanders, who had been assistant to Captain Haines, was despatched in the 'Palinurus' to continue the survey of that portion of the coast between Ras Morbat and Ras Seger, and between Ras Fartak and the rivers of Mesinah. Commander Sanders proceeded from Bombay to Muscat, where he obtained a rate for the chronometers, and, leaving that place on the 17th of December, arrived at Morbat on the 24th, in company with the tender 'Nerbudda.' His Assistant-Surveyor was Lieutenant Fell, and among his officers were Midshipmen Constable, Ward, James, and Whish, and Assistant-Surgeon H. J. Carter,* an accomplished geologist and naturalist. Commander Sanders says:†—"In obedience to my instructions, I commenced a trigonometrical survey at Morbat, surveying four and a half miles to the eastward of that place, and the bay, on a large scale; I then proceeded to the westward, in continuation of the survey on a scale of 2,040 yards to half an inch. I have minutely examined the coast and bays between Ras Morbat and Ras Seger, and between Ras Fartak and Mesinah, making a total distance of nearly 180 miles, well sounded; the whole distance is perfectly clear of any shoals which would interfere with ship navigation, with the exception of one near Ras Deriah."‡

Commander Sanders returned to Bombay, as was customary, during the south-west monsoon, and, on the 23rd of September,

* Among papers contributed to scientific journals by Dr Carter, F R S, were an admirable memoir on the Geology of the South-East Coast of Africa, published in the Journal of the Bombay branch of the Asiatic Society, for 1852, a paper on the ruins of El Balad, in the district of Dhafar, Vol XVI of the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," and other memoirs on Geological subjects

† "A short Memoir of the Proceedings of the 'Palinurus,'" by J P Sanders, Commander—"Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," vol. xvi., p 169-186 The memoir is accompanied with a map

‡ Of the dangers incidental to surveying on this open coast, Commander Sanders says—"I was much hindered on my first arrival on the coast by the strong belaât winds which prevail on it, one breeze succeeding another at intervals of eight or ten days, always blowing very strong, sometimes a perfect gale, and constantly varying in gusts from N NE to N NW, rendering it quite unsafe to send a boat away from the vessel These belaâts never last less than three, but sometimes seven or even ten days The belaât is also dangerous to ships near the shore Occasionally at night the breeze would die away to a perfect calm, and remain so for an hour or two, heavy gusts would then blow down from the mountains at intervals of a few minutes (without any warning except the noise on the water), sufficiently strong to split the sails or carry away the masts of any ship under sail not prepared for it, these gusts would succeed each other for five or six hours In one of these belaâts the tender's mainmast was carried away, she, however, reached the 'Palinurus,' and, as at that time, her services were much required, I jury-rigged and kept her with me The belaâts were succeeded often by strong south-easterly winds, which, bringing with them a very considerable swell were almost as great a hindrance as that wind."

1845, again sailed for the Arabian Coast. Lieutenant Albany M. Grieve being Assistant-Surveyor. On his proceeding to England in 1846, the work was completed* by Lieutenant Grieve,† who, assisted by Lieutenant Ward,‡ also surveyed the islands to the west of Socotra. By the completion of the surveys of Commander Sanders and Lieutenant Grieve, the surveys of the Persian Gulf and Red Sea were connected, and thus the entire coast line, from Cape Comorin to Ras Gulwainee on the African continent, had been minutely examined and laid down by the officers of the Indian Navy

Besides Lieutenant Christopher, other officers of the Service were employed on the north-east coast of Africa. Lieutenant Barker, who had accompanied Sir W. Harris as astronomer during his mission to the Court of Shoa, surveyed the coast of Africa from Bab-el-Mandeb to Berberah, on the Soomali coast, and the resultant chart was referred to by the late Sir Roderick Murchison, in his address to the Royal Geographical Society, of the 27th of May, 1844. In 1848, Lieutenant Albany Grieve continued the survey of the Soomali coast from Berberah to Ras Gulwainee; and, in February of that year, Lieutenant Cruttenden, who, while employed at the wreck of the 'Memnon,' had collected considerable information relative to the tribes on the coast about Ras Assair, which he forwarded to Government, proceeded on a visit, accompanied by Commander Campbell to a powerful Soomali chief, and his researches among the Edoor, or Western, branch, are embodied in a paper which appears in Vol. VIII. of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society §

On the 1st of March, 1844, Lieutenant Montriou was ap-

* The following were the charts resulting from the Surveys commenced by Captain Haines and completed by Commander Sanders and Lieutenants Grieve and Barker —"Gulf of Aden," Haines, Barker, and Grieve (1847), "Islands west of Socotra," Grieve (1848), "North-East Coast of Arabia," Sanders and Grieve (1849), "Gulf of Macera," Grieve (1847) A Memoir, to accompany the charts of that portion of the South-East Coast of Arabia, surveyed by Commander Sanders and Lieutenant Grieve, was written by Assistant-Surgeon H J Carter, of the 'Palmurus,' and may be found in Vol III of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, pp 224-317. As previously mentioned, the Memoir, in two parts, by Captain Haines, to accompany his charts of the South-East Coast of Arabia, may be found in Vols IX and XV: of the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society"

† This eminent surveyor died suddenly on the 17th of January, 1858

‡ Lieutenant (now Commander) C Y Ward, compiled the "Gulf of Aden Pilot," published by the Admiralty in 1863

§ "Memoir on the Western or Edoor Tribes, inhabiting the Soomali coast, with the Southern branches of the family of Darrood, resident on the banks of the Webbi Shebeyli, commonly called the River Webbi" The Soomali tribes inhabiting the coast to the westward of Burnt Island, are called the Edoor, while the country from Ras Hafoon to Zeyla is called the Bur-e-Somal, and is divided into two great tribes, which are again subdivided In 1843, Lieutenant Cruttenden had forwarded a memoir to Government on the Mijurtheyn, one of the branches of the two great families of the Bur-e-Somal, whose habitat is the country round Ras Hafoon.

pointed to the command of the 'Taptee,' brig, as appears in General Orders, "for the purpose of surveying the Rajahpore Creek and other inlets on the coast of the South Concan." We find him transferred from the 10th of June following, to the temporary charge of the Indian Navy Draughtsman's office in place of Commander Boulderson, but he soon after returned to the Malabar coast. Again he was Acting Draughtsman from the 25th of July, 1845, when Commander Boulderson temporarily held the office of Assistant-Superintendent, during Sir Robert Oliver's absence: but, on the 22nd of October following, he again sailed in the 'Taptee,' his Assistant-Surveyor being Midshipman A. D. Taylor, with the object, as appears in his instructions, "of prosecuting the survey of the west coast as far south as the Beypore River, and particularly to ascertain the capability of the different rivers and creeks to be used as harbours of refuge for ships in distress or in time of war." This latter eventuality had reference to an apprehended outbreak of hostilities with the United States, the Company's steam frigates being armed with additional heavy guns. Lieutenant Montriou finally returned to Bombay on the 28th of May, 1846, having made some accurate surveys and an extensive series of topographical, meteorological, and tidal observations. He was assisted in his work by Midshipmen Whish, Nixon, Lamb, and Dickson, but found his chief helper in Midshipman Taylor, who gave early promise of becoming one of the most accomplished surveyors produced by the Indian Navy. On his return to Bombay, Lieutenant Montriou resumed charge of the Draughtsman's Office, which had been temporarily held by Lieutenant H. H. Hewett, on his return from China, in the 'Medusa,' early in the year.

The following Order of importance regarding the special staff allowance to be paid to surveyors, was issued in the year 1846:—

"The Hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to announce that the Hon. the Court of Directors have authorised the following scale to be established for the remuneration of officers of the Indian Navy, when employed as surveyors in vessels fitted out for survey duties, viz.:—

	Command allowance	Surveying allowance.
A Captain shall receive	Rs. 600	and Rs. 350
A Commander "	" 500	" " 350
A Lieutenant "	" 300	" " 350

"Whenever a lieutenant may be appointed an assistant-surveyor, he shall receive in addition to his naval pay of 175 rupees, or 145 rupees per month, as senior or junior lieutenant as the case may be, a surveying allowance of 175 rupees per month.

The whole coast from the eastern mouth of the Indus to Sonmeanee, as well as the harbour of Kurrachee, had been carefully surveyed by Commander Carless* in the last years of the administration of Sir Charles Malcolm; and, in 1842, Lieutenant Montriou made a survey of Sonmeanee Bay. In 1846 the Indus mouths were again surveyed by Lieutenant W. B. Selby, assisted by Midshipmen Taylor and Stroyan, but the charts, it appears, were never published. Lieutenant Selby had already gained credit for his surveys in Mesopotamia, and the memoirs written by him and Lieutenant Grounds, on the countries adjacent to the Euphrates, received the commendation of the Court of Directors, and a General Order was published relative thereto, under date the 9th of June, 1846.

That distinguished surveyor, Lieutenant J. Felix Jones, on his return to the Persian Gulf, after accompanying Lieutenant C. D. Campbell in his memorable ascent of the Euphrates, remained from 1842 to May, 1846, in command on the river Tigris, and, as opportunities offered for travelling in the disturbed districts around, was engaged in collecting materials for a map comprising the territories and rivers between the Mediterranean, Kurdistan, Persia, and the Gulf. This map he constructed in Bombay when employed on special duty in 1846-47. In May of the latter year, Lieutenant Jones returned to Mesopotamia as surveyor,† and with extended powers on obtaining his commission as commander, on the augmentation of the Service, under date the 13th of September, 1847.

On the death of Sir Robert Oliver, Captain Lynch officiated temporarily as Superintendent of the Indian Navy, until the arrival, on the 31st of August, of Captain Hawkins in the 'Clive' from Bushire, who had been succeeded in the command of the Persian Gulf squadron by Captain Carless in the preceding April. Captain Hawkins was appointed a first-class

* "Memoir to accompany the Survey of the Delta of the Indus in 1837," by Lieutenant Carless, Vol VIII of the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," "Bombay Selections," No 17

† See "Narrative of a Journey through parts of Persia and Kurdistan, undertaken by Commander J F Jones, I N, of the Hon Company's steam-vessel 'Nitocris,' in company with Major Rawlinson, Political Agent in Turkish Arabia," dated Bagdad, the 31st of December, 1847 In 1843, Lieutenant Jones brought Tamar, a deposed chief of the Cha'ab Arabs, from Bussorah to Bagdad, and, in August of the following year, accompanied Major Rawlinson (who had succeeded Colonel Taylor as Political Resident at Bagdad) to Zohab, a village in a district of the same name, forming a portion of the territory in dispute between Persia and Turkey. The journey occupied two months, and during that time many interesting sites were visited and their true positions astronomically fixed. Commander Jones's narrative gives a detailed account of these places On their return these officers executed a map, constructed from the results of their observations, which was forwarded to the British Ambassador at Constantinople to assist the Commissioners at Erzeroum in their inquiry.

Commodore, with his broad pennant on board the 'Hastings,' Commander Ethersey being Assistant-Superintendent, and Captain Lynch officiated as Master-Attendant in place of the veteran Captain Ross.

During Commodore Hawkins' brief tenure of office,* the Indian Navy added to the laurels already gained, *per mare et terram*, by a fresh display of its discipline and readiness to respond to the call of duty. The Service played a not unimportant part at the famous siege of Mooltan in 1848-49, and the occasion is of further interest, as the first instance of a purely naval force being engaged in military operations at a distance of seven hundred miles from the sea. During the first siege, Lieutenant Willmott Christopher, who, as Assistant-Superintendent of the Indus flotilla, had been engaged in transporting men, guns, and stores, to Mooltan, took advantage of this opportunity to indulge his love of adventure and unbounded energy, and joined the hastily raised levies of the late Sir Herbert Edwardes, when his intimate knowledge of Mooltan and its neighbourhood was of essential service to that officer. General Whish, with the right column, encamped before Mooltan on the 18th of August, the left column joining headquarters on the following day; and, on the arrival of the heavy guns, on the 4th of September, his force consisted of two hundred and nine officers and seven thousand six hundred and thirty-two men, with thirty-two pieces of siege ordnance and twelve field-pieces There were, besides, the native regular and irregular levies of General Van Cortlandt and Lieutenant Edwardes, and the contingents of the Nawab of Bhawulpore, under Lieutenant Lake,† and of Shere Singh, amounting, in the aggregate, to fourteen thousand three hundred and twenty-seven infantry, eight thousand four hundred and seventeen cavalry, with forty-five guns and four mortars. Opposed to these, Moolraj had, at this time, under his orders in Mooltan, according to Edwardes, from whose work, "A Year on the Punjaub Frontier," we have derived these estimates, ten thousand men, of whom about twelve hundred were cavalry.

Lieutenant Christopher accompanied Edwardes' force, and when, on the morning of the 1st of September, the latter moved from Sooraj Khoond to join General Whish's army encamped at Seetul-ke-maree, six miles distant, Lieutenant Christopher was of great service during the first day's fighting before Mooltan, where he was destined so shortly to lay down his life. Edwardes says:—"Another volunteer went with me into the

* During the administration of Commodore Hawkins, took place the launch in Bombay Dockyard, on the 11th of November, 1848, of the 'Meanee,' of eighty guns, for H M's navy This noble line-of-battle ship, which was built of teak, cost £70,000, and had been eight years in construction.

† The late Major-General Edward Lake, R.E., C S.I.

field, and assisted me greatly in carrying orders—poor Christopher, of the Indian Navy, whose zeal proved fatal to him so shortly after. On this occasion he rode about with a long sea telescope under his arm, just as composedly as if he had been on the deck of his own vessel."

The siege operations were commenced at daylight of the 7th of September, by working parties of one thousand men from the irregulars, and sixteen hundred men from the British camp. On the night of the 9th, it became necessary to dislodge the enemy from a position they had taken up among some houses and gardens in front of the trenches, and Colonel Pattoun, of the 32nd Regiment, conducted the attack with four companies of H.M.'s 10th Regiment, a wing of the 49th Regiment N.I., the Rifle company of the 72nd Regiment N.I., and two of Van Cortlandt's horse artillery guns. Notwithstanding the display of the greatest gallantry, the attack ended in failure, "owing," says Major Siddons, of the Bengal Engineers, in his "Journal of the Siege of Mooltan," "to ignorance of the localities, and the darkness and confusion consequent on a hastily planned night attack." The British column was driven back with heavy loss, the 10th and 49th having one hundred and twenty men placed *hors de combat* Among the officers wounded was Lieutenant Christopher, and we cannot give a better account of the circumstances under which he received a wound that proved fatal, than in the words of Sir Herbert Edwardes:—"Captain Christopher, of the Indian Navy, had, from his first arrival with the steamers at Mooltan, shown the usual willingness of his profession to co-operate with his brother officers on shore. On the night in question, he had once already conducted some reinforcements to Colonel Pattoun's assistance; but the fighting at the outposts still raged with unabated fury. Another reinforcement came up, but had no guide. 'Will no one show us the way?' asked the officer of the party, looking round on the tired occupants of the trenches. 'I will,' replied Christopher, and, putting himself at their head, steered them with the steadiness of a pilot through ditches and gardens, under a roaring fire of musketry. A ball hit him in the ankle, and shivered the joint to pieces. A few weeks later, he was borne by the grateful British soldiers to a rude grave beside a well, near the village of Sooraj Khoond, and I myself read the service over him. A better or braver man fell not beneath the walls of Mooltan."

The surgeons, in examining the wound received by Christopher while conducting the detachment of the 10th Regiment, found it necessary to amputate the limb, but mortification set in, and a second operation became necessary. This, however, proved of no avail to save his life, and, after a period of terrible suffering, delirium supervened, and, on the 8th of October, he

expired. Lieutenant Christopher, who, at the time of his death, was a senior lieutenant, his commission bearing date July, 1839, was an officer of great enterprise and rare promise. He had graduated as a surveyor under Captain Moresby, and, while employed at the Maldive Islands, showed that he was possessed of scientific attainments of a high order. After his return from the East Coast of Africa, where he discovered the Haines River, he was appointed Assistant-Superintendent of the Indus flotilla, under Commander F. T. Powell, and had only returned to his duties in May, 1848, after a brief stay at Bombay, where he had lost his wife. No man was confessedly more competent for the duty, or to an equal extent commanded the confidence of the public. Lieutenant Christopher was intimately acquainted with the navigation of the rivers of the Punjaub, having, in 1847, ascended the Indus, Sutlej, and Chenaub, in the steamer 'Meanee,' and the results of his investigations were published by the Bombay Geographical Society shortly before his death,* while his report to the Government

* See two papers in Vol VIII of the "Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society." The first is a "Report of an Experimental Voyage up the Indus and Sutlej, made by the 'Meanee,' steam-tender to the pennant-ship 'Mootnee,' with the 'Ravee,' iron flat, in tow, having sixteen hundred maunds of merchandise on board, with Diary" Lieutenant Christopher left Sukkur on the 19th of June, 1847, the 'Meanee' having three months' stores, and drawing two feet nine inches aft, with the flat lashed alongside On the 9th of July he left the Chenaub and entered the Sutlej, "whose channel at its junction is 150 yards broad and 12 feet deep, current three miles an hour The 'Ravee's' breadth is 800 to 1000 yards, current four miles an hour" On the 13th the 'Meanee' was dashed on a bank by an eddy, and being struck by some timber, began to fill. Lieutenant Christopher secured her to the bank, and having repaired damages, proceeded after a detention of nine hours On the 16th of August the 'Meanee' was swerved on to the bank by the current, when the port-wheel was bent a good deal, and six flats were split On the 18th of August he arrived at Ferozepore, having left the 'Ravee' at Pank Puttun, 155 miles down the river. The second paper is his "Journal of the Ascent of the River Chenaub," dated Vizerabad, 1st of October, 1847 On the requisition of the Resident at Lahore, Lieutenant Christopher quitted Buckree wood-station, situated at the confluence of the Chenaub and Sutlej, on the 8th of September, to ascend the Ravee to Lahore On the following day he arrived at Mooltan bunder, where he received a visit from the Naib, or Dewan, Moolraj, who, he notes in his Journal, three times asked him if more steamers were coming up, and appeared anxious on the subject. Moolraj presented him with 125 rupees, which he returned, but on the Dewan refusing to receive it, gave a portion to his servants and placed the balance to the credit of Government. On the 11th he entered the Ravee River, and the 'Meanee,' carried by a cross-current, struck the bank and lost several floats Having repaired damages he proceeded During the trip he frequently had *nuzzurs*, or gifts, proffered for his acceptance, amounting in all to about 1000 rupees, besides horses and other presents, but always refused to accept them. On the 21st of September, he secured at Ramnuggur Ghât, whence he proceeded to Lahore, where he was invited by Mr John Lawrence (now Lord Lawrence), the Resident, to attend Durbar. He says —"I was presented with the usual provision money, namely, 250 Nanakshai rupees, sweetmeats, &c. The Resident told me I could not object, as it was customary. From this sum, as at Mooltan, presents were given to the servants, and the remainder will be paid into the treasury, as I may be ordered to carry it to its account. The Durbar were restrained from visiting the steamer by understanding that one

on the practicability of transporting guns and stores, as well as troops, by the Indus and Chenaub within one and a half miles of Mooltan, was of paramount importance when the rebellion of Moolraj necessitated the siege of that renowned stronghold. Subsequently he took the 'Conqueror,' steamer, forty miles above Kalabagh, and thus triumphed over the old prejudices against the possibility of navigating the upper rivers. His loss was sincerely deplored by his numerous friends, and particularly by the Service, of which he was so bright an ornament; while his official superior wrote to the Government, "acknowledging his gallant services, and lamenting his early death" With Lieutenant Christopher the tale of the distinguished officers of the Indian Navy who had died during the year 1848 was complete.

After a sanguinary fight on the 12th of September, the siege of Mooltan was raised, chiefly owing to the defection of Rajah Shere Singh and his army, on the 14th of September, General Whish, as well as the senior officers, and Major Napier (now Lord Napier of Magdala) being of opinion that its successful conduct was no longer practicable.

General Whish was not in a position to resume the siege until the 21st of December, when, reinforcements having arrived from the Bombay Presidency, under Brigadier the Hon. H Dundas, C.B (the late Lord Melville) he had under his command a regular army, exclusive of sick, of four hundred and thirty six officers, two hundred and thirty-seven native officers, and fourteen thousand nine hundred and seventy-five men, with ninety-seven guns, of which thirty-seven were siege ordnance; that of Moolraj being about twelve thousand, with fifty-four guns and five mortars. Accompanying the Bombay column was a brigade of seamen from the Indian Navy, which had been fitted out and despatched by Commodore Hawkins, within thirty hours of the receipt of orders, a remarkable instance of the zeal and smartness that characterised this officer. The detachment, which was placed under the command of Commander F. T. Powell, Superintendent of the Indus flotilla, who accompanied it to Mooltan, consisted of about one hundred

would come up the Ravee next season and be close to the walls They all appeared desirous of accompanying me over to see her" On the 28th, Lieutenant Christopher proceeded on to Vizerabad, and continuing, secured at Delawe for the night On the following day he steamed abreast of the town of Jellalpur, and as further progress was impossible, and the river was falling, returned to Bagur ferry Here he hired horses and went by land to the fort of Akmur He fixes the highest navigable point at the ferry of Ghol, six miles below this fort, and twelve from Jamu, the former capital of Maharajah Gholab Singh. "I had hoped," he says, "the steamer would have been visible from its towers" He commenced the descent on the 1st of October, having made the first ascent of the Chenaub, from its junction with the Sutlej to Vizerabad, a distance of 315 miles, in 113 hours' steaming, having an average current of 2¾ miles to contend with.

seamen-gunners, and the following officers:—Lieutenant C. H. Berthon, and Midshipmen* (with the rank of acting-master) Davies, Cookson, Cousens, Heathcote, and Elder. The brigade, completely accoutred, proceeded to Kurrachee by steamer, and thence up the Indus in the 'Napier,' Acting-Master Kingcombe, with the flat 'Beeas' in tow, to Shere Shah-ke-puttun, whence some of the officers proceeded to Edwardes' camp, where they spent Christmas Day. The brigade disembarked on the 27th of December, and marched up to the camp before Mooltan

During the earlier operations of the investment the steamers

* By General Order, under date 7th of August, 1840, midshipmen were eligible for the appointment of acting-masters on board steam-vessels, provided they were competent to perform the duties as laid down in the Masters' Certificates (page 266 of the General Instructions), they were also required to possess a knowledge of gunnery and of the steam engine This rank of acting-master, as applied to the covenanted ranks of the Service, was soon after abolished Other orders of importance relating to midshipmen, were the following — November 18, 1841 Midshipmen to be examined periodically, the examination to be conducted with regularity, and the test moderate in the first instance, but gradually progressive, until the final examination for lieutenant, which ought to embrace all the professional acquirements absolutely requisite as a minimum, the final examination to take place at the end of five years The Examining Committee at the Presidency to be assisted by the teachers of gunnery and naval instructors Certificates of good conduct to be allowed due weight Should any midshipman be unable to pass at the final examination, he is to be placed in rank below those who may pass, although his juniors on the list, at the next examination, he is to be called upon to come forward, and if again unable to pass, in like manner to be placed below all those who may pass, and in future reported to Government Those absent from the Presidency, when the time arrives for their final examination, are to have a committee constituted by the commander and superior officers of the ship, who are empowered to pass them provisionally, subject to confirmation after being examined by the Committee at the Presidency Should they not be passed by the latter Committee, they will take rank below all those who may have passed at the date of the provisional examination, if otherwise, they will retain their rank —November 4, 1843 Such midshipmen as may have passed their final examination to be styled mates, and to receive an increased rate of pay —September 18, 1844 Reports to be forwarded quarterly from each vessel of the Indian Navy, of the progress made in the professional qualifications of the midshipmen serving on board —November 6, 1844 Midshipmen not allowed spirits, but an equivalent in money —Standing Order of December 29, 1852 Midshipmen required to attend on Wednesdays and Saturdays at the rigging-loft at the dockyard for instruction by the boatswain in turning in dead eyes, &c, and the 'Snake' to be employed in bringing them from Butcher's Island, on which occasion the "young gentlemen" were expected to study steam engineering —Government General Order dated May 16, 1855 The Court of Directors directed that a midshipman was required to pass "the examination in the different professional subjects within the period of six years from the commencement of his service," allowance being made for sickness, failing which he was to be "finally removed from our naval service, and you will strike his name from the list without further reference to us."—Government General Order, dated July 31, 1855. Midshipmen to be only allowed three months, instead of six months, as laid down under date January 22, 1851, for passing their examination for lieutenant The last Government Order regarding midshipmen was issued by the Governor under date "Bombay Castle, March 12, 1859," and made public the instructions of the Court in their despatch of August 11, 1858, dealing with their promotion to the rank of mate and lieutenant.

of the Indian Navy were able to render essential service. On the 28th of December they seized a large quantity of ammunition on its way to the enemy; and, on the night of the 29th, the commander of the 'Conqueror,' having received intimation that his vessel was to be attacked, pushed out into the middle of the stream, and made every preparation to give a warm welcome to his intended captors, who, however, did not put in an appearance On the 30th the steamer 'Meanee' reached Shere-Shah-ke-puttun from Ferozepore, with £50,000, and a large supply of ammunition, and was ordered on to Sirdarpoor to the assistance of the 'Conqueror' Acting-Master Davies temporarily proceeded on board the 'Beeas' with a party of men to protect the boats and stores in her vicinity, and, after the main portion of the brigade had landed from the 'Napier' to join the army, she also proceeded out into the stream to prevent the passage of the enemy's boats up the river.

The detachment of the Indian Navy was brigaded with the Bombay Artillery, under the command of Major (with the rank of Brigadier) Leeson of that corps, and worked in two watches, under the command of Lieutenant Berthon and Mr. Davies. The battery was made of sandbags and platforms, laid down by the sailors, and the guns were supplied from the park of artillery. Colonel Cheape, C.B., was now Chief Engineer, and, on the 27th of December, siege operations were commenced in real earnest by the capture of the whole line of suburbs between Seetul-Ke-Maree and the canal, by one Bengal column, while the two Bombay columns carried, after a desperate resistance, and crowned with guns, the important points of Seedee-lal-ke-Beyd and Mundee Awa. The attack was now directed to the city, within the walls of which the enemy was almost entirely confined.

While some batteries were ordered to breach the curtain next the Khoonee Bhoorj, or Bloody Bastion, others, including the Indian Navy battery,* which consisted of two 8-inch howitzers and four 18-pounders, directed their fire against the Delhi gate. On the right attack a heavy fire was kept up between the 28th and 30th of December, when, at ten a.m., a shell from a mortar pierced the supposed bomb-proof dome of the Jumna Musjid, or mosque, in the citadel, which, says Edwardes, "formed the enemy's principal magazine, containing 400,000 lbs. of powder, and, in an instant, the sacred edifice and 500 souls were blown into a thousand fragments" The lucky shot has been attributed by Edwardes, and other writers,

* An excellent illustration of this battery, sketched by an officer of the 60th Rifles, which distinguished regiment were constantly employed in the battery keeping down the matchlock fire from the walls, as they were at close quarters, appeared in the "Illustrated London News" of that date.

to Lieutenant Newall of the Bengal Artillery. The following version of the incident is given us by the late Commander Heathcote, of the Indian Navy, who was present throughout the siege, and who, by his smartness and readiness of resource, gave early promise of the professional ability and energy for which he was distinguished in the Service:—"Commander Powell was one of the few men who had been in the citadal at all. The magazine was not, as it is sometimes said, in the great Mosque, but in a building near it, which had been constructed at great expense for the special purpose, and was considered bomb-proof. Powell had been with the General and Chief Engineer, pointing out what he believed to be the position, and had laid a mortar two or three times, but with no effect. He then turned away, saying that he was sure that the direction was the right one, and recommended that the shells be pitched a little farther, and then a little nearer, in the same line. The officer in charge of the mortars then laid another as directed, and the explosion immediately took place, and a magnificent and appalling sight it was. It is one of the largest explosions on record, if not the largest, as happening in the course of a siege, and its effect, especially, on the result of the operations, was most valuable."

The Indian Navy battery played with great effect on the Delhi gate itself, being assisted by a second battery, the fire of which was directed on the third curtain from the gateway, and a Bengal battery of 5½-inch mortars. On the morning of the 2nd of January, Major Siddons, to whose valuable paper on the Siege of Mooltan, in the "Corps Papers of the Royal Engineers," we are indebted, reported that the breach of the Khonee Bhoorj was "practicable, although steep," and that of the Delhi gate "sufficiently good to allow of an attempt being made upon it as a diversion." Accordingly, about noon, two columns were told off for the assault, the Bengal troops on the Delhi gate, and the Bombay troops on the Khonee Bhoorj, and advanced under a salute of all the batteries. The latter column, consisting of three companies of the 1st (now the 103rd) Bombay Fusiliers, under Captain Leith, carried all before them, and the British colours soon waved on the crest of the breach, where it was planted by Colour-Sergeant Bennet; but the former were not equally successful. Moving out under protection of the fire of the Indian Navy and other batteries, the storming party, led by Captain Smyth of the 32nd Regiment, "discovered that the mines did not form a practicable breach, there still remaining a perpendicular drop of seven or eight feet above the rubbish, that did not promise a good footing for the ladders which the sappers were carrying behind." This had escaped the notice of the Engineers. Captain Smyth, accordingly, retired to the protection of the Indian Navy battery, and soon repaired to the

breach at the Khonee Bhoorj, where his men assisted their more fortunate comrades in the city. It appears by a letter from Commander Powell to Commodore Hawkins, that as H.M.'s 32nd Regiment were retiring from the Delhi gate, Mr. Heathcote fired a shrapnel shell from one of the 8-inch howitzers, which cleared a bastion from which a dense swarm of matchlock-men were keeping up a biting fire on the retiring troops. By dusk the whole of Mooltan was in possession of the British, and Moolraj, after closing the gates of the citadel against three-fourths of his soldiers, took shelter within its walls, with nearly four thousand picked men.

General Whish having determined to attack the citadel from the city side, as well as from the north-east, on the 4th of January, a brigade of the Bombay Division marched round and encamped on the north side of the fort, and, communicating by pickets and patrols with the Bengal Division on the east, and with a detachment of Edwardes' Irregulars on the west, completed, for the first time, the investment of Mooltan. Moolraj, seeing the toils closing around him, tried to negotiate for terms on the 5th and 8th of January; but he was given to understand that only an unconditional surrender would be received.

The batteries were completed and armed as fast as practicable, and, on the night of the 6th of January, the Indian Naval Battery for seven 18-pounders, "intended to beat down the defences from the building called Buhawulhuk to the junction with the town wall, was commenced, and carried up to the soles of the embrasures." On the following night this battery was completed, and four of the guns were in position by daybreak. On the night of the 8th of January, the battery was completely armed, the guns being dragged through the trenches by the sailors, assisted by the working parties, under a fire which, during the early part of the night, is described as "very sharp." On the morning of the 9th of January, the battery, commanded by Lieutenant Berthon, opened fire, a confidential agent of Moolraj being at the time engaged with General Whish in seeking for terms for his master. Edwardes says in his narrative:—"A new battery of seven 18-pounders had just been opened in our trenches, and played heavily on the fort during this interview, so that conviction must have reached the Dewan that his diplomacy was not likely to gain either time or terms."

"About three a.m.," says Major Siddons, "a shell from the citadel, exploding at the foot of the exterior slope, set fire to the battery, owing to the peculiar construction; though every endeavour was made to extinguish it, the fire soon gained the mastery, and the guns were with the greatest difficulty withdrawn and powder saved, by the exertions of the seamen, who were

working the guns when the accident happened. The enemy, observing the mischance, kept up a very heavy fire on the spot, and several casualties occurred." The accident was due to the fascines, of which the lower part of the battery was composed, catching fire by the explosion of a shell.

Commander Powell says in his despatch of the 11th of January, 1842, addressed to Commodore Hawkins:— "Every exertion was made by Lieutenant Berthon, and the officers and men under his command, to extinguish the fire, but without avail, and it became necessary to move the guns out of the battery into the trench, when the enemy opened a very heavy fire of all arms on them, and, I regret to state, three men were severely wounded, and Mr. Elder, Acting-Master, had his foot crushed by one of the guns; but he is not seriously hurt. It is also my painful duty to report the death of Alexander Johnstone, Quartermaster, who died yesterday a little after noon, of the wounds he received in the morning. This is the same man who was slightly wounded on the 31st ultimo, and had gallantly returned to duty. The rest of the wounded, I am glad to say, are doing well."

The Indian Naval Brigade, on being burnt out of their battery, speedily found themselves a new sphere of usefulness in two breaching batteries constructed in the city, which they worked under Lieutenant Berthon and Mr. Davies. These consisted of a battery for two 18-pounders, which was brought to play on the south-west cavalier bastion of the citadel on the 10th of January, and "succeeded perfectly in keeping down the fire of the enemy's artillery;" and a second battery for four 18-pounders, which opened fire on the 16th of January on the same point. Soon after, the artillery opened two 8-inch, and two 10-inch, mortars, to assist in the breaching. In the meantime other batteries were constructed on the right attack, and saps were pushed on from both the right and city attacks, the garrison only making one sortie on the trenches, when they were repulsed by a party of the 10th Regiment, on which occasion Major Napier, the engineer on duty, was wounded. All the arrangements were made for storming both breaches on the morning of the 22nd of January, and the troops had taken up their positions, when, at seven a.m., Moolraj intimated his wish to surrender, and the batteries ceased firing. Within two hours the arch-rebel and murderer of Anderson and Vans Agnew, had surrendered himself, together with his garrison of between three and four thousand men, into the hands of the British General. The British loss during the siege of Mooltan was nine officers and two hundred and one men killed, and fifty-five officers (of whom six died) and nine hundred and twenty-seven men wounded. According to returns in Major Siddons' work, no less than thirteen thousand eight hundred and fifty-

three shot and twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and forty-three shell, carcases, and other projectiles, were poured into the city and citadel from sixty-seven pieces of siege ordnance, of which thirty-five belonged to the Bombay division, exclusive of field artillery.

Commander Heathcote has supplied us with the following interesting particulars regarding the work done by the Indian Naval batteries before Mooltan:—"The siege of Mooltan was in reality two sieges, first of the town, which of itself was a very strong fortification, and secondly of the citadel, which was a triple-walled fortification, of immense strength both naturally and artificially, one of its walls being simply an escarpment of the hill side; it had also a deep broad ditch and good glacis, especially on the side nearest the town. Without the explosion I doubt whether we should have got in without reinforcements, especially in artillery. But it was decided that the town should be first taken, and our first battery was opposite the place selected for breaching near the Delhi gate of the town. It was composed of two 8-inch howitzers, and four 18-pounders. The range was short, but the walls and gate were a good deal obscured by intervening trees, which had been only partially cleared away. At the assault this breach was found impracticable, for there was a steep descent of about twenty feet to the base of the wall, which had not been seen; all that could be seen had been well levelled. On the return of the 32nd into our battery, we re-opened with grape, canister, and shrapnel, for right and left of the breach was thick with the enemy's riflemen.

"The two-gun battery of 18-pounders in the city was erected for the purpose of enfilading some guns on the citadel, a considerable distance on the right, which were a little too efficacious against our working batteries. It was well placed, and accomplished what was intended. Our other battery in the city was of four 18-pounders. We also used in the city some howitzers, for a short time just before the capitulation, to pitch shells over the parapet of the second wall. These batteries in the city we had entirely to ourselves, working watch and watch at night, putting up in some of the adjacent houses, and when we could not get charpoys, sleeping on the ground. A favourite place was where there was a little rise of a comfortable height to form a pillow, and here I enjoyed many a sound, though not very lengthy snooze, until I found out that my pillow was a dead body, only too slightly covered with earth. One morning at daylight, Davies had only just got up from a charpoy where he had been sleeping, when a shot came crashing through and fell on the impression lately made by his head.

"In the attack on the citadel the four-gun battery in the city

was employed in clearing away the defences to the right of the breach formed by the explosion, the glacis only being between us and the fortress. I remember also that we received orders to train our left gun round into a makeshift embrasure, to bring it to bear on a gun which was particularly well served and well placed on the highest part of the fort on the extreme left. That gun was dismounted at our second shot. A gun immediately opposite our battery was also exceedingly well served, and as it was so placed that we were completely exposed to it, it being much higher than we were, and the glacis very narrow, it nearly drove us out; however, we managed to silence it. Two days after it banged into us again, so we devoted all our attention to it until it was silenced again. After we had entered the fort we were curious to see the gun, and we soon understood how completely it was sheltered from our fire. We could never have touched it except when it was run forward to fire. Its last injury was that it had been hit on the side by one of our shot, and, being a brass gun, this had so indented it that it could not be loaded. But the first injury which had silenced it the first time was most curious. One of our 18-lb. shot had entered its muzzle and stuck there, when the Sikhs had run the gun back and sawn off the muzzle, and there was the muzzle of the gun with our shot still in it, lying close by. The gunners had then fought with the shortened gun until it was again disabled.

"The seven-gun battery was the first we employed against the citadel. It was constructed entirely of fascines made months before of small brushwood; this would not have been selected if there had been any choice, but the result was that they were the best materials possible for creating a blaze if a spark went near them. There was no earthwork at all in the breastwork of the battery, which was composed entirely of these dry fascines, the very perfection of a faggot. At the embrasures they were covered with raw hides, the range to the wall to be breached was about two hundred and fifty to three hundred yards, but a howitzer latterly had been placed a few hundred yards in our rear to keep down the fire of the enemy from the walls. The enemy, thorough good soldiers and especially thorough good engineers as they were, did not oppose us with guns, but used mortars instead, from behind a position where they were completely protected. They seemed to have got our range with great accuracy, for the shells came thick and fast into the battery, into the breastwork of the battery, and into the trench behind the battery. The first that fell in between the guns we lay down to, but really we had to wait so long for the explosion, that the next that came were picked up and thrown out. The shells were about 8-inch, made of ribs of wrought iron covered with molten bars, with a large fuze that

burnt fiercely. One shell which fell in the trench closed our magazine door with a mound of earth, and we had to dig out our magazine man, who fancied he had himself been blown up with all his cartridges. But some of the shells had buried themselves in the fascines of the breastwork, and the long fuzes had soon set them in a blaze in several places at the same time, and all we could do was to save the guns being burnt with the battery. The covering the embrasures with hides also proved to be quite inefficient, for the explosion from the guns tore the skins away and left the fascines bare. The battery was erected under the orders of the present Lord Napier of Magdala."

Of the movements of the Indus flotilla up to the 11th of January, Commander Powell says:—"The 'Comet' and 'Conqueror,' steamers, are still above Mooltan, stopping all water communication. The 'Napier' and 'Meteor' are stationed off Raj Ghaut, protecting the bridge and pontoon boats, also those the siege train came up in, and the 'Meanee' is towing up commissariat grain boats to the same ghaut. The 'Planet' also arrived there yesterday, with two 10-inch mortars, six hundred and thirty shells, and forty-four bales of clothing; she is now having a few repairs made good, and will be held ready for service down river." Again, writing under date the 25th of January, he says:—"The 'Meteor' and 'Comet,' steamers, left Raj Ghaut on the 14th and 16th of January for Scinde, the former to bring up treasure from Sukkur, and the latter, with a number of wounded officers, for Kurrachee Since the withdrawal of the 'Comet,' the 'Conqueror' has been employed about Mooltan, stopping all communication by the river; but as this is no longer required by the Assistant Resident, orders were sent yesterday, directing Mr. M'Laurin to drop down to the junction of the Ravee, and assist in making a bridge of boats over that river. The boats, in charge of Mr. Acting Second-Master Somerville, left Raj Ghaut this morning, accompanied by the 'Meanee' steamer, with the engineer officers and a company of sappers, who are to make the bridge. The 'Planet,' steamer, is still at Raj Ghaut, where she has been employed with the 'Napier' for some time past, in guarding the fleet of boats with government stores on board, and preventing the enemy crossing the river. The 'Satellite,' 'Assyria,' and 'Nimrod,' steamers, have been chiefly employed in Lower Scinde, under the orders of Senior Lieutenant Drought, who, as well as all the officers in charge of the tenders and their crews, together with the other officers and men of the flotilla, have evinced the greatest zeal in the performance of the arduous duties which have devolved on them, during the recent move of the Bombay division to Mooltan; and I beg to submit the enclosed copy of a letter from Brigadier the Hon. H. Dundas, C.B.,

conveying his thanks to myself, and the officers and men whose services he did me the honour of accepting, which will be duly communicated to them:—

"'Colonel the Hon. H Dundas, Commanding Bombay Column of Mooltan force, to Captain Powell, I.N., Commanding detachment of Seamen serving with the force before Mooltan, Camp, Mooltan, 25th of January, 1849.

"'The operations before Mooltan having been brought to a successful termination, I have the honour to request you will accept for yourself, and convey to the officers and seamen under your command, my thanks for the assistance you so willingly rendered, and the service they gallantly rendered, in serving the batteries, and sharing the fatigues which devolved on the artillery, with the order and intrepidity so truly characteristic of the British sailor.'"

In his final despatch of the 22nd of January, General Whish says:—"The services of Captain Powell, of the Indian Navy, with the steamers under his command, have been of much value to the Expedition; and a detail of seamen from the vessels, have afforded material relief at the batteries on several occasions."

The Governor-General also refers specially to Commander Powell in his General Order, under date, "Ferozepore, 1st February, 1849," conveying his thanks to General Whish, and the brigadiers of his gallant army; and the Chairman of the Court of Directors, General Sir A Galloway, mentioned the officers and seamen of the Indian Navy, in the formal vote of thanks to the army engaged in the Punjaub, proposed for the acceptance of the Special General Court of Proprietors on the 24th of April Of the Indian Navy he said in the course of his speech:—"That distinguished body, under Captain Powell, rendered efficient service and of the most important character during the whole of the campaign."

Their immediate commander, Brigadier Leeson, says Commander Powell, "very handsomely acknowledged" the services of the Indian Naval Brigade, of which the late Sir Herbert Edwardes wrote in the following terms:—"It was a peculiarity of this siege of Mooltan, that it was not only shared in by the regular and irregular troops, but by British seamen. Commander Powell, of the Honourable East India Company's Navy, had from the very commencement largely assisted the operations against Mooltan, by rapidly conveying troops and military stores, and cutting off enemy's boats by means of the steamers of the Indus flotilla under his command. No sooner had the second siege been regularly begun, than this indefatigable officer conceived the idea of assisting the artillerymen, by volunteering to work one of the heavy batteries with sailors of the Indian Navy. The gallant offer was accepted, and throughout the

siege these 'jolly tars' took watch and watch with their comrades on the shore. It was a fine sight to see their manly faces, bronzed by long exposure to the burning sun of the Red Sea or Persian Gulf, mingling with the dark soldiers of Hindostan, or contrasting with the fairer but not healthier occupants of the European barrack. They looked on their battery as a ship, their 18-pounders as so many sweethearts, and the embrasures as port-holes. 'Now, Jack, shove your head out at that port, and just hear what my little girl says to that 'ere pirate, Moll Rag!' was the kind of conversation that you heard *on board* of the sailor battery as you passed Either the pirates derived more than usual annoyance from this amphibious attack, or the sailor battery had been erected in a position most galling to the garrison; for, on the 9th of January, they bent such a storm of shells on it, as to set fire to the fascines of which it was composed, and burn the battery to the ground."

Like their brethren of the Royal Navy, when serving on shore, the Indian Naval Brigade carried no colour, though had they done so, it would have been—

"Scribbled, crossed, and crammed with densest condensation,"

to have contained the record of their services on shore.

It would have borne the names of Ormuz, Ras-ul-Khymah, Beni-Boo-Ali, Java, Celebes, Ternate, Arracan, New Zealand, China, and many another hard service on land during the earlier days before the Company had an organized army, and the Marine defended their factories at Surat, Gombroon, Bussorah, and elsewhere. The siege of Mooltan was the first instance in which seamen had served so far from their floating homes, where the

"Bare head, bare breast, bare feet, and blue jacket,'

of the British sailor has reigned triumphant for centuries, and Jack proved himself as much at home in his battery, when fighting against "Moll Rag," as when working his guns within the wooden walls of his ship

Of the late Captain Powell, Edwardes writes:—"I am sure there is not one soldier of the Mooltan field force who does not yet hope that he will share in their honours as largely as he did in their dangers and fatigues." In this expectation, Major Edwardes was disappointed; and Commander Powell, who, had he been in the Royal Navy, would have received promotion to post rank and the C.B., was awarded no distinction whatever, beyond barren thanks.

On the conclusion of the siege, the army marched off to join Lord Gough, who was waiting for reinforcements after the drawn battle of Chillianwallah, and participated in the great

victory at Goojerat, which concluded the war. The Indian Naval Brigade returned to Bombay, with the exception of Midshipmen Davies and Cookson, who remained at Kotree, with some men, for a fortnight, when they also proceeded to Bombay. Immediately after his return, Mr. Midshipman Elder died of cholera on board the 'Hastings.' The officers and men engaged at Mooltan received the Punjaub war medal, with the clasp for Mooltan, and shared in the Punjaub prize-money.*

There were many applications in England from officers of post rank in the Royal Navy, who were alone eligible for the vacant appointment of Commander-in-chief of the Indian Navy, of which the salary was 2,500 rupees a month, equal to over £3,000 a-year, with an allowance for house rent, as fixed on Sir Robert Oliver's assumption of office; and, out of the number, two were named as candidates for selection by the Court of Directors, namely, Captain Stephen Lushington and Captain Sir Henry Leeke, K H. Wednesday, the 15th of November, was named as the day of election. The votes of the Directors were evenly balanced, when the Chairman, General Sir James Law Lushington, gave the casting vote in favour of his relative, and certainly, in this instance, the result justified the act of favouritism, for Commodore Lushington proved in every way an efficient Commander-in-chief.

Commodore Lushington took charge of the Indian Navy on the 27th of January, 1849, when Commodore Hawkins was appointed to the command of the flagship 'Hastings,' Commander Ethersey remaining Assistant-Superintendent. At this time the Service had the full complement of officers sanctioned by the scheme of the 13th of September, 1847, except as to midshipmen, who numbered only sixty-eight instead of one hundred and ten. In addition to the staff appointments of Draughtsman, Master-Attendant, with his three assistants, all acting-masters, and Indian Navy Storekeeper, there were Harbour-masters at Kurrachee and Aden on 500 rupees a month, but a few years later the latter post was held by a warrant officer, so

* By Government Notification, dated Fort William, the 17th of February, 1854, the Governor-General, in pursuance of H M 's Warrant and the Orders of the Court of Directors, dated the 19th of December, 1851, and the 13th of August, 1852, ordered that the prize-money captured at Mooltan should be distributed to the troops on the following scale, less the amount of donation batta already paid. Captains of the Indian Navy, ranking as lieutenant-colonels, to receive three hundred and sixty shares each, or 2,870 rupees; Commanders of the Indian Navy, ranking as majors, to receive two hundred and forty shares each, or 1,580 rupees; Lieutenants and Masters, ranking as captains, to receive one hundred and twenty shares each, or 790 rupees, and seamen, one share, or 6 rupees 9 annas and 4 pice. The total for distribution was 1,673,668 rupees, of which the Commander-in-chief received one-eighth, or 209,208 rupees, and Major-Generals and Brigadier-Generals, each, one thousand five hundred shares, or 69,136 rupees.

that the Service was gradually robbed of the few shore appointments to which its officers were eligible.

The total cost of the Indian Navy, including the pay of the officers and men, was only £300,000 per annum, or, including wear and tear of ships, losses and renewals, nearly £400,000; not an extraordinary outlay, when their utility is considered as a war marine, their surveying duties, the services of the Indus flotilla, and the saving to the Company effected by their carrying the mails between Bombay and Suez.

In June, 1849, under instructions from the Court of Directors, the Bombay government issued certain rules for the appointment of officers as interpreters in the Indian Navy, the languages to be "studied and recognised" as qualifying for the office, being Hindostanee, Persian, Arabic, Malay, and Sindee. There were to be three interpreterships, namely, one for the Persian Gulf, one for the Aden station, and a third "for any squadron or vessel proceeding on special service." The allowance was to be 100 rupees a month—a very insufficient remuneration, when it is considered that an officer must have passed in Hindostanee and Persian, and at least one of the other three languages, before he could be held qualified for the appointment. The Service had always produced officers competent for such duties, and, at this time, Captain Lynch was examiner at Bombay for Oriental languages.

Under the administration of Commodores Hawkins and Lushington the Indian Navy was so popular, that great numbers of European seamen from the merchant ships in Bombay harbour, took the bounty of 50 rupees on entering for the usual period of three years. More volunteers came forward than were required to man the ships, so that the commanding officers had the pick of the seamen, and generally found old men-of-wars' men in sufficient numbers to fill vacancies. A Bombay paper, commenting on this plethora of seamen, said:—"Jack willingly submits to a month's imprisonment for leaving his ship, if he has only a chance of being 'passed' at the Marine Office."

On the 1st of November, 1850, a meeting of officers was held, for the purpose of taking into consideration the expediency of establishing a fund for the purchasing out of officers willing to retire from the Service; and steps were taken and rules formulated having this object in view.

In the following year Lieutenant Manners, commanding the 'Victoria,' was instrumental in saving the crew of a Spanish vessel, which was wrecked on the east coast of Africa, for which he received, from the Madrid government, the Order of Marino della Diadema, and the thanks of the Bombay government.

A valuable addition was made to the Indian Navy during the

year 1851, by the launch at Bombay of a beautiful steam-frigate of 1003 tons, carrying six heavy guns, which received the name of the 'Zenobia,' but offered a singular contrast to the Waterford "pig-boat" of the same name, formerly in the Service. Commander C. D. Campbell was appointed to take command of her, but, on the death of Captain Hawkins, he was removed to the flag-ship, and, on the 8th of October, Commander Ball finally succeeded to the post At this time orders were sent out by the Court of Directors, for the construction in Bombay Dockyard of two large steam-frigates. On the 16th of February, 1852, the "silver nail," customary on such occasions, was driven into the keel of the first of these frigates, which was to be named the 'Assaye;' and, soon after, the same ceremony was observed as regards her sister-ship, to be called the 'Plassy,' though this name was subsequently changed to the 'Punjaub.'

Commodore Lushington having expressed his desire to resign the appointment of Commander-in-chief, the Court of Directors, on the 5th of November, 1851, elected as his successor Captain Sir Henry J. Leeke, R.N. This officer did not proceed out to India until March of the following year, and, meanwhile, important events had occurred, which tested the efficiency of the force over which Commodore Lushington had presided, an efficiency in no small degree due to the confidence reposed in the Commander-in-chief by the officers of the Indian Navy.

Some months before Commodore Lushington's departure, an unhappy event deprived the Service of one of its best and most popular officers. At 1.30 a.m. of the 26th of August, 1851, Captain Hawkins, at this time Assistant-Superintendent and commanding the 'Hastings,' met with a fatal accident, at the age of fifty-three. He had dined with two friends in apparently robust health and high spirits, and, afterwards, drove one of them (Major French) in his curricle, to the reception of the Viscountess Falkland at Parell. On his return, he brought Major French back to his residence on the Esplanade, and then proceeded alone towards his own house in Colaba. Soon after, his lifeless body was found underneath the vehicle, which had been upset by the horses running against a bank, and it was supposed that a fit of apoplexy, to which he had formerly been subject, had suddenly rendered him incapable of guiding them. He was interred in the graveyard of the cathedral on the same day, under a salute of twenty minute guns from the 'Hastings,' and his funeral was attended by nearly all the members of the legal and mercantile communities then at the Presidency, and by a large concourse of natives. The deceased officer was carried to the grave by seamen of the 'Hastings,' his brother, Major Hawkins, of the 8th Native Infantry, was chief

mourner, and the pall-bearers were the following officers:—Commodore Lushington, Captain Kempthorne, Commanders Hewett, Montriou, Barker, and Campbell. A public subscription was immediately set on foot for a monument in the cathedral to his memory, Captain Hawkins being a universal favourite, not only in his own Service, of which he was the senior officer at the time of his death, but among all classes of the community.

Captain Hawkins was born on the 6th of April, 1798, being, on his father's side, lineally descended from the celebrated Admiral of Elizabeth's reign, Sir John Hawkins. At the age of thirteen he left Midhurst School, in Sussex, to enter the Royal Navy, having been appointed to the 'Denmark' on the 14th of October, 1811. The ship's crew were attacked with typhus fever of so malignant and fatal a kind, that, out of twenty-three infected with it, Mr. Hawkins and one other alone escaped with their lives. On the 10th of November, he was sent to Haslar Hospital, and, after suffering from delirium for forty days, was discharged on the 12th of January, 1812. It was many months before he fully recovered, and, soon after, through the interest of Sir Evan Nepean, he received an appointment in the Bombay Marine.

In 1816, when serving in the 'Aurora,' in the Persian Gulf, he took part in an action with thirteen piratical vessels: and, in 1818, was again engaged with three other vessels on the coast of Guadel. In 1819-20, he was employed in the gun-boats and batteries at the reduction of Ras-ul-Khymah, and, in 1821. he served with the land force at the reduction of the Beni-Boo-Ali. In 1823 he was employed on a survey of the Straits of Dryon, leading into the Straits of Singapore and Malacca, and received the thanks of the Penang Government. He obtained his lieutenancy on the 23rd of May, 1824. In 1829, while in command of the 'Clive' at Muscat, he took an active part in saving the city from fire, and, in acknowledgment of his gallant conduct and exertions, was presented with a sword by the Imaum. In the same year he received the thanks of the Bombay Government, for having recovered a portion of the cargo of a ship belonging to the merchants of Bombay, which had been wrecked on the south coast of Arabia. In 1830 took place his famous voyage to the African coast, where he was wounded, and for which he was tried for piracy. He was promoted to the rank of commander on the 21st of May, 1831. While in England in 1832, he was employed by Lord Glenelg, then President of the Board of Control, to carry despatches overland to India, there being a prospect of a Dutch war; this mission he accomplished in the depth of winter, travelling by way of Vienna, Constantinople, Tabreez, Teheran, Shiraz, and Bushire. The journey was accomplished in the shortest

time on record, and he received a letter of thanks from the Commissioners for the affairs of India.

In 1834 the clipper ship 'Sylph,' of Calcutta, was wrecked at the entrance of the China Seas, having on board a cargo of opium, valued at £130,000 sterling, and a crew of sixty men. Commander Hawkins, then commanding the 'Clive,' at great personal risk, owing to the heavy sea running, proceeded to her in his boat, which was upset, one seaman being drowned; nevertheless he reached her, after having been in the water for three hours, alternately swimming and clinging to his boat. After most hazardous and fatiguing work, extending over seven days, he ultimately succeeded in saving the whole of the crew and cargo, for which he received the thanks of the Governor-General, and of the Governments of Bombay and the Straits Settlements. By order of the Supreme Government his right to salvage was waived, but the parties assigned the sum of £8,000 in lieu thereof, and, afterwards, presented Commander Hawkins with a gratuity of £1,500 for his personal risk and exertions. In 1838 Commander Hawkins was employed in an examination of the Euphrates, and, upon that service, reached Hit, 500 miles from Bussorah. His report to Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Malcolm upon this survey, received, through the Bombay Government, the approbation of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors. He was promoted to the rank of Captain on the 22nd of January, 1839, and, in 1840, proceeded to England on sick certificate. Captain Hawkins returned to India in 1844, and, in 1846, when Commodore of the Persian Gulf squadron, made a cruise round the Gulf, when, by his energy and promptitude, he brought to terms a noted piratical chief, named Humeed bin Majdull. Commodore Hawkins forced this Arab robber, who, insolent in his fancied security, had vaunted his determination to defy the British flag, to disgorge the plunder he had amassed from certain merchant vessels, and give security for future good behaviour, and "this he did," said Lord Palmerston, then Foreign Minister, in his letter of thanks, "without bloodshed."

In this year, by another act of personal daring, he assisted in getting off the Island of Seir Abonade, in the Persian Gulf, H.M.'s frigate 'Fox,' 42 guns, Commodore Sir Henry Blackwood, who was then suffering from illness. The difficulty of extricating the ship from the reef was much increased by the anchor having become detached from the chain cable, and, upon learning this, Commodore Hawkins instantly jumped overboard, dived, and succeeded in again bending it, when the united crews of the 'Fox,' 'Clive,' and 'Constance,' (Lieutenant Rennie) hove her off. Commodore Sir Henry Blackwood addressed the following letter to Commodore Hawkins on this occasion:—

"Sir,—I feel it a duty I owe to yourself and the officers and seamen of the squadron of the Indian Navy under your orders, to endeavour to express my sense of the value of the services rendered by you and them on the late call for their exertions, in giving assistance to H.M.S. 'Fox,' under my command, to extricate her from the perilous situation in which she was placed. Professional knowledge, zeal, and activity, were shown, which could not have been surpassed by any officers or seamen in the world.

"I beg to be allowed, therefore, to express to them through you my own thanks and those of the officers and crew of the 'Fox.'"

On the death of Sir Robert Oliver, in August, 1848, Captain Hawkins became Acting Superintendent and Commander-in-chief of the Indian Navy, an office he continued to hold until relieved by Commodore Lushington, in January, 1849. He filled it at a period of great responsibility, and the rapid equipment of the flotilla and detachment of seamen, despatched to Mooltan under his superintendence, received not only the praise of the local Governments in India, but also the thanks of the British Parliament. For all these services, extending over a period of thirty-nine years, during which he twice received the thanks of the British Ministry, and seven times that of the Bombay Government, he would, had he been an officer of the Royal Service, undoubtedly have been rewarded with either the C.B. or knighthood, but the "cold shade" of the Service in which he had passed a long and distinguished career, rested upon him, and he descended to the tomb plain Captain John Croft Hawkins.

CHAPTER V.

THE BURMESE WAR. 1852—1853.

Despatch of the Indian Naval Squadron from Bombay—Arrival at Bombay of the newly-appointed Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry J Leeke—Capture of Rangoon and Bassein—Relief of Martaban—Expedition up the Irrawaddy—Indian Naval Commanders in Burmah—Operations at Prome—The Relief of Pegu—The 'Feroos' Boats on the Sittang—Boat Expedition to Pantanno—Commander Rennie up the Duggah Creek and at Lamena—His Flank March to assist Sir John Cheape—The Indian Naval Flotilla on the Irrawaddy—Loss of the 'Moozuffur' and 'Medusa'

ON the 12th of February, 1852, the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, in one of those luminous minutes, in the composition of which his Lordship had no rival among his great predecessors, save the Marquis Wellesley, made known to the world "the necessity for exacting reparation from Burmah by force of arms," unless his Burmese Majesty apologised for the insults offered to British officers, and paid an indemnity of ten lacs of rupees. Accordingly, preparations for war were pushed on in all three Presidencies, the Bombay portion of the Expedition consisting of the 'Ferooz,' 'Moozuffer,' 'Sesostris,' and 'Berenice.' The celerity and completeness with which these ships were fitted out, reflected the highest credit on all concerned, and Commodore Lushington, on the 23rd of February, issued a General Order, expressing his thanks to the different branches of the Service for their zeal and activity, and congratulating the captains, officers, and crews, on the highly creditable and expeditious manner in which the ships had been prepared for sea. Captain H. B. Lynch* was appointed Commodore, with his broad pennant flying on board the 'Ferooz,' and, on the 24th of February, only three days after instructions had been received from the Governor-General, directing the fitting out of a squadron, the ships were ready for sea. In the forenoon of that day, the Governor, Lord Falkland, accom-

* Captain Lynch was appointed to the command of the 'Feroos' on the 20th of February, *vice* Commander Drought, transferred to the 'Queen.' Commander Hewett had been in command of the 'Moozuffer' since the 1st of December, 1848, when Commander Ethersey was appointed Assistant-Superintendent under Commodore Hawkins. Commander Campbell's appointment to the 'Sesostris' was dated the 11th of December, 1851.

panied by the Commander-in-chief of the Indian Navy, inspected the 'Ferooz' and 'Sesostris,' and expressed himself highly gratified with all he had witnessed, and, soon after two o'clock, Commodore Lynch, having received his final instructions, made the signal to weigh, and the squadron sailed for Madras.

The following is the list of officers attached to the Expedition:—'Ferooz.'—Captain H B. Lynch; Lieutenants Hellard, Holt (joined at Madras), and Mitcheson (gunnery officer), afterwards transferred to the 'Moozuffer;' Surgeon Wright, and Assistant-Surgeon Wilson; Purser Beyts; Acting-Masters Price and Connor; Midshipmen Monk, Davis, Clay, and Hurlock; and Captain's Clerks Cole and Pierce. Two hundred and thirty men. Armament—Seven 8-inch guns, a 12-pounder howitzer field-piece, and boats' guns.

'Moozuffer.'—Commander H H. Hewett; Lieutenants Robinson, Campbell, and Stevens; Surgeon Costello, and Assistant-Surgeon Welsh; Acting-Master Freeman; Acting-Mate Brazier; Clerk-in-charge, Litchfield; Midshipmen Templer, Harries, Dowell, and Dawkins. Two hundred and thirty men. Armament—Five 8-inch guns, two heavy 32-pounders; and boats' guns.

'Sesostris.'—Commander C. D. Campbell; Lieutenants Lewis, Davies, and Windus; Assistant-Surgeon Stewart; Purser Gibbon; Acting-Mate Lamb; Midshipmen Dawson, Turner, Yelf, and Capel. One hundred and thirty-five men. Armament—Two 8-inch guns, two 32-pounders, and boats' guns.

'Berenice.'—Lieutenant A. Nesbitt; Acting-Masters Atkins, Cairncross, and Nunnerly; Assistant-Surgeon Thompson; and Mr. Ford, Clerk-in-charge. Ninety-seven men. Armament—Two 32-pounders.

All the ships of the squadron employed on service in Burmah, were supplied with detachments of Bombay European Artillerymen, who did duty as Marines.

The squadron arrived at Madras on the 7th of March, but some delay arose on the part of the military authorities in embarking the troops which were to form the Madras contingent of the Expeditionary army. On the 9th of March, the new steam frigate, 'Zenobia,' arrived at Bombay from Suez, and, having taken in the necessary supplies of ammunition and stores for active service, sailed, on the 11th, for Madras, where she arrived on the 19th of the same month. Two days before she cast anchor in Madras Roads, the 'Medusa' had arrived from Bombay, thus increasing the Indian naval squadron to four steam frigates and two steam sloops.

The following were the officers of the 'Zenobia' and 'Medusa':—

'Zenobia.'—Commander E. A. Ball; Lieutenants Jermyn,

Sedley, and Aylesbury; Purser Hora; Assistant-Surgeon Betts; Mates Wood and Douglas; Midshipmen Moorhead, Liardet, Cobbold, and Evans. Two hundred men. Armament—Four 8-inch guns and two 32-pounders.

'Medusa'—Lieutenant H. A. Fraser; Acting-Mates Mason, Duval, and Hunter; Midshipman Harding (appointed Acting-Mate on the 1st of June). Sixty men. Armament—Five 32-pounders.

On the 23rd of March, Sir Henry Leeke, the newly appointed Commander-in-chief of the Indian Navy, arrived at Bombay and assumed charge, when the Governor issued the following General Order to the Service:—

"Bombay Castle, March 23, 1852

"Captain Sir Henry John Leeke, R.N., appointed by the Court of Directors to be Superintendent and Commander-in-chief of the Indian Navy, has this day arrived and assumed charge of his office, according to the terms of his commission. Under the authority of the Court of Directors, Captain Sir Henry John Leeke is appointed Commodore of the First Class in the Indian Navy. Commodore Lushington having resigned his office into the hands of his appointed successor, the Right Hon. the Governor in Council avails himself of the opportunity publicly to record the high sense which the Government entertains of the able manner in which the duties of the Marine branch of the administration of this Presidency, have been conducted by Commodore Lushington, during the period he has held the important office of Commander-in-chief. To Commodore Lushington the Government has been often and largely indebted for his zealous and energetic co-operation in all its views and objects, and especially on the recent occasion, when a sudden and unexpected call was made for a detachment of steamers to be employed in the Bay of Bengal. The celerity with which this detachment was fitted, and the admirable order in which it was despatched to its destination, have elicited the marked approbation of the Supreme Government; and his Lordship in Council feels it must be a source of much gratification to Commodore Lushington, on resigning his command, to have been enabled to offer this most convincing proof of the state of perfect efficiency in which the Indian Navy has been maintained whilst under his charge; ready at all times for immediate action, whenever and wherever its services may be required."

Commodore Lushington* also received the thanks of the

* Commodore Lushington commanded with distinction the Naval Brigade before Sebastopol, and, from 1862 to 1865, was Lieutenant-Governor of Greenwich Hospital. He obtained Flag rank, and was nominated a K.C.B. in 1855, and G.C.B. in 1867. Sir Stephen Lushington died on the 28th of May, 1877, at the age of seventy-three.

Governor-General. His departure was much regretted by the officers of the Indian Navy, for he was a thorough gentleman and an admirable officer. Dignified, yet kind and courteous to all, he was firm and just, and though, perhaps, rather inclined to "taking things easy," was, in many respects, a model Commander-in-chief. He avoided excessive intermeddling with details, the bane of so many excellent and energetic chiefs, and thus showed the officers that he trusted them, while his courteous treatment of every one placed in contact with him, had the best effect upon the Service and revived its zeal and discipline.

On the 31st of March the squadron, with four transports in tow, embarked the Madras brigade, consisting of a total force of four thousand three hundred and eighty-eight officers, soldiers, and camp followers, and sailed for Rangoon the same day. On the 7th of April the squadron anchored at the mouth of the Rangoon river Already there had arrived here the Hon. Company's steamers 'Pluto,' 'Phlegethon,' and 'Proserpine'; also, on the 1st of April, Rear-Admiral Austen, the Naval Commander-in-chief, in H.M.'s steamship 'Rattler'; and, on the following day, from Calcutta, Major-General H. Godwin,* appointed to the command of the Expedition, with the Bengal Division, and H.M.'s steamship 'Hermes.' the Hon. Company's steamers 'Enterprise,' 'Tenasserim,' and 'Fire Queen,' and four transports. The first operation undertaken by the General and Admiral was the capture of Martaban, which fell on the 5th of April, after a brief bombardment, when they proceeded to the rendezvous, where, on their arrival on the 8th, they found the Indian Naval squadron †

* This fine old soldier had commanded the 41st Regiment throughout the First Burmese War with a success and gallantry which gained him the warm commendation of Sir Archibald Campbell, and the experience then acquired in Burmese warfare pointed him out as well suited for the command in 1852

† The following was the strength of the Expeditionary forces at this time —

H M 's ships —'Rattler' (flag-ship), 'Fox,' 'Hermes,' 'Salamander,' 'Serpent,' and a gun-boat. Total, eight hundred and eighteen men, eighty guns

Steamers of the Indian Navy —'Ferooz,' 'Moozuffer,' 'Zenobia,' 'Sesostris,' 'Medusa,' and 'Berenice' Total, nine hundred and fifty-two men, thirty-one heavy guns

Steamers of the Bengal Marine —'Tenasserim,' 'Pluto,' 'Phlegethon,' 'Proserpine,' 'Enterprise,' 'Fire Queen,' and 'Mahanuddy.' Total, five hundred men, thirty-three guns

Troops —H M 's 18th Royal Irish, eight hundred and fifty men; 51st Regiment, nine hundred men, 80th Regiment, four hundred and sixty men, five companies of Artillery, five hundred and seventeen men, three regiments of Native Infantry, two thousand eight hundred men, Gun Lascars, seventy men, two companies of Sappers and Miners, one hundred and seventy men Total, five thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven men

Ordnance —Howitzers, 8-inch, two, 24-pounders, six, field-guns, 9-pounders, eight Total, sixteen

Grand total.—Ships of-war, nineteen; men, eight thousand and thirty-seven guns, one hundred and fifty-nine.

By the evening of the 10th of April, the entire fleet was concentrated, under the command of Rear-Admiral Austen, at a point below the Hastings Sand, and it was resolved by the Military and Naval Commanders-in-chief to proceed, on the following morning, to the attack of Rangoon, the most important city and chief port of the Burmese Empire. The following was the part taken by the Indian Naval squadron in the attack on its defences, which were considered impregnable by the King of Ava and his generals.

On the morning of Sunday, the 11th of April, each ship having two transports in tow (with the exception of the 'Zenobia,' which vessel unfortunately grounded on the De Silva Shoal, and was not in company), crossed the Hastings Sand, and anchored a little below the stockades protecting Rangoon, having cast off the transports when clear over the Hastings shoal. At 9.30 a.m, almost immediately on anchoring, the enemy opened fire, which was returned by the 'Ferooz,' 'Sesostris,' and 'Moozuffer,' the 'Berenice' and 'Medusa' having anchored some distance below. Within ten minutes of opening fire the magazine of the principal stockade at King's Wharf, was blown up by a shell from the squadron.* At ten o'clock,

* Admiral Austen writes to the Supreme Government —

"Upon the East India Company's steamers, 'Ferooz,' 'Moozuffer,' and 'Sesostris,' taking up their positions, fire was opened upon them from the stockades on either side, which was returned with shot and shell In the course of an hour an explosion took place, the importance of which was only afterwards discovered It was that of a stockade mounting nine 18-pounder guns, well planted, and would doubtless have done great mischief to our shipping, if not thus accidentally silenced so early"

Lieutenant Laurie, of the Madras Artillery, author of the "History of the Burmese War," says —

"We beheld the 'Ferooz,' under Commodore Lynch, moving on, evidently to take up position opposite the stockades With the animated crowd of soldiers on her decks, she was a grand picture in motion Next came the 'Sesostris' At length the Burmese, unable to stand this gradual augmentation of the steam warriors in front of their position, fired at the frigates, and the operations began. The 'Moozuffer,' 'Ferooz,' and 'Sesostris,' also the 'Medusa' and 'Phlegethon'— the two latter, from their drawing little water, approaching nearer and nearer the coast — came severally into action The fire from the vessels, Queen's and Company's, was kept up with terrific effect against Dalla, on our left, and the Rangoon defences on our right At first, the enemy returned the fire with considerable dexterity and precision, but, shortly after the 'Fox' had come up, and poured in her broadside, and the 'Serpent' had moved on to destroy, by eleven o'clock the firing on our right almost ceased However, the war-steamers kept on thundering forth against the works on both sides of the river, utterly destroying the stockades on the shore at Rangoon, and cannonading Dalla with decided effect The large stockade, south-west of the Shoé Dagon, was set on fire by a well-directed shell, which caused the explosion of a powder magazine.

. The shot flew over the decks of the war-steamers, on board one, the 'Sesostris,' Ensign Armstrong, of H M 's 51st Regiment, was mortally wounded. Several shots struck the vessels, the 'Moozuffer' was maimed a little, and the 'Ferooz' had a part of her rigging shot away The fire of the enemy proved fatal to many on board the shipping, but the casualties were by no means numerous on this day. These highly successful operations by both the Queen's and the Hon Company's Navy—the chief work, doubtless, of the 11th having

H.M.'s ship 'Fox' passed up in tow and was quickly engaged, and within a quarter of an hour the enemy's fire was silenced, when the squadron ceased firing. At five p m., Commodore Lynch weighed and stood up the river, anchoring abreast of the King's Wharf, and ahead of H.M.'s ship 'Fox,' the Admiral having previously taken and burnt the stockades on the right, or Dalla, bank of the river. At 5.15 p.m., two stockades, just above the Indian Naval squadron, opened fire, whereupon the heavy guns of the steam frigates replied by a crushing fire of shells, by which the magazine was blown up and the works silenced.

At four a.m. on the following morning, H.M's 51st Regiment was landed from the 'Ferooz' and 'Sesostris,' and the 9th and 35th Madras Native Infantry from the 'Moozuffer' and 'Zenobia,' which latter had joined during the night. Having landed the troops, and obtained Admiral Austen's permission, Commodore Lynch proceeded up the river with the 'Sesostris,' 'Moozuffer,' and 'Zenobia,' and, anchoring abreast the upper stockade, landed parties from his ships, under Commander Campbell, and burnt the stockades without opposition, the enemy having evacuated them previously to the landing of the party. Being now abreast the Great Pagoda and the line of the principal stockade at the upper end of the open plain, these three frigates commenced shelling with considerable effect, the shells bursting over the Pagoda, until ordered to cease firing by signal from the Admiral. Commodore Lambert, of the 'Fox,' frigate, second in command, proceeded on board the 'Ferooz,' and desired Commodore Lynch to steam up to the assistance of H.M.'s brig 'Serpent' and the 'Phlegethon' steamer, which had attacked the stockade at Kemmendine, but found the enemy's fire too much for them. Accordingly, the 'Ferooz' and 'Moozuffer' weighed and stood up, and anchored at dark, ahead of the 'Serpent,' about three quarters of a mile below the Kemmendine stockade. On the following morning (the 13th of April), flood-tide having made, the four ships dropped up in company—the river being too narrow to allow a ship to swing at anchor—abreast the stockade, upon which they opened fire; this not being returned, Commodore Lynch landed a party from the vessels and burnt the stockade, which was found to have been evacuated. The 'Ferooz' and 'Moozuffer' now rejoined the Admiral off Rangoon, anchoring in the same position as on the previous day, abreast the great Pagoda, which the squadron shelled during the night, by orders of the Admiral. At two in the morning the squadron ceased firing, to allow the advance of the troops, then near the stockade.

fallen to the latter—cleared the coast for nearly a mile, and made a splendid landing-place for the troops, who were now eager to commence land operations on the following morning. The Navy had acted as a pioneer of true civilisation."

Rangoon was captured during the afternoon, when ninety-eight guns and seventy jingalls were taken. The enemy stood by their guns with resolution, and, on landing, whole guns' crews were found lying dead by their pieces, blown to atoms by the shells from the steam-frigates In what gallant style the troops captured the White House Stockade, and the Great Dagon Pagoda, with a loss of seventeen killed and one hundred and thirty-two wounded, all readers of military history well know.

Commodore Lynch says in a postscript to his letter of proceedings, addressed to Sir Henry Leeke:—"While closing my letter, I was called by signal on board the Admiral, who informed me he should proceed himself to Calcutta, instead of the 'Sesostris,' as had been arranged; and I cannot let my letter go to you without telling you of the very kind manner in which the Admiral expressed himself with reference to our part in the late operations. He said he felt fully the value of the services of the vessels of the Indian Navy, both in the attack and the shelling of the place, and that the General had expressed himself fully satisfied with our practice, and that we had been of the most essential service, and he would have much pleasure in making it fully known in despatches."

There is a point regarding the operations attending the capture of Rangoon not referred to by any of the military or naval chiefs in their despatches; and as it is of great credit to the Indian Navy, and particularly to Commander Campbell, we have much pleasure in placing it upon record. While engaged with the enemy's batteries, the Captain of the 'Sesostris' caused the 68-pound shot he was firing out of his 8-inch guns, to be heated in the furnaces, and, for the first time in the history of war, fired red-hot shot of this calibre. The effect was considerable, in creating a panic among the enemy and setting fire to their stockades and defences. Commander Campbell, remembering what Captain William Jacob, of the Bombay Artillery, told him of the successful breaching of the Mocha forts in 1820, also fired spherical case, or shrapnel, loaded with six pounds of powder only, the lead balls having been previously shaken out, and these projectiles pitched into the stockades and exploded among the timber, which they rent in pieces. The orders issued to the squadron were that each ship was to fire, during the night, shell once every ten minutes, but Commander Campbell, by firing a red-hot shot, and one of these spherical shells simultaneously, managed to do double damage to the enemy's defences. It was a shell from the after 8-inch gun of the 'Sesostris' that blew up the magazine in one of the stockades.*

* "The following letter appeared in the "Times" of the 1st of June, 1852, from the pen of an officer —

"I must write a few lines to you by the Admiral, who is just off to Calcutta

Admiral Austen, in his letter to the Governor-General, spoke of Commodore Lynch as having, "by his ability, judgment, and discretion, rendered essential service;" and he adds, "the commanders and officers of the Indian Navy, and of the East India Company's uncovenanted service, have, without a single exception, performed their duties with all possible alacrity."

In the official notification of the Governor-General, dated the 28th of April, 1852, on the recent successes, Lord Dalhousie said —

"The Governor-General in Council is happy to record his appreciation of the essential service rendered by Captain Lynch, the senior officer of the Indian Navy, to whose ability, judgment, and discretion, his Excellency the Rear-Admiral has borne his testimony on this occasion."

The "Bombay Times," of the 8th of May, writes as follows of the gunnery practice of the Indian Navy:—

"It is no disparagement to the rest of the force at Rangoon, that the Bombay portion of it should speak chiefly of their own achievements; and nothing could have exceeded the courage, coolness, and conduct of the officers and men of the Indian Navy, or the beauty of the practice of their guns; the shells

with the intelligence of the fall of Rangoon. We took it on the 14th, after three days' fighting The first day, Easter Sunday, we engaged the stockades on the banks of the river The 'Sesostris,' 'Moozuffer,' and 'Ferooz' had the brunt of the action The fire from the 'Sesostris,' Captain C D Campbell, blew up one and burnt two other stockades, and before night the whole were silenced We engaged them at from three to five hundred yards, and our 8-inch shot and shells were too much for their redoubtable stockades to stand We killed about three hundred, and took or silenced forty guns—some good 24 and 18-pounders, worked by Englishmen it is said The next thing was to take the new town, which is a mile and a half from the river, but our guns reached it easily, and we shelled away for two days and nights, Captain Campbell firing 68-pounder red-hot shot, the first, I think, ever fired afloat on board ship The effect was tremendous The whole place was set on fire, and two-thirds of it burnt down The troops (the 18th, 51st, and 80th Queen's, Europeans, and two Madras and one Bengal Native regiment) stormed the place and took it at once It was very strong, the walls being twenty feet high, and covered in front by spikes There were one hundred guns on the walls, forty of which are heavy, the rest brass, 6 to 3-pounders, generally well mounted, besides jingalls innumerable There was but little found in the place, all having been removed beforehand The loss has been heavy of officers, as much from sun and cholera as the enemy's shot. The Indian Navy seems to stand high in the good opinion of all, and has been complimented in most gratifying terms by the Admiral. It was a fine sight at night—the stockades all burning, the roar of the 8-inch guns, the flight of shell and rockets, and the flames and bursting of the shells in the distant fort formed a grand tableau worthy of a master hand to describe Captain Campbell, of the 'Sesostris,' worked all the time of the bombardment, till he fell down from sheer exhaustion, and actually slept for an hour and a half within a couple of yards of the 8-inch gun during the firing, and woke up asking if they had stopped firing! You will probably see by the official account what a gallant part he took in the capture of some of the stockades ashore with his blue-jackets For all this he was selected to carry the despatches to Calcutta, until the Admiral altered his mind and decided on taking them himself."

burst to a hair's breadth just where they ought, and did the precise amount of mischief intended by them. We take the opportunity of specially adverting to the subject, because, though we have always heard the merits of the gunnery instruction spoken of in the highest terms, we have at times expressed an opinion that more than enough of time and attention was devoted to the subject. The result shows that if it has been so, the time has been well spent, and that the instruction has been as good as could be given and thoroughly taken advantage of."

The express to Bombay announcing the fall of Rangoon, brought orders that two more war steamers should be prepared for immediate service in Burmah. Sir Henry Leeke issued the necessary orders, and the 'Queen,' Commander Drought, and 'Victoria,' Lieutenant Manners, were ready for sea in twenty-four hours. By next post, however, they were countermanded. Sir H. Leeke, in a General Order, dated the 6th of May, expressed his gratification at the expeditious manner in which Commander Drought and Lieutenant Manners met his wishes by preparing these vessels for sea. The 'Queen' was undocked at eleven o'clock a.m., on the 3rd instant, and was fully equipped, and ready to proceed on service, had she been required, at sunset the same evening; equally meritorious was the smartness displayed by Lieutenant Manners.

The 'Zenobia' left Moulmein on the 14th of April, for Madras, for reinforcements, but, when south of the Andamans, broke her intermediate shaft and was compelled to return; a little later, in company with the 'Berenice,' she proceeded to Kyouk Phyoo, in Arracan, for the 67th Bengal Native Infantry, which she disembarked at Rangoon on the 11th of May.

On the 7th of May, an Expedition, consisting of about four hundred and fifty troops, under Colonel Apthorp, and the steamers 'Medusa,' 'Pluto,' and 'Tenasserim,' with the marines from the 'Fox,' under Commander Tarleton, left in pursuit of the Governor of Rangoon, who was reported to be a little way inland with an army of ten thousand men. After proceeding about forty-five miles up the river, the combined force of soldiers and sailors landed and advanced on Maubee, a distance of seven miles, but they found that the Governor had decamped, having received intimation of the intended arrival of the steamers. After firing the village, the force marched back to the river, suffering severely from the heat of the sun. At this time sickness was very prevalent in the Expeditionary force both ashore and afloat.

The most important operation conducted during this month was the capture of the city of Bassein, the occupation of which,

in the first Burmese war, by the late Sir Robert Sale, was considered of prime necessity by the Commander-in-chief, Sir Archibald Campbell The garrison of Bassein had recently been strengthened by four thousand regular troops from Ava, which increased the strength to six thousand men, and the defence of this important post was now entrusted to a new Burmese general.

On the 17th of May, General Godwin, accompanied by Commodore Lambert, proceeded to sea with eight hundred men,* embarked in the steam-frigates 'Moozuffer' and 'Sesostris,'† and the steamers 'Pluto' and 'Tenasserim.' Bassein, situated about sixty miles above the island of Negrais, at the entrance of the Bassein river, was reached on the afternoon of the 19th. The 'Pluto,' from her little draught, was employed sounding in advance up the river; then came the 'Tenasserim,' having on board the naval and military chiefs, followed, at half a cable's length, by the 'Sesostris' and 'Moozuffer.'

At a few minutes after four o'clock in the afternoon of the 20th of May, they sighted the fortifications of Bassein, which stands on the left bank of the river, consisting, says Commodore Lambert, in his despatch, "of a very extensive mud fort, a long line of stockade, and a strong work round the Pagoda, with a brick parapet fronting the river; also, in an admirable position on the right bank, there stood a very large stockade, mounting several cannon." The enemy permitted the squadron to approach unmolested, and preparations were forthwith made to attack the works, the Navy being represented in this instance by the steam-frigates 'Sesostris' and 'Moozuffer.' At half-past four, when abreast the stockades, the ships anchored, immediately after which the troops were landed "in perfect order in a very short period." They had scarcely formed under General Godwin's direction, when a heavy fire was opened, both with cannon and musketry, from the various stockades, which was immediately answered by a cheer from the party landed, who stormed and carried the Pagoda. As soon as the enemy commenced firing, the ships opened their fire on the different batteries. Commodore Lambert says:—"Observing the stockade opposite the town had been silenced, I directed Commander Campbell, of the 'Sesostris,' to land with the boats of his own ship and the 'Moozuffer's,' and to storm it, which he effected in

* Four hundred men of the 51st Regiment, three hundred of the 9th Madras Native Infantry, sixty-seven Madras Sappers, seven gunners of the Bengal Artillery, under Major Errington of the 51st Regiment, the Marines, forty-four men, and a detachment of sixteen seamen, with a field-piece, from H.M.S. 'Fox.' under Lieutenant Rice, R.N., and Lieutenant Elliot, R.M.

† According to a return made by Commodore Lambert, the crew of the 'Sesostris' at this time numbered one hundred and sixty-eight officers and men, whereas she left Bombay with one hundred and thirty-five men.

gallant style, driving the Burmese from their guns, with considerable loss to them in killed and wounded."*

The Commodore adds:—"Commander Campbell has called my special attention to the zeal and activity displayed on this occasion by Lieutenants Robinson and Lewis of the Indian Navy. . . . . I cannot conclude without expressing my best thanks to Commanders Campbell and Hewett, of the Indian Navy, for the skill and ability with which they brought their ships up a river which has hitherto been but imperfectly surveyed, for a distance of more than sixty miles. . . . . My thanks are general to the officers and men who served under my orders on this occasion, for the steady, gallant, and cheerful conduct with which they performed their duty, neither can I omit remarking that the most perfect unanimity prevailed between the two Services."

An officer of the 'Sesostris' wrote the following account of the capture of Bassein, to a near relative:—

"On Monday, the 17th of May, the 'Moozuffer,' 'Sesostris,' 'Tenasserim,' and 'Pluto,' left for Bassein River, one hundred and fifty miles to the westward of Rangoon. We took eight hundred troops on board the squadron, and steamed down in gallant style, put out to sea that evening, and next day, at five p.m., entered this river in the midst of tremendous squalls of rain and wind, the poor fellows being all crowded into every corner we could stuff them. We anchored that night, and next day all steamed up this noble river, following the little 'Pluto' as our guide, having no pilots, and but a poor map, dated 1754! We had only one accident, however, all day, the 'Tenasserim' grounding, but we anchored and pulled her off very soon, and away we went again, sweeping round corners and running along bushes in pretty style, the water being generally very deep. At one corner we came upon a large body of the enemy constructing a mud battery for four guns, but they all fled, and we pushed on without firing a gun. At four p.m. we drew near Bassein, and as no description of the place could be obtained, you may fancy the excitement of such a time. In half-an-hour we came upon the first works, sixty miles up the river, and as we slowly drew past them, we had time to see the numbers that crowded the walls and the guns laid ready, but not a musket fired, and some hopes were entertained that they would not fight. We observed that a different system was adopted here, and instead of timber stockades, regular sloping-sided mud forts in European style were being thrown up on

* General Godwin says in his despatch —"The Commodore claimed the services of Captain Campbell, of the 'Sesostris,' and his men, in destroying a large stockade on the opposite bank of the river, when they drove off the Burmese, fired the stockade, and took six guns" The correspondent of the Calcutta "Englishman" says:—"The gunnery from the ships was terrific and most effective."

both sides, so that the shot would have no effect; however, we passed on and anchored directly above them, and just opposite the town and great Pagoda Here Captain Campbell was ordered to superintend the troops landing, which was no sooner done, our boats being first on shore, than they advanced to the walls, which were so close that our interpreter called to them to open the gates and give up; but they answered they would shoot us all, and sure enough they opened a furious fire upon us, the balls not only flying thick as hail round us on shore, but even peppered those on board the ship. It was a thrilling moment to see our gallant fellows rush up to the walls and scramble in; in an instant, several were knocked over, but nothing daunted the others ran along driving the enemy in hundreds from every point, our guns playing on them all the time After clearing the town of all that survived, the troops then attacked the mud fort I mentioned before as only just made; here they found a great part of the enemy who had fled before them. A hard fight took place, the fort was very strong, being surrounded by a deep ditch, too wide and deep to get across, but a few planks were found and over these about sixty brave fellows rushed and up the sides in a moment, under a tremendous fire from three thousand men, who were crowded inside and formed a compact line on the top; dreadful carnage ensued, the men being made desperate by the number of their comrades and officers shot in the advance; three hearty cheers showed us all was over, and by 6.30 p.m. every place had been stormed and taken. While all this was going on, Captain Campbell was ordered to attack the stockade on the other side of the river, which mounted six guns and was full of men, who gave us much annoyance, their shells striking the ship and whizzing past us pretty thick. He took the men of the 'Moozuffer' and 'Sesostris,' total one hundred and forty, and away we went at a run, found the gates open at the back, and in we popped, before the fellows had well made out what we were doing. There were five hundred men in the place, who only stood a few minutes and then fled pell-mell out, when a great many were shot down or bayoneted, and we no sooner got hold of their guns than we peppered them well with their own cannon, and then set the whole place on fire; the whole affair was quickly done, and we got on board by six o'clock About sixty of the enemy were killed and wounded besides those killed before by the ships' guns."

A total of fifty-four guns and thirty-two jingalls were captured in the works at Bassein. In the notification, issued by the Governor-General, under date, Fort William, 5th June, 1852, his Lordship says:—

"In ascending for sixty miles a river still very imperfectly known, in effecting the landing of the troops, and capturing the

city, the fort, and the stockaded defences on both sides of the river, fully garrisoned and armed, and in accomplishing all this with very unequal numbers, and within the limits of a single day, the combined forces at Bassein performed a gallant and spirited service, which well deserves the approbation and applause of the Government of India. . . . . His Lordship in Council desires especially to mark his sense of the services rendered by Major Errington, H M.'s 51st Light Infantry, commanding the detachment of troops at Bassein, and to Commander Campbell, of the Indian Navy, by whom the stockade upon the right bank of the river was stormed and taken. Equal acknowledgments are due to Lieutenant Rice, R.N., to Lieutenants Elliot and Nightingale, R.N., to Commander Hewett, to Lieutenant Robinson and Lieutenant Lewis, Indian Navy."

Two days were occupied in arranging for the occupation of Bassein, for the protection of which the 'Sesostris' was left. At daybreak, on the 22nd of May, the squadron weighed for Rangoon, where they arrived on the 23rd, after an absence of seven days.

Commander Campbell was not idle while at Bassein, but gave vent to his active disposition in ascending the river a distance of forty miles, to dislodge a native chief who had taken up a position with three thousand men, but withdrew on the approach of the steamer. He also performed an act of humanity, which redounded as much to his credit as his gallantry at Rangoon and Bassein, in effecting the rescue of the crew of a British ship, which had been wrecked on the Andaman Islands. This was the more praiseworthy as Commander Campbell, in order to execute it, was under the necessity of leaving Bassein without naval protection for two days, and had an attack been made by the Burmese during his absence, he would have got into serious trouble.*

* We gather the following details from a letter written to a Madras paper, under date the 6th of September, by the late Captain Biden, Master-Attendant at Madras, a gentleman deservedly respected —

"In July last, the ship 'Elizabeth,' when bound from the coast of Arracan to Calcutta, was unfortunately wrecked in Duncan's Passage, which lies between the northern group of the Andamans and the little Andaman in 11° N The captain and crew were saved, and left the wreck in the only seaworthy boat they had, and proceeded under lee of the Andamans to the nearest port of refuge; but encountering rough weather and a heavy swell, with a scanty supply of water and provisions, the lives of all, in their frail barque, were in such jeopardy that, by mutual consent, it was agreed to land a portion of the crew on the most secluded and sheltered spot they could find on the Andamans, and that the captain and others should proceed to Moulmein or Rangoon for the purpose of obtaining the means of rescue to those left on shore. By great good fortune the 'Elizabeth's' boat (having, I believe, missed Moulmein and Rangoon) made the mouth of the Bassein River, a distance of three hundred miles, and, to their unspeakable joy, found lying in the river the Hon Company's steam-frigate 'Sesostris.' They pulled alongside, and reported the forlorn and perilous plight of their shipmates who were left destitute of the means of support, and at the mercy of the barbarous savages of the Andamans, should their lurking place

Another officer of the Service was also instrumental in effecting the rescue of a ship's company during this war. Commander J. Rennie, of the 'Zenobia,' in June, 1853, proceeded to St. Martin's Island, about fifty-five miles from Akyab, and, in boisterous weather, extricated a French brig from a position of great peril. For this act, Commander Rennie received a gold medal from the Emperor of the French.

The 'Sesostris' returned to Rangoon from Bassein on the 8th of September, having had a narrow escape from destruction in the Bassein River, where she struck on a rock, with seven fathoms of water on the other side of her. Here she remained for two days, when Commander Campbell, having taken everything out of the ship, succeeded, by great exertions, in getting her afloat.

On the morning of the 26th of May, Martaban was suddenly attacked by a force of between one thousand and twelve hundred men, with a large force in reserve, but, though the enemy displayed unusual resolution, they were driven back by the garrison, consisting of the 49th Madras Native Infantry, assisted by the 'Ferooz,' which was lying at Moulmein, opposite the town, and, on hearing the cannonade, landed a company of the 51st Regiment at the threatened point. The "Moulmein Times," of the 28th of May, says:—"The 'Ferooz' sent discharges of artillery, which made the Burmese seek a more distant point for

be unhappily discovered. The moment their narrative was made known to Captain Campbell, and he had given orders to afford the boat's crew every care and comfort, he proceeded on shore to ask Major Roberts of the 9th Madras Native Infantry, in command of the garrison at Bassein, whether he would undertake the defence of that important post during the absence of the Hon. Company's steam-frigate 'Sesostris,' as he was most anxious to proceed forthwith to the rescue of the shipwrecked mariners in the Andamans. Major Roberts pledged himself to exert redoubled vigilance on his part, and in a very short time steam was up and the gallant Captain of the 'Sesostris' nobly braved the perils of the bar across the mouth of the River Bassein, which was at that time, owing to a heavy sea, exceedingly shallow and very dangerous. Under the guidance of a very correct information which Captain Campbell received from the Commander of the 'Elizabeth,' he made direct to the place of refuge, and was the means of rescuing from the extremity of peril and danger the suffering mariners of the 'Elizabeth,' who had subsisted on cocoa-nuts and wild berries and were very nearly exhausted. Captain Campbell performed this service of generous humanity in two days, he took the greatest care of all the 'Elizabeth's' crew, and, shortly after his return to Bassein, the 'Fire Queen' steamer, on her way to Calcutta, touched there, and received on board the shipwrecked mariners, and conveyed them to Calcutta. Captain Campbell's able and gallant conduct at Rangoon and Bassein is well known, but, I venture to say, that throughout his service no circumstance connected therewith will ever carry with it a more grateful and gratifying reflection to his own mind than that which so nobly prompted him, without hesitation, to quit a responsible post and proceed to the rescue of shipwrecked mariners." For this deed of prompt humanity, involving responsibilities of no ordinary kind, in temporarily leaving a post in time of war, Commander Campbell received a silver-mounted spy-glass, having a suitable inscription, which was raised by subscription, and doubtless there is no act of his honourable career the contemplation of which affords him more sincere satisfaction.

protection, and defaced the beauty of their Pagoda. Commodore Lynch, on delivering his instructions to his second in command, manned his three cutters and proceeded up the Salween to intercept the flight of the Burmese. He found them scattered at the third Pagoda, and ordered his boats to open fire on them with shell and canister, which made them scamper away as fast as their legs would carry them. The boats returned on the same evening, and proceeded up the river yesterday morning." Martaban was kept in constant alarm by night attacks, until Lieutenant Sedley,* then in temporary command of the 'Zenobia,' dragged one of the 68-pounders of his ship up to the summit of a hill commanding the town, by a party of seamen, assisted by elephants. This formidable piece of artillery was manned and worked by a strong detachment of men from the 'Zenobia,' under the command of one of her lieutenants; "and," says a newspaper correspondent, "since its elevation the enemy have not ventured to show themselves near the camp."

On the 1st of September, the boats of the 'Zenobia,' which, after breaking her shaft, was guardship at Martaban, were engaged in a little affair, in which the officers and men acquitted themselves very creditably. Having received information that the enemy were encamped at a village named Ketturhee, Lieutenant Sedley sent, on a reconnoitring expedition, the boats of the 'Zenobia,' accompanied by the schooner 'Pegu,' having men from the 'Zenobia' to work her guns. On arriving abreast of the village, the second cutter was ordered to pull ahead of the other boats, and endeavour to ascertain the strength of their position. She had not proceeded far, however, before the Burmese opened a sharp fire with jingalls and muskets, which was speedily returned from the cutter, pinnace, and schooner. The Burmese kept up their fire with great spirit and accuracy; they commenced with a discharge of jingall balls, followed by volleys of musketry at the boats and schooner. About forty minutes elapsed before they slackened their fire, when the 'Zenobia's' second cutter and pinnace pulled for the stockade, landed, and burned the village to the ground. A large quantity of ammunition was found and destroyed. The stockade abreast of the river, a strong work, was about 300 yards in length, ten feet high, and three feet thick, with a trench cut inside. The spherical case fired by the gunners of the 'Zenobia,' on board the 'Pegu,' committed great execution, judging from the number of killed and wounded found in this stockade. The 'Zenobia's' boats were riddled with musket

* Lieutenant Jermyn, Senior Lieutenant of the 'Zenobia' when she left Bombay, was obliged to go on sick-leave to England soon after the capture of Rangoon, when Lieutenant Sedley became First-Lieutenant and assumed temporary charge on Commander Ball's retirement through ill health.

balls, and the 'Pegu' received some shot in the main boom. There were many remarkable escapes; an officer's hat was shot through with a jingall ball, and immediately afterwards the sleeve of his coat received a bullet. The boats of the 'Zenobia' and the 'Pegu' returned on the following day to the anchorage off the creek. The fatigue and exposure undergone by both officers and men rendered the work very arduous, the seamen being on their oars nearly the whole of the time, and constantly wet through. Eighteen canoes were captured in all.

On the 3rd of June an Expedition was despatched to Pegu, about seventy-five miles nearly north of Rangoon, consisting of a detachment of troops, under Major Cotton of the 67th Regiment; the 'Phlegethon,' five boats from H.M.S. 'Fox,' and a paddle-box boat from the 'Moozuffer,' under Mr Midshipman Harding, the whole under Commander Tarleton,* commanding the Irrawaddy flotilla. Pegu was captured on the 4th with small loss, and the force, after destroying the fortifications, returned to Rangoon on the following day.

Early in the month of July an Expedition was undertaken by Commander Tarleton against the important city of Prome, and the officers and men of the 'Medusa,' Lieutenant Fraser, greatly distinguished themselves. The 'Medusa,' with Commander Tarleton on board, proceeded up the river as far as Yeanjun, where she anchored on the 7th of July, having been joined on the way by the steamers 'Proserpine' and 'Mahanuddy.' This place was deserted both by the enemy and its inhabitants, and the crews were compelled to procure their own fuel; while thus employed, the 'Phlegethon' joined company, and, there being coal sufficient to supply the other vessels, the four steamers, accompanied by three boats from the 'Fox,' immediately proceeded. At two p.m., when opposite to Konnonghee, a large number of armed men were observed collected on the bank, but, on a shell being fired amongst them, they immediately disappeared, either into the jungle or some trenches near the water's edge, whence they opened a most vigorous fire from muskets and five or six guns. The flotilla remained abreast their position for an hour, shelling the enemy, but no decided impression could be made on them, as they were protected by the embankment. The work could have been captured by running one of the small steamers alongside and landing the seamen; but Commander Tarleton was of opinion that this service could not have been performed without considerable loss, as the jungle covering the bank offered the enemy a secure retreat, and, moreover, he had received strict injunctions only to reconnoitre. Under these circumstances he very wisely de-

* Despatch of Commander Tarleton, dated H.M S. 'Fox,' Rangoon, the 8th of June, 1852.

termined not to land and attempt to dislodge the enemy, reported by the neighbouring inhabitants to be fifteen hundred strong. The casualties on this occasion were confined to the 'Medusa,' at which, as the leading vessel, the enemy's fire was principally directed.

At sunset the flotilla anchored off Meaoung; and, at daylight on the 8th, again weighed, and proceeded till within sight of an extensive fortification crowning the end of a ridge of hills 300 feet high, terminating abruptly at the town of Akouk-toung. Bundoola was reported to be here, with seven thousand men and a number of guns, variously stated as from fifteen to forty. It having been ascertained from the pilot that a shallow passage might, probably, be found at this season through a creek to the eastward of the island, opposite Akouk-toung, the steamer proceeded by this passage, which was completely out of the range of Bundoola's guns. Here they learned that a small steamer, belonging to the King of Ava, had only left on the previous day, and that a large army was concentrated near Akouk-toung. Commander Tarleton, foreseeing the panic which the presence of the steamers would create above the defensive force, urged forward with all speed, detaching the 'Proserpine,' as the fastest vessel, to endeavour, by proceeding all night, to overtake the Burmese vessel. However, her commander, Mr. Brooking, found this impracticable, and was compelled to anchor. The 'Mahanuddy's' fuel being now exhausted, Commander Tarleton left the 'Phlegethon' with her, to supply her wants, and, he says, "by dint of great attention on the part of Lieutenant Fraser, I.N., and the officers of the 'Medusa,' I succeeded in steaming through the night, and reached Prome at daylight on the 9th." At the south end of the town, near the water's edge, they observed four heavy guns, but no armed men near them. The 'Medusa,' accordingly, anchored abreast the spot, where her men landed, and, having made fast a hawser to the guns, and hove them off, they were then disabled, and sunk in deep water, and the brass guns taken on board. At seven the 'Proserpine' joined, and, a few hours afterwards, the two other vessels, when, assisted by the boats' crews of the 'Fox,' every gun in Prome, twenty-three in number, was brought off. It was an arduous task, but was completed with the spirit characteristic of British seamen.

In the afternoon the 'Medusa' ascended ten miles higher up the river, as far as Zeegain, where she anchored for the night, leaving the other vessels at Prome, to transfer fuel. "I had now," says Commander Tarleton, in his letter to Commodore Lambert, "fully carried out the instructions contained in your letter of the 30th of June. There was no prospect of overtaking the steamer, and I had seriously to consider the safety of the vessels under my orders. With an enterprising foe, I

was aware that the creek near Akouk-toung might be made impassable; and even by the Burmese, when, by the large force in the neighbourhood, such means were at their command. I therefore decided on an immediate return, with a view to prevent their having time to complete their preparations. I rejoined the vessels off Prome at daylight on the 10th, and commenced the descent of the river."

The city, which was now evacuated, had been in the possession of the British for twenty-four hours, the Governor, Moungwine, having fled at their approach. At ten a.m. the squadron arrived at the entrance of Akouk-toung Creek, and when about half way through, observed several large boats, crowded with armed men. They succeeded, before our guns could be brought to bear upon them, in reaching the opposite bank, from which they opened a straggling fire of musketry, but were silenced by the guns of the flotilla. The steamers now turned round and ascended the creek again, dispersing the enemy wherever he was to be seen, and, having brought away five brass guns on field-piece carriages that were still in the boats, burnt the General's state barge and a number of war boats, with a large quantity of arms and ammunition. They then continued the descent of the river, and were joined in the afternoon by the 'Pluto.' It was found that the enemy had evacuated his trenches at Koun-oung; and, at sunset, the flotilla was anchored off Moniew, where it was employed in provisioning and preparing for further service.

Commander Tarleton says in his despatch of the 11th of July:—"I should be doing injustice to every officer and man in the little force (consisting of the 'Medusa,' 'Phlegethon,' 'Proserpine,' 'Mahanuddy,' and three boats of the 'Fox,' and twenty Marines, the officer commanding whom, I regret to say, is severely wounded) if I failed to represent to you the zeal and attention that has been shown on the service by all; without it, I have no hesitation in saying that it could not have been brought to a successful issue." Among the casualties of the 7th of July, were:—H.M.S. 'Fox'—Mr. John Elliot, First-Lieutenant Royal Marines, wounded severely; Mr. Frederick Morgan, Assistant-Surgeon, wounded slightly. Hon. Company's steamer 'Medusa'—Mr. T. Rose Hunter, Mate, I.N., dangerously wounded in the right arm, which was amputated, compelling him to proceed to England; Mr. E. Brazier, Mate, I.N., slightly wounded. On the 9th and 10th of July, there were destroyed and sunk nineteen guns and nine brought away. The Expedition was admirably conducted, and great credit was due to all concerned. Towards the end of August, Commander Tarleton was relieved of the command of the Irrawaddy flotilla by Commander (now Admiral Sir Charles)

Shadwell, of the 'Sphinx,' and, on his promotion, was appointed Flag-Captain of the 'Fox.' The British Navy has produced few finer seamen than Captain (now Admiral Sir Walter) Tarleton, who was noted in Burmah for that combination of dash, enterprise, and good judgment, which constitutes a good officer.

In July, Commodore Lynch proceeded in the 'Ferooz' to Calcutta, and, on the 21st, Lord Dalhousie embarked in her on a short visit to Rangoon to confer with the military authorities; he arrived there on the 27th, and quitted the town on the 1st of August, in the 'Ferooz,' which arrived at the Presidency on the 6th. Before leaving Rangoon, his lordship published a General Order, highly eulogistic of the good service rendered by the Military and Naval forces; and, on his return, considerable reinforcements were ordered to be despatched to strengthen General Godwin's army.

During the next few months the 'Ferooz,' 'Moozuffer,' 'Zenobia,' and 'Berenice,' were actively employed conveying troops to the seat of war,* and when, soon after the conclusion of peace, the usual recurrent cry was raised against the expense of the Indian Navy, it was shown that the above-named steamers "more than paid the cost of building, also the pay of officers and men, by the transport of troops, provisions, and stores."

The Indian Navy was well represented at this time by the four steam frigates, 'Ferooz,' 'Moozuffer,' 'Sesostris,' and 'Zenobia,' which, as regarded efficiency, formed as fine a squadron as any navy could boast the possession of, but, more particularly, was the *personnel* of the Service admirably represented by the four officers in command of these ships. Com-

* The following were the movements of the ships of the Indian Navy while employed in the transport of troops — "The 'Ferooz,' after leaving Lord Dalhousie at Calcutta, proceeded to Madras, where she cast anchor on the 19th, and in company with transports left the roads on the 21st, carrying the C troop Horse Artillery and 19th Madras Native Infantry On the 28th of August the 'Moozuffer' and H M S 'Sphinx' arrived at Madras, which they quitted for Rangoon on the 7th of September, towing transports, carrying the 1st Madras Fusiliers and a detachment of the Sappers and Miners The 'Ferooz' again sailed for Calcutta, where she arrived on the 15th of September, and, on the 1st of October, in company with the 'Moozuffer' and 'Sphinx,' which had arrived on the 24th of September, returned with the Bengal Fusiliers to Rangoon A third time the 'Ferooz' and 'Moozuffer' cast anchor at Calcutta, on the 11th of October, and sailed in company for Rangoon on the 21st The 'Moozuffer' arrived at Calcutta from Rangoon for the fourth time, on the 1st of November, and sailed on the 14th. Other ships of the Indian Navy were also employed carrying troops to the seat of war The 'Zenobia' arrived at Calcutta from Martaban on the 27th of October, under her new captain, Commander J. Rennie, and left on the 8th of November for Rangoon; again she arrived from Moulmein, on the 2nd of December, and left for Rangoon on the 11th. The 'Berenice' arrived at Calcutta on the 31st of August, and sailed on the 8th of September; again she arrived on the 29th of September and sailed with artillery on the 8th of October, and made a third voyage with troops, arriving at Calcutta on the 8th of November and sailing on the 4th of December. The 'Hugh Lindsay,' under Acting-Master Newman, was also actively engaged trooping from Madras to Calcutta.

modore Lynch was the scion of an old Galway family, and possessed that happy mixture of the *fortiter in re*, which enabled him, by dint of energy and resolution, to carry an enterprise to a successful issue, with the *suaviter in modo*, which prevented any asperities arising in the delicate relations existing between himself and the senior officers of the Royal Navy, the rock upon which too often the public service had been sacrificed to gratify pique or unworthy jealousy. An accomplished scholar and linguist, he was also a diplomatist of the first quality, and his distinguished bearing and well-bred ease of manner fitted him as much for the intercourse of courts as his *bonhomie* and geniality made him acceptable to all those with whom he was brought into contact. Such opposites as Sir Robert Oliver and Commodore Lushington found him equally indispensable as Assistant-Superintendent, and he managed the difficult task of acquiring their goodwill without sacrificing his independence or the regard of his brother officers. Commander Campbell was a man of great natural ability. He was equally at home with the sextant and steam-engine, and was a votary of science in the true acceptation of that term, for, though possessing considerable theoretical knowledge, he was eminently practical, while he was a first-rate seaman and gunnery officer. Commanders Hewett and Rennie, *par nobile fratrum*, were officers such as Nelson loved to have under his command. Brave and dashing, reckless where personal safety was concerned, they were careful of the lives of their men and of their own reputations, which, already considerable by their exploits in China, were still further enhanced by the skill and daring they displayed during the operations in Burmah. Finally, these four officers were as eminent as surveyors as they were distinguished in war. The achievements of Lynch in the Euphrates Expedition and Mesopotamia, of Campbell in the Red Sea and Maldive Islands, of Hewett in China, and of Rennie on the coasts of India, were of a character that would have stamped them as men of mark, even had they never drawn a sword in the more troubled arena of military strife.

On the cessation of the monsoon and the arrival of large reinforcements from Bengal and Madras, General Godwin, having resolved to attack Prome, embarked a strong column of troops on board the following steamers:—Indian Navy: the 'Sesostris,' and 'Medusa.' Bengal Marine: 'Fire Queen,' having on board General Godwin, and bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Lambert; 'Enterprise,' 'Mahanuddy,' 'Nemesis,' 'Proserpine,' and 'Phlegethon.' Also nine boats of H.M. ships 'Hastings, (flag ship,) 'Fox,' 'Winchester,' and 'Sphinx,' to convoy the cargo boats. On the 27th of September the squadron weighed from the rendezvous off Yangernsiah, a town situated

at the upper end of the Panlang creek, which joins the Irrawaddy to the Rangoon River, and arrived off Prome on the morning of the 9th of October. On the squadron nearing the city the enemy opened fire, which was returned by the steamers, which anchored above the town, thus completely turning the position. A small force was landed that afternoon, and, after a brief struggle, cleared the lower end of the town; on the following morning, the remainder of the troops and a detachment of seamen, under Commander Rice, R.N., were disembarked, and soon the important city of Prome was in the occupation of the British with trifling loss, owing to the defences having been taken in flank, a movement which redounded to the credit of the military and naval chiefs. The squadron then returned to Rangoon, Sir John Cheape—the chief engineer at the siege of Mooltan—being left in command. In his report to the Secretary to the Supreme Government, Commodore Lambert says:—"Nor can I speak too highly of Commander Campbell,* the officers and men of the Indian Navy and the Bengal Marine."

The Governor-General, in publishing the despatches of General Godwin and Commodore Lambert, relative to the capture and occupation of the city of Prome, observes:—"His thanks are also due to Commander Campbell, of the Indian Navy, whose merit has been acknowledged by the Commodore. The Governor-General in Council has viewed with high approbation the services of the officers and men, who, upon this occasion and for several months past, have been employed in boats upon the river, subject to severe exposure, and engaged in harassing duty, which they have performed with the utmost alacrity and cheerfulness, and with conspicuous advantage to the public service. To the officers, seamen, and marines of H.M.'s ships, of the Indian Navy, and of the Bengal Marine, who have been serving upon the Irrawaddy, and to Commander Tarleton, who long commanded them, the Governor-General in Council is desirous of offering his hearty thanks." The British Navy had to deplore the loss near Prome, on the 8th of October, of Rear-Admiral Austen, who died of cholera on board the 'Pluto,' in the seventy-fourth year of his age. His remains were conveyed, in the 'Rattler,' to Trincomalee, for interment, and Commodore Lambert became Commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's ships and vessels in the China seas, until the arrival, in the following year, of Vice-Admiral Sir Fleetwood Pellew.

* The following is a memorandum of the amount of ammunition expended by the 'Sesostris' in the three actions at Rangoon, Bassein, and Prome —Nine tons of 8-inch and 32-pounder shot and shell, five hundredweight of leaden balls, three tons of powder, one thousand rounds of great gun, five thousand rounds of musket ammunition; also Congreve rockets and 8-inch carcases. One officer of the 'Sesostris, Lieutenant Windus, was wounded at Prome.

The 'Sesostris' and 'Medusa' remained at Prome to assist in the defence of the town, which the enemy made an attempt to burn on the 12th of October, but were driven off after setting it on fire in three or four places. The chief Burmese general at Prome, a son of the famous Bundoola of the first war, surrendered himself, and was placed temporarily on board the 'Sesostris.' General Godwin pushed on reinforcements to Prome with the intention of continuing the advance on Ava, and Captain Loch, C.B., of H.M.S. 'Winchester,' remained as senior naval officer on the Irrawaddy. In November some sharp fighting took place at Prome, in which the officers and men of the 'Sesostris' and 'Medusa' bore a prominent part. On the 2nd of that month, Captain Loch and Sir John Cheape, with eighty men of the 18th Royal Irish, embarked at daylight on board the 'Medusa,' for the purpose of reconnoitring the right bank of the river from Padangmew to the White Pagoda, one mile and a half below Prome The 'Medusa' steamed down the river, accompanied by three boats of the 'Winchester,' three of the 'Sesostris,' and one of the 'Medusa.'* The boats were anchored about three hundred yards above the White Pagoda, while Captain Loch proceeded to Pandangmew to communicate with the commander of the steamer 'Enterprise;' on returning again to the White Pagoda he landed the General and his escort, and a naval brigade of seventy-four officers and men.

Captain Loch says in his report:—"Sir John Cheape ordered an advance, and immediately on our crowning the terrace beneath the Pagoda, the enemy's skirmishers, who lined the jungle, were discovered, evidently expecting that we should come on by the lane beneath the Pagoda On their being driven in, a fire was opened by them from the high ground inland, their stockade being unoccupied. They were immediately driven from their different posts with the utmost expedition, until we attained our object; viz., a distinct view of the two stockades which they are throwing up, and a knowledge of the country in the vicinity. At this time the enemy were in possession of two commanding positions between us and their stockade, which they were immediately driven out of. The heat was now so intense, and three men having received strokes from the sun, I halted under cover of the enemy's look-out houses for an hour. Having

* The following were the details of this force —'Winchester's' boats Gig, Commander F Beauchamp Seymour (volunteer), Mr. Gregory, naval cadet, five men, three marines, barge, Lieutenant Hillyar, Mr Round, mate, Assistant-Surgeon Slade, fifteen men, pinnace, Lieutenant Pearse, Mr Bond, mate, thirteen men. 'Sesostris's' boats —Pinnace, Lieutenant Lewis, Mr. Capel, midshipman, Assistant-Surgeon Welsh, fourteen men, eleven artillerymen, 1st cutter, Lieutenant Windus, eleven men, 2nd cutter, Mr Duval, mate, eleven men. 'Medusa's' cutter, Mr. Harries, midshipman, ten men, six artillerymen. The Commander Seymour, above mentioned, is now Vice-Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, commanding the Channel Squadron, an officer noted at this time for his fire-eating proclivities.

accomplished our reconnaissance, I caused the Naval Brigade to return to the river stockade; Sir John Cheape recalled the Royal Irish at the same time, and we burned the greater part of the lower breastwork, leaving the larger and more valuable timber on the beach, to be brought to Prome to-morrow, for the use of the steamers. It is with much satisfaction that I have to express my approbation of the zeal, good conduct, and bravery of every officer and man of the force employed." Lieutenants Lewis and Windus, of the 'Sesostris,' were also specially referred to.

On the 4th of November, Captain Loch, who was an officer of great enterprise, was again engaged with the enemy. He says:—"I landed with the seamen and marines noted below,* stormed the heights of Akoukton, and captured five guns, defended by three hundred and fifty or four hundred men, yesterday afternoon between the hours of three and half-past five p.m, and I am happy to say without the loss of a man. The landing was covered by the fire of the Hon. East India Company's steamer 'Medusa,' Lieutenant Fraser commanding, which was so admirable, that to it I attribute our good fortune in being able to ascend a narrow pathway, winding up the ridge of the hill to the outer breastwork, every yard of which might have been defended by a handful of men, screened from sight in the dense underwood growing on either side, against any number of assailants. We found a Burmese, wounded by a shell from the steamers, lying in the entrenchment. He told me the troops were before us, so on we went, and at last were met by a partial fire, which, after an immediate and rapid charge, was never renewed, nor could we again see the enemy through the jungle everywhere as thick as a bramble bush. The guns were loaded and primed, with the exception of one which was fired with a volley of musketry and some jingalls at the 'Medusa' as she approached the cliff, just before anchoring; four of them were iron nine feet 18-pounders, one an iron six feet 9-pounder. Having no powder to burst them, I threw them over the cliff, and moved the force slowly back to the boats; protected by a rear-guard. When it was embarked, I directed Lieutenant Fraser to anchor the 'Medusa' for the night at the entrance of the creek facing the cliff, and commanding the entire front. I experience great pleasure in having so soon again to bring before your Excellency's notice the gallant bearing and good

* 'Winchester's' boats—Gig, Commander F B. Seymour, (volunteer,) Mr. Gregory, naval cadet, four men, three marines; barge, Lieutenant Hillyar, Mr Round, mate, Mr Slade, assistant-surgeon, fifteen men; pinnace, Lieutenant Pearse, Mr Bond, mate, thirteen men Hon Company's steam-frigate 'Sesostris,' Lieutenant Lewis, Mr Duval, mate, twenty-two seamen, eight artillerymen, Hon. Company's steamer 'Medusa,' Mr Brazier, mate, Mr. Harries, midshipman, fifteen seamen, twelve artillerymen. Total force landed, eighty-two.

conduct of all the officers and men engaged. When they landed they saw the difficulty and apparent danger of the pass, and they knew the superiority in numbers of the enemy; they had no reason to contemplate so easy a victory; yet they formed with the steadiness of old soldiers, and with the cheerful alacrity which always distinguishes British seamen and marines. Lieutenant Hillyar, of the 'Winchester,' commanded under me, and again added to his well-known character as an able, zealous officer. Lieutenant Lewis, first of the Hon. East India Company's ship 'Sesostris,' formed and led his marines and seamen in a masterly manner, and I gladly recommend him to your Excellency's notice Mr. Brazier, senior mate of the 'Medusa,' landed with his men, and attracted my attention by his zeal. To Lieutenant Fraser, commanding the 'Medusa,' much is due for the able way he handled his vessel in the strong tides and eddies when he had to anchor, and the most effective aid he rendered by his fire He is a most zealous officer, and has and is rendering daily most valuable service to the naval and military force at Prome. I cannot refrain mentioning that one quarter of an hour did not elapse from the time the 'Medusa' anchored, before my people were formed on the beach, and the boats safely moored, under charge of men to fight their guns." The capture of these five guns again opened the river to Prome.

On the 9th of November, Captain Loch, having heard that the Burmese had re-occupied the heights at Akoukton, proceeded thither in the 'Medusa,' when he captured two guns and re-embarked without loss. Commodore Lambert arrived at Prome on the same day, and, on the 12th, directed Captain Loch to attack some works, constructed by the Burmese opposite Upper Prome, with a force of steamers and boats.* Captain Loch, having disembarked above the stockades, which opened a well-directed fire on the steamers, advanced, with forty-two seamen and fifty men of H.M.'s 80th Regiment, along a narrow pathway leading to the rear of the upper stockade, which was carried at the double. The detachment moved rapidly on to the lower stockade, where they captured five guns, the enemy having succeeded in removing the remainder. These works were of admirable construction, and are described as "casemated stock-

* Hon Company's steamer 'Mahanuddy,' Mr H Simpson, towing 'Winchester's' gig, six men, barge, fifteen men, Lieutenant Hillyar, Mr Round, mate, and Mr Slade, assistant-surgeon, launch, twenty-one men, Lieutenant Nelson, Mr Hinde, mate, and the Hon. H D Lascelles, midshipman Hon. Company's steam-frigate 'Sesostris,' Commander Campbell Hon. Company's steamer 'Medusa,' Lieutenant Fraser commanding, towing 'Winchester's' pinnace, eight men, Lieutenant Pearse, and Mr Bond, mate, cutter, nine men, Mr. Attingham, midshipman, Mr. Gregory, naval cadet. 'Sesostris's' landing party, Lieutenant Lewis, Mr. Duval, mate, forty-two men, 'Medusa's' landing party, Lieutenant Fraser, Mr. Douglas, mate, twenty-five men: 'Feroce,' Mr. Hurlock, midshipman, eight men.

ades, formed in the shape of a horse shoe, with three strong lines of abbatis in the front; within they had circular shell-proof galleries, into which they could retreat, and also use them for magazines." Captain Loch reported in high terms of the steadiness of all concerned in these operations.

On the 21st of November, the recapture of Pegu, abandoned in June, was effected by General Godwin with eleven hundred men, and the 'Nerbudda,' 'Damooda,' and 'Lord William Bentinck'—three small steamers of the Bengal Marine, which had arrived at Rangoon on the 1st of October—the 'Mahanuddy,' and boats of the 'Fox' and 'Sphinx,' all under Commander Shadwell. A garrison of four hundred and thirty men, of whom two hundred belonged to the 1st Madras Fusiliers, with two 24-pounder howitzers, and a detail of artillery and sappers, was left at Pegu, under the command of Major Hill of the Madras Fusiliers, and General Godwin returned to Rangoon with the remainder of the force. No sooner had he departed than the enemy, to the number of six thousand men, made repeated and desperate attacks upon Pegu, and Major Hill sent a messenger to Rangoon requesting assistance. Learning that a large flat, with stores for Pegu, had been attacked and burnt by the Burmese, Commodore Lambert, being anxious to keep open the communications with the garrison, on the 8th of December sent on that service Commander Shadwell, with three boats of the 'Sphinx,' two of the 'Fox,' and the two paddle-box boats of the 'Moozuffer,' having a total of one hundred and thirty-three officers and men.* On reaching the usual landing place at Pegu on the 10th, the small flotilla was received by the enemy with a heavy fire; but, nevertheless, the party landed. Commander Shadwell, however, found the Burmese in too great strength to force his way to the beleaguered garrison, and, after some severe fighting, was compelled to retreat with a loss of four seamen and marines killed, and two officers, and twenty-six men wounded, most of them severely, of whom three died.†

* H M.S. 'Sphinx'—Gig, Commander Shadwell, four men starboard paddle-box boat, one 24-pounder howitzer, Mr Cookson, midshipman, fifteen men, six marines; port paddle-box boat, one 24-pounder howitzer, Mr Murphy, master's-assistant, Mr Johnson, assistant-surgeon, fifteen men. H M's ship 'Fox'—Pinnace, one 12-pounder howitzer, Lieutenant Mason, Mr Hudson, midshipman, fifteen men, six marines, barge, one 12-pounder howitzer, Mr. Pocock, mate, Lieutenant Nightingale, R M, thirteen men, six marines. Hon. Company's ship 'Moozuffer'—Paddle-box boat No 1, one 12-pounder howitzer, Lieutenant Robinson, the boatswain, twenty-one men, paddle-box boat No 2, one 12-pounder howitzer, Mr. Templer, midshipman, an apothecary, twenty men. Total, one hundred and thirty-three officers and men, accompanied by Captain Mallock, Bengal Artillery, and twelve artillerymen in two cargo-boats

† The correspondent of the "Friend of India" writes.—"Both the supplies and the force were considered too small for the emergency, as the enemy was flushed with the glory of having cut off the flat and captured two thousand rounds of ammunition, and the Burmese had concentrated all their energies for one decisive stroke, and were pouring in troops from all directions. We regret to say

The loss of the 'Moozuffer's' boats was one man killed and nine wounded.

The day after Commander Shadwell's departure the messenger arrived with a letter from Major Hill, who stated that he was hard pressed, and that his ammunition was running short. On receipt of this intelligence, General Godwin sent the same evening two hundred men in the steamer 'Nerbudda,' in company with a force of armed boats from the squadron, under Commander Lambert of the flagship 'Fox,' but meeting the boats under Commander Shadwell, the latter deemed it prudent to bring the whole force back. The General immediately placed a sufficient force under orders, and, before ten o'clock that night, the 11th of December, one thousand and fifty soldiers were embarked in a number of native cargo boats, the long-boats of the transports, and the armed boats of the squadron,* the latter under the command of Captain Tarleton, flag-captain. The steamers 'Nerbudda' and 'Mahanuddy' had both been disabled, but were temporarily repaired, and, on the following morning, started with four hundred men under the personal command of General Godwin, who was accompanied by Commander Shadwell. A small land column, under Colonel Sturt, 67th Bengal Native Infantry, also marched for Pegu on the morning of the 13th. Within an hour of embarking the troops Captain Tarleton left Rangoon.

At two p.m. on the 12th of December, when about two-thirds of the distance, the 'Nerbudda' and 'Mahanuddy' joined the flotilla of boats, and, at eight o'clock, it being then slack water, the boats were anchored within hail of the 'Nerbudda,' twelve miles below Pegu. Early on the following morning the boats proceeded, with the steamer leading, and, at seven a.m., the troops were landed about six miles below the Ghât at Pegu, and half a mile from the first stockade. The 'Nerbudda' then went back to the 'Mahanuddy,' which had broken her rudder-

that the steamer and men-of-war's boats failed to accomplish their object It was found that the Burmese had taken up positions, and were in such force, that nothing but a miracle could preserve our small band from destruction if they attempted to force their way to the relief of Major Hill The little steamer with the two hundred Fusiliers did not reach the scene of action. The boats fought fiercely, and did great execution The men in one of them killed eleven Burmese in hand-to-hand fight, but what could they do against two thousand Burmese on lofty banks and well entrenched? They made good their retreat, however, with some loss"

* The following was the naval force employed at the relief of Pegu —Boats of 'Fox,' manned and armed—Captain Tarleton in command, Commander Lambert, Lieutenant Mason, Mr Sturgeon, second master, Mr Seccombe, assistant-surgeon, Mr. Villiers and Mr Rason, midshipmen. Boats of 'Sphinx,' manned and armed —Mr. Webb, midshipman, Mr Murphy, master's assistant. Boats of 'Moozuffer,' manned and armed—Mr Freeman, master, Mr Templer, midshipman Boats of 'Berenice,' manned and armed—Mr Nunnerly, master 'Fire Queen's' paddle-box boats. Gun party — Commander Shadwell, R.N., 'Sphinx,' Lieutenant Robinson, I N., 'Moozuffer;' Mr Hudson, midshipman, 'Fox,' Mr. Smith midshipman, 'Sphinx,' Mr. Dawkins, midshipman, 'Moozuffer.'

head, and transhipping the troops from her, landed them at four a.m. on the 14th. At seven o'clock General Godwin marched for the Pagoda with his whole force, accompanied by seventy-five seamen with two boats' guns fitted as field-pieces, under command of Commander Shadwell and Lieutenant Robinson, I.N., "whose excessive labours," says the general in his despatch, "in a close country. without a road, were most cheerfully borne." General Godwin marched on the eastern gate of the Pagoda, and, as the enemy had established their batteries on the southern face, where he had attacked before, this movement turned all their works on the banks of the river and round the Pagoda. The enemy, finding themselves outflanked, abandoned their defences, and the relief of Major Hill's gallant little force was effected with the loss of only three killed and nine wounded.

Meanwhile, Captain Tarleton, who had remained behind in charge of the steamer and boats, had not been idle. Leaving sufficient men to work the guns in the boats, he had landed all the disposable seamen, and, with a rocket party, commanded by Mr. Freeman, of the 'Moozuffer,' proceeded on shore to drive off the enemy, who had been firing upon some of the camp followers. He says:—"This demonstration, and the fire of a few shells and rockets, served to check their advance. At this time the 'Nerbudda,' on the falling tide, had unfortunately grounded on a stake, and her two foremost compartments filled with water. It became necessary to put her on shore to repair the damage, to move from our position was therefore impossible, and I proceeded to strengthen it by landing some rockets, felling trees, and throwing up entrenchments. The march of the army to the eastward of the Pagoda had left the enemy in possession of the lower defences on the river's bank, and I was sensible that he had it in his power greatly to annoy us. He reconnoitred our position with a few horse in the evening, but did not further molest us. At two p.m. I had the satisfaction of observing the preconcerted signal that the army had forced its way into the Pagoda, which intelligence was confirmed to me by Commander Shadwell, on the morning of the 15th. In the evening this officer returned with his party of seamen and a guard. He informed me of the river bank being cleared of the enemy; and it is therefore my intention to move up with the boats with the morning flood-tide. I reconnoitred the river defences now evacuated, and am only surprised that Commander Shadwell should have been able to pass and repass them in his late attempt to communicate with the garrison at Pegu. They are, for the purpose, of the most formidable description, and completely command the passage of the river for a distance of nearly five miles. Your Excellency, knowing the nature of the service that has been performed, will appreciate

the zeal of both officers and men who have carried it out; but I feel I shall fail in my duty to them if I did not bring to your notice the exertions made by Commander Shadwell and the men under him, in taking the guns a distance of eight or nine miles through a difficult country, under an ardent sun; by Commander Lambert, and Lieutenants Mason, R.N., and Robinson, I.N., and Mr. Freeman, Master, I.N., in their constant attention and watchfulness in bringing up so large a convoy in the boats. Lieutenant Robinson was afterwards attached to the gun party, and Mr. Freeman was most useful to me in directing our rocket battery, and in the construction of our entrenchments."

On the 20th of December Lord Dalhousie characteristically cut the gordian knot of coming to terms with the "Monarch of the Golden Foot and Son of the White Elephant," by issuing a proclamation, "that the Province of Pegu is now, and shall be henceforth, a portion of the British territories in the East," and also directed that, in honour of the event, "a royal salute shall be fired at every principal station of the Army in the several Presidencies of India." Captain A. P. Phayre, with a suitable staff of deputy, and assistant, commissioners, was appointed Commissioner of the newly annexed province, which was about two hundred miles in length by nearly two hundred in breadth.

In 1752, just a century before, the British were possessed of only a few factories and the Island of Bombay, and now, by this act of Lord Dalhousie's, our authority was supreme over a vast empire extending from Peshawur to Cape Comorin, and from Kurrachee to the limits of Tenasserim, with a population, including the tributary states, which, by the census returns of 1871-72, exceeded two hundred and forty millions.

General Godwin left Pegu on the 20th of December, and Rangoon on the 29th, for Prome, having given orders for the march of a land column from Martaban to Shoe-gyne, under command of Brigadier-General Steel, C.B. On the 24th of December an Expedition left Rangoon, under Commanders Shadwell and Rennie,* of the 'Sphinx' and 'Zenobia,' in their gigs, consisting of the following boats:—cutter of the 'Winchester;' barge of the 'Fox;' paddle-box boat of the 'Sphinx,' with a 24-pounder howitzer, and rocket-tubes; two paddle-box boats of the 'Moozuffer,' with two 12-pounder howitzers and forty men, under Lieutenant Mitcheson and Mr. Freeman; and two paddle-box boats of the 'Zenobia,' with two 12-pounder howitzers and forty men, under Lieutenant Aylesbury and Mr.

* Commander J. Rennie assumed command of the 'Zenobia' in September, *vice* Commander E. A. Ball, who had been obliged through failing health to relinquish the command temporarily to Lieutenant Sedley, and died soon after

Mason, Mate. This Expedition was despatched to protect the natives from the oppression of a tributary Burmese chief; proceeding up a creek they passed a large village, and released an immense fleet of canoes, into which the poor people, who had been driven hither by the Burmese chief, embarked with their goods, and moved into the river under the protection of the boats, whence they proceeded to their respective homes. These canoes, which were counted as they passed out into the main stream, numbered thirteen hundred, and contained eight thousand and forty souls. The boats returned to Rangoon at daybreak of New Year's Day, having been absent a week on their errand of mercy.

On the 4th of January, 1853, Brigadier-General Steel embarked at Rangoon, with his force, for Martaban, on board the 'Moozuffer,' 'Zenobia,' and 'Berenice,' each towing a transport, and H.M.S. 'Sphinx,' bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Lambert, towing a ship laden with ordnance and stores. On the following day, the troops were disembarked at Martaban, which was now defended by the 'Ferooz,' Commodore Lynch, and three batteries, called respectively the North and South Batteries, and the Hill Stockade, counting in all fourteen pieces of ordnance. In the North Battery was one 68-pounder from the 'Zenobia,' which has been noted as so effective in keeping the enemy away after their attack of the 26th of May; this gun was now laid so as to command a stockade on a hill, eighteen hundred yards distant. On the 14th of January, General Steel set out for Tonghoo, which he entered after a fatiguing march through two hundred and forty miles of unknown forest.

The boats of the 'Ferooz' saw much service while she lay as guardship at Martaban. In the latter part of December, 1852, Lieutenant G. T. Holt had a sharp brush with the enemy off the Moulmein River, in which Midshipman Thomas Stanley Clay—afterwards Captain in the Bombay Fusiliers—and some men were severely wounded. He writes to us:—"On returning to the 'Ferooz' (from which I was distant some twenty miles) through the creeks at night, we passed through the worst fire I was ever under; how we escaped I don't know, for the creeks were not more than fifty yards wide, if that, and less at places. I at last tried firing rockets (signal) horizontally through the bushes on both sides, and that so frightened them, that we were left unmolested the rest of the way. The enemy frequently hailed us, and told us to land and fight like men. Our boats and oars were tremendously cut up by their slugs. On this occasion I captured several war canoes, forty feet long, no end of arms, old John Company's muskets, and destroyed their barns with about two or three hundred tons of rice. We

must have killed a great number of the enemy, but had no means of computing the number."*

About the 20th of January some of the 'Ferooz's' boats, under Acting-Master Price, captured and destroyed a stockade some ten or twelve miles up the Beeling creek, in the Salween River. Commodore Lynch, not knowing of this attack, proceeded up the river to destroy the stockade, in the 'Medusa,' which had shortly before arrived from Prome, but found that the work had been satisfactorily completed. The commodore then retuned to Moulmein, where the 'Ferooz' lay, and the 'Medusa' proceeded up the Salween to protect the commissariat boats bringing provisions to Beeling. The 'Proserpine' at this time attempted to make her way up the Sittang, but was obliged to return owing to the "bore." On the 12th of February, as the British column was marching to Tonghoo, General Steel met at Shoe-gyne, Lieutenant Hellard, First-Lieutenant of the 'Ferooz,' who, with the energy and enterprise for which he was distinguished, had forced his way up the Sittang,† from Martaban, with three boats of the 'Ferooz,' escorting seven native boats laden with provisions for the force. Lieutenant Hellard had experienced great difficulty in entering the river; owing to the numerous and extensive sand-banks, the channels between which had never been properly surveyed, and also from the "bore," which, on one occasion, was about six feet high, and might have swamped his boats had they not been hauled up in a small creek. On leaving Shoe-gyne, General Steel resolved to take half of the twenty day's pro-

* Commodore Lambert wrote to Government expressing his warm approval of Lieutenant Holt's gallantry, which elicited the following letter from Mr Allen, Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, to his Excellency the Naval Commander-in-chief, dated Fort William, the 4th of January, 1853.—

"I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's despatch of the 27th ultimo, and in reply to express the satisfaction of the Governor-General in Council with the conduct of Lieutenant G T Holt of the Indian Navy in having driven a body of the enemy, with much loss to them, from the creeks on the Martaban shore"

† Colonel H Yule, the historian of Major Phayre's Mission to Ava in 1855, says of the Sittang —

"The course of the Sittang is tortuous throughout the province, but especially for fifty miles north of the cantonment of Shwegyeen it writhes like a wounded snake, so that the development of the stream would nearly double the actual length of the valley. Throughout its course it is shallow and full of shoals, over which boats of any size have to be dragged laboriously, in passing between Shwegyeen and Tonghoo in the dry season The lower part of the river presents a still greater obstacle to navigation in the remarkable bore, occasioned by the union of two portions of the tidal wave of the Indian Ocean, which drives up the narrowing funnels of the estuary with a speed, it is stated, of nearly twelve miles an hour, and with a crest raised sometimes nine feet above the surface Native boats do frequently make the dangerous entry, but it has never been accomplished by our steamers, though it has been attempted The important frontier station of Tonghoo is thus, by the wild nature of the country on the one hand, and by the wilder water-access on the other, deprived of all easy and effective communication with Rangoon, the centre of Government, of supply, and of reinforcement."

visions at his disposal, in boats up the Sittang River, escorted by the boats of the 'Ferooz,' the other half being carried by sixty elephants and forty carts. On the 22nd of February, the British column entered Tonghoo, and. soon after, the provision boats, under Lieutenant Hellard. arrived.

Lieutenant Hellard has kindly supplied us with the following narrative of the proceedings of the 'Ferooz,' from the capture of Rangoon up to the time of his return from the Sittang River, where he was employed for a period of over four months:—

"Soon after the taking of Rangoon the 'Ferooz' proceeded to Calcutta, leaving the pinnace behind in charge of Mr. Midshipman Hurlock, who was actively employed in the Irrawaddy until our return with Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General of India. After taking his lordship back we were ordered to proceed to Moulmein to protect Martaban, and also to clear the various creeks in its vicinity, and the boats were constantly employed on this service, having an occasional brush with the enemy. On one occasion, Lieutenant Holt being in command, accompanied by Messrs. Midshipman Clay and Hurlock, they had a sharp engagement, drove the Burmese from their stockade, which was destroyed, together with a large store of grain; in this engagement Mr. Midshipman Clay was wounded. In the Beeling Creek I was in charge on several occasions, but the enemy generally retreated on the appearance of the boats, although they had cut down trees across and staked them down for miles, and we were days employed in clearing it, this being the nearest way to Sittang. Being also stationed in Moulmein with a view of assisting the force proceeding to Tonghoo, under General Steel, I volunteered to attempt an entrance into the River Sittang, although the Commodore, Captain Lynch and others, had, after visiting the entrance, declared it impossible for any ship's boat to enter it, on account of the bar. I was at first refused, but at last permission was granted, provided I could find volunteers to man three boats At muster next day the whole of the crew stepped to the front to accompany me, the great difficulty being to decide who should. We started in the two sponson boats and the second cutter, with seven native boats laden with provisions for the troops, the officers accompanying me being Mr. Connor, Acting-Master, and Messrs. Midshipmen Hurlock and Liardet. We successfully opened the navigation of the river. On arriving at Sittang, finding the General had gone on to Shoe-gyne, I lost no time in joining him, and in twenty-four hours started for Tonghoo, keeping up a daily communication with the army. They, however, made a forced march, surprised the enemy and took the place, and the boats arrived shortly afterwards. We were kept for about two months, and, after conveying the General to Sittang, returned to the 'Ferooz,' encountering the first burst of the south-west

monsoon, in which the sponson boats were nearly swamped. I should have mentioned that the cutter with Connor returned to the ship before this. A survey of the Sittang I handed in to Captain Lynch, who forwarded it to Government, together with a report on the river, derived from information furnished by me Some of the boats were nightly employed in protecting Martaban, the alarm being usually given about eight p m., not returning to the ship till after daylight. On one occasion the Burmese attacked in force, driving in the outpost guard on the hill; the boats started at once in command of two commissioned officers and two midshipmen, retaking the outpost and holding it until reinforcements arrived, when the enemy was driven back and pursued a considerable distance, assisted by the guns of the 'Ferooz.'"

Commodore Lynch called for Lieutenant Hellard's journal while employed on the Sittang, which, together with his chart, was forwarded to the Supreme Government; and a report on the navigation of the river, which was afterwards sent in, was drawn up from notes supplied by that officer. Lieutenant Hellard was offered surveying allowance for himself alone, or extra batta for all engaged under his orders; and, animated by the praiseworthy feeling that those who shared the danger and labour should also partake of the reward, he accepted the latter alternative, so that all the officers and men received batta.*

* Colonel (afterwards Sir) Archibald Bogle, Commissioner of the Tenasserim and Mergui Provinces, wrote from Tonghoo, under date the 8th of March, 1853, to Commodore Lynch, regarding the opening of the Sittang river by Lieutenant Hellard and his officers and men, in the following terms —

"I attach so much importance to this event that I have lost no time in bringing it to the knowledge of the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council, who will, I am sure, highly appreciate Lieutenant Hellard's enterprise No man-of-war's boat ever before made good its passage into the Sittang, and the dangers and difficulties of its navigation have hitherto had the effect of closing it to commerce; but without a survey, without charts or pilots, the boats of the ship under your command have found a passage into the river, and have conducted in safety a fleet of provision-boats to the important military post of Tonghoo, and proved the practicability and safety of a most valuable line of communication I consider this extremely creditable to all concerned, and I beg you will do me the favour to intimate to Lieutenant Hellard, and the officers and seamen under his command, the high opinion I entertain of the skill, prudence, and patient perseverance with which this important service has been accomplished"

The Bombay Government, under date the 21st of April, 1853, thanked Lieutenant Hellard for his services, and the Secretary to the Government of India, under date the 6th of July, 1853, in communicating the thanks of Government to Lieutenant Hellard for his "two charts and journals," conveyed "the approbation with which the Governor-General in Council has received his enterprising and persevering exertions, in conjunction with other officers, and boats' crews of the 'Ferooz,' in making good an entrance into the Sittang, and affording material aid to the column under General Steel. The Governor-General in Council has already taken occasion to bring Lieutenant Hellard's name under special notice of the Hon the Court of Directors in connection with this valuable service on the Sittang"

Of the services of his first-lieutenant, Commodore Lynch says:—"Lieutenant Hellard *distinguished himself on every occasion by his ability as an officer*, and

Towards the end of the year 1852, a notorious Burmese chief, Mya-toon by name, having under his orders a force of seven thousand desperadoes, had infested the neighbourhood of Rangoon, and burned down Donabew, on the right bank of the Irrawaddy, and also many villages. Mya-toon was a man of resource and skill, as we found to our cost, and became the dread of the country. On the 12th of December, 1852, Commander Hewett, with the boats of the 'Fox' and of his ship, under Lieutenant P. W. Mitcheson, surprised at Pantanno a body of three thousand Burmese belonging to Mya-toon's force, and killed a large number of them, including a chief. The attack was well planned, and executed with the dash and judgment for which the captain of the 'Moozuffer' was distinguished. On the 16th of January following, a second attack was made on Pantanno, by Commander (now Rear-Admiral) Rowley Lambert of the 'Fox,' with the boats of the squadron, including those of the 'Moozuffer' and 'Zenobia,' the number of men embarked being about one hundred and eighty, and the place was carried with small loss. On the following day, Commander Lambert made an advance up a creek to attack the enemy, in which he was not equally successful. There was not sufficient space for two boats to pass abreast in this creek, the banks of which were low and covered with jungle, while stakes impeded the passage, across which trees had been felled and dropped. The boats had only proceeded a few miles when a volley of musketry was fired upon them from each bank. Several men fell; the fire became "hotter and hotter," and, at length, the boats were forced to retire with a loss of twelve killed and wounded, including among the latter the Senior Lieutenant of the 'Moozuffer,' an officer of distinguished gallantry and ability, who had led the party which, on the 12th of December, had carried Pantanno with small loss. Lieutenant Mitcheson received two wounds on this occasion, and the second in the left leg was so severe that he had to submit to amputation.*

his zeal and gallantry in the performance of every duty on which he was employed, either on board the ship or on detached duty in command of the boats Lieutenant Hellard volunteered to command the boat expedition, which was the first to enter the River Sittang, a most difficult and dangerous service, in which he was fully successful, and was of great assistance to the troops employed under General Steel on the east bank of the Sittang. I cannot speak too highly of Lieutenant Hellard. The very perfect and efficient order of the 'Feroos' is mainly to be attributed to his untiring zeal and exertions."

* Commodore Lambert, under date, "Trincomalee, October 28, 1853," sent Lieutenant Mitcheson the following certificate:—

"This is to certify that Lieutenant P. W. Mitcheson, of the Indian Navy, was specially brought to my notice by Commander R. Lambert, of H.M.'s ship 'Fox,' in command of the Expedition, for his gallant conduct when in charge of the 'Moozuffer's' boats in an attack on the enemy's position near Pantanno, on the 16th and 17th of January, 1853, on which occasion he was twice wounded, the second time so severely as to cause amputation of the left leg."

Very remarkable was the judgment and gallantry displayed by Commander Rennie, of the steam frigate 'Zenobia,' in some operations which he undertook against a strong Burmese force, under the Menghee, or Governor, of Bassein, in conjunction with Captain Fytche, the newly-appointed Deputy Commissioner.

Commander Rennie only arrived at Bassein on the evening of the 19th of January, and, at eight a.m. of the 21st, accompanied by Captain Fytche, started in the 'Nemesis,' leaving the boats of the 'Zenobia' up the Dugga Creek, for the purpose of driving out the chief at Khyoung Gou. On reaching the village of Khan Gee Goung at five p.m., Commander Rennie found that the depth of water would not permit of the 'Nemesis' proceeding further; accordingly, at eight, he left with the boats* of

Commander Hewett wrote to him —

"I have the greatest pleasure in forwarding you a certified copy of a letter to the address of the Commander-in-chief of the Indian Navy, from the Governor in Council at Bombay, wherein his Lordship in Council conveys the expression of his regret that the severe wound received by you deprives the Service, for a time, of your valuable assistance You will, I trust, allow me to express the same sentiments whilst gallantly storming for a second time that unfortunate stronghold which has proved so destructive to life and health"

On his return to Bombay, Lieutenant Mitcheson was ordered home on sick leave, and the Hon. the Court of Directors obtained permission from the Admiralty for him to study gunnery on board H M 's ship 'Excellent' at Portsmouth, when the gallant officer obtained a first-class certificate in gunnery, and a first-class certificate in mathematics, Sir Thomas Maitland notifying at its foot —"Notwithstanding the loss of his leg, I consider Lieutenant Mitcheson well qualified for the superintendence of the gunnery instruction" Whilst on leave he also studied to prepare for the duties of naval instructor, obtaining a certificate on the subject, and on his return to India was appointed to act as Indian Naval Instructor pending the pleasure of the Court of Directors, the duty involved being to examine, as well as to instruct, officers of the Indian Navy in navigation. He was also afterwards made a member of the Local Marine Board, and Special Member for Examinations in Navigation, and from September, 1860, to September, 1861, during the absence on leave of Lieutenant Fergusson, was Superintendent of the Bombay Observatory, and also Indian Naval Draughtsman

* The following is the strength of the force with which Commander Rennie proceeded on the 22nd of January.—

'Zenobia'—Gig, Commander Rennie, Mr. Dowell, midshipman, six seamen; pinnace, one 12-pounder, Mr Wood, mate, Mr. McEvoy, warrant officer, thirteen seamen, port paddle-box boat, one 12-pounder, Lieutenant Aylesbury, Assistant-Surgeon Crawford, fourteen seamen, two artillerymen, two natives, starboard paddle-box boat, one 12-pounder, Lieutenant Manderson, Bengal Artillery, (who volunteered his services), Mr Eckley (*a*), midshipman, six seamen, three artillerymen, ten Natives; cutter, one 3-pounder, Mr Channon (*a*), midshipman, thirteen seamen Total one commander, two lieutenants, one assistant-surgeon, one mate, three midshipmen, one warrant-officer, fifty-two seamen, five artillerymen, and twelve natives

'Nemesis.'—Mr. Arthur Baker, first officer, in charge of starboard paddle-box

(*a*) These two officers belonged to the Bengal Service, and were received on board at Rangoon for passage to join the surveying vessels 'Krishna' and 'Spy,' and, having no midshipmen, Commander Rennie availed himself of their services.

the 'Zenobia' and 'Nemesis,' and, at two p m. on the following day, reached the outposts of the enemy. On nearing the position, the Burmese opened fire on the boats from a stockade on the left bank, from which they were speedily expelled by a discharge of grape and canister. Cutting their way through the stakes, which extended right across the creek and for some twenty yards in depth, the force at once pushed on for the village of Khyoung Gou, about three miles distant. On their arrival they found the post deserted, when Captain Fytche's Kareens immediately started in pursuit, and came up with the Burmese rear guard, whom they pressed so closely that the chief in command escaped with difficulty. The Burmese troops, on being driven from Khyoung Gou, retreated to Eugma, a large village sixteen miles inland, nearly equidistant from Donabew and Pantanno.* As the natives assured Commander Rennie that there was a tolerable road all the way, he determined to follow them; and, having landed one 12-pounder and three 3-pounder guns, at daylight, on the 23rd, started off in pursuit, the guns, he says, "being dragged by hand over a rough road, and sometimes over a paddy field, without a grumble or complaint." The advance guard, consisting of a large body of natives, was led by Captain Fytche, who, at two p.m., came in collision with a strong party of the enemy, whom he dispersed, the chief falling by his hand. The whole force then pursued them through Eugma, a village consisting of above three thousand houses, which was burned; and, finding that they were completely broken, halted for the night, and bivouacked in an open plain. As the spies reported that the enemy intended a night attack, Commander Rennie planted his guns at the corners of the encampment, the men sleeping under arms. At daylight, on the 25th, the whole force retraced their steps to Khyoung Gou, and, on learning that the Burmese had retreated to the northward for the purpose of joining the Menghee at Kyouk Khyourz Ko-say, they re-embarked in the boats, and, after a fatiguing pull, reached the 'Nemesis' at five p.m. on the 25th.†

boat, with eleven Europeans, and Mr. Arthur Farquhar, clerk-in-charge, (volunteer), Mr Henry John Jane, second officer, in charge of port paddle-box boat, with ten Europeans, and Mr Ivory, carpenter, (volunteer), Mr Diego Dias, midshipman, in charge of first cutter, with five Europeans and four Seedees, accompanied by Mr. William Stevenson, surgeon

* See despatch of Commander Rennie to Commodore Lambert, dated Bassein, 3rd February, 1853.

† The beneficial effect produced by this success, and the moral dread in which the evil-doers held Europeans, is exemplified in a remarkable manner by an incident jotted down in his journal at the time of its occurrence, by Commander Rennie. He writes —"On our way back we met many of the inhabitants returning from the jungle to their village, and all highly pleased with the success of our expedition. We had a convincing proof of the dread they feel for our power this evening in the following manner. On our way back, a small but respectable party met Fytche and asked his permission to return, which he granted,

On the 26th the boats again proceeded at daylight in tow of the 'Nemesis,' through the Dugga creek, and up the Bassein river, till five p m, when they anchored for the night at Pyagee, and, at daylight of the 27th, proceeded on to Na Thoung Goung, a large town, beyond which there was not sufficient water for the steam vessel; there Commander Rennie obtained information that the Menghee had quitted his encampment two days before, and had retired to Lamena, and that the force which had been driven from Eugma, amounting to twelve hundred men, had passed on to join him. The two officers having determined on attacking the Menghee, started in the boats at five a m. of the 28th, and reached Lamena in thirteen hours. On their arrival the people, if not hostile, appeared very lukewarm, and they could obtain no authentic information of the enemy's movements.

A careful watch was kept, the boats being placed in position and the guns loaded. At midnight, intelligence was received that the Menghee's force, amounting to three thousand fighting men, was posted in a position not more than eight miles off As they feared he might escape. Captain Fytche sent forward all the natives in whom any reliance could be placed, in order that, by a forced march and making a circuit to the right, they might be able to head the Menghee's troops and stop their retreat. To give confidence to these natives, and insure his directions being followed out, Commander Rennie detached Mr. Baker, first officer of the 'Nemesis,' who left at half-past five a.m. on the 29th, with three hundred picked men, accompanied by the Commissioner's Sheristadar (or magistrate's chief clerk) to act as interpreter. To allow him time to reach his post, the seamen waited until seven a.m. before moving for Lamena, when they marched with the four guns, fastened to the axletrees of carts drawn by bullocks. On arriving at the spot indicated as the Menghee's position, it was discovered that he had moved at two a m. and was then encamped eight miles in advance. The seamen being much knocked up by a march of about twelve miles in the heat of the day, and Mr Baker's force having failed in the object for which they had been sent forward, Commander Rennie encamped, and Captain Fytche sent out scouts, who reported that the Menghee was unconscious of the proximity of an enemy, and that he certainly would not move before sunrise. A little before one a m, favoured by the light of a

and consequently some fifty of them, men and women, collected, and bringing a quantity of their goods and chattels from the jungle, were *en route* looted by some of our gallant friends The poor people lodged their complaint before the Commissioner, and in the dark he compelled the assemblage of every native They crouched down to the amount of about two thousand, he then with torches picked out the offenders, who admitted their crime, and though one of them was a chief commanding three hundred armed men, he then and there tied them up to posts and flogged them by a boatswain's mate, whilst they were by the doctor reported capable of bearing punishment."

bright moon, the British force made a circuitous march through the woods on the enemy's right flank, emerging on his front at half-past five a.m., when they discovered by his innumerable fires that they were cooking the morning meal. A position was now taken up half a mile on the Menghee's front, on the road by which he would have to advance.

It was just sunrise when the enemy commenced their march, having been overheard by Captain Fytche, who had ridden down close to their advanced column, rejoicing in the idea of cutting up Mungwa and his Dacoits, for whom they had mistaken the British column, which was supposed to be still at their former camping ground. Soon after, their advanced guard, consisting of eight hundred well-armed Ava soldiers, approached the British position, and, as the guns were partially hidden from their view, and the small party, consisting of only eighty blue-jackets, were kneeling down and almost concealed by the morning mist, they came on shouting and yelling to within two hundred yards, when they opened a well-directed fire of musketry, by which two seamen were wounded. By this time, the enemy being within good range of the guns, Commander Rennie opened on the dense mass with grape and canister, which effectually stopped their advance, and, on receiving a second discharge, they broke and fled—a confused rabble. Forty-eight dead bodies were found on the field, and fifty prisoners were taken, including the Menghee's two sons. The pursuit was continued till seven a.m., when a jungle was reached, totally impenetrable to a European, and the force halted for breakfast. The object of the Expedition having been thus crowned with the most complete success, Commander Rennie marched at ten, without a halt, to Lamena, which he reached at seven the same evening, the men having marched between thirty and thirty-four miles since one a.m., no mean exploit, considering the state of the roads, and that they had to drag the guns part of the time, for the bullock-drivers took the carts to the rear directly the enemy came in sight, and did not return until the force bivouacked for breakfast.

The following day, Commander Rennie left Lamena in the boats at nine a.m., and, after a long pull, at seven p.m. reached the 'Nemesis' at Nathaung-Goung, where, at the Deputy-Commissioner's request, he remained the following day, and, leaving on the 2nd of February, with the boats in tow of the steam-vessel, arrived at Bassein at noon on the 3rd. During the Expedition thus successfully concluded, six guns, one jingall, and three hundred muskets were captured.*

* The followmg letter by Commander Rennie, gives further details of this remarkable achievement —

"Bassein, February 4th

"When I last wrote you we were on the eve of departure for Bassein, where we arrived on the 19th, and were immediately applied to by Fytche, the Deputy

Commander Rennie displayed the usual generosity of his cloth, for which he was specially noted in the Service, by con-

Commissioner, to co-operate with the officer commanding the garrison, and to assemble a force sufficient to expel the Burmese troops from the province. On applying to the commandant he could not spare a man, having no authority to detach any from the garrison, his command being restricted to its defence I was thus left to my own resources, and finding that, combining with the 'Nemesis,' I could muster eighty bayonets, I at once acceded to Fytche's request, and started next morning, the 21st, in the 'Nemesis' to meet the 'Zenobia's' boats We went on in the 'Nemesis' until the creek shoaled to six feet, when we started in our boats, and after a severe pull, reached the enemy's outposts at two p m on the 22nd This was a strong position, a stockade on the left bank, with two jingalls, and defended by two hundred and fifty men armed with muskets, whilst at the distance of one hundred yards in front, they had staked the creek right across in tiers, so as to prevent our advance The moment we came within range they opened fire, but a discharge of grape and canister from our seven boats speedily sent them to the right about, and in a few minutes we opened a passage through the stakes, the men jumping into the water and cutting a way through with pole-axes We burned the stockade and pushed on for Khan Gee Goung, where they had eight hundred men, the dose at the stockade proved too strong for the nerves of the Burmese, and when we reached the village we found they had bolted, leaving everything behind them Our native allies, amounting to some two thousand, went after them, and so hotly were they chased that the chief who commanded, threw off all his gold clothing, his *culottes*, &c, even to his long stockings, all of which were picked up and brought in They retreated to Eugma, sixteen miles inland, and we started after them the next morning at daylight At Eugma they had twelve hundred men, eight hundred with muskets and four hundred with dhaos and spears, and when within four or five miles of the place, Fytche, who was well in advance with the natives, came on their advance guard, consisting of about four hundred men, and was charged by the chief in person on horseback, whose career was put a stop to by a bullet from Fytche's unerring gun, upon which his followers broke and fled, and never stopped until clear of the village, for, on our coming up with the guns, which we dragged by hand, I could only see a knot of about seventy men—these a single discharge sent off at double quick time, and leaving Manderson in charge of the artillery, I went on after them with the blue-jackets, but never got within reach of them We then burned the village, or rather town, for it contained three thousand houses, and bivouacked on an open plain Our scouts gave us reason to believe that the Burmese meditated an attack on us during the night, their pluck failed them, and, save by a few distant shots, we were left undisturbed The next morning we returned to the boats, and the morning after to the 'Nemesis,' getting back to her at sunset, after a pull of eleven hours' duration

"Next morning, the 26th, we started off, towed by the 'Nemesis,' up Bassein River, to examine the Menghee's position, but as he was known to have with him three thousand armed men, eight hundred of whom were tried Ava soldiers, we scarcely hoped for a successful result. We paddled along all that day, anchoring at sunset, and, proceeding on the following morning, reached a large town at noon on the 27th We expected to have found the enemy posted twelve miles inland from this, but on arrival we learned he had vacated two hours previous, and was then near Lamena, some twenty-eight miles further up the river, so on to Lamena we went in the boats and arrived there at dark on the 28th After some little trouble we got intelligence of the Menghee's position, stated to be only six miles inland of us, that he had got three thousand fighting men with him, and coolies, women, &c, in all about ten thousand However, Fytche was confident of success, and on we went at daylight, and by attaching our guns to bullock-carts got on very well till nearly noon, when we reached the position he had occupied the night previous, but instead of six miles it was twelve, and instead of the Menghee moving at sunrise, as stated to us he would, he had started at two a m, and was now eight miles in advance We went on four miles further, when our men being quite knocked up with the heat, we halted and cooked our dinner, sending out spies to bring us intelligence of the old man, a

ceding to Captain Fytche, in his letters and despatches, the chief merit of the success attending this remarkable achievement; but his colleague would be the first to disclaim the chief honours, which were justly due to the Commander of the 'Zenobia,' who inspired his gallant blue-jackets with that ardour for the combat which animated him wherever powder was to be burned, while "all hands," officers and men, reposed the utmost confidence in a leader whose coolness and judgment were as remarkable as his dash and gallantry. The effect of this feat of arms was most striking, and, henceforth, the entire district of Bassein was tranquillised, and British authority definitely established. For his successful conduct of the Expedition, Commander Rennie received a letter, signed by Mr. Allen, Secretary to the Supreme Government, expressing the high approbation of the Governor-General.

As it became necessary before all things that the daring guerilla chief, Mya-toon, whom his countrymen, doubtless, considered a patriot of the Wallace type, should be ousted from the position he had taken up at Donabew, situated to the north-

duty executed very faithfully, and after dark they assured us he was quiet for the night and certainly would not move before next morning Fytche now considered him safe, but to insure complete success, he resolved on the bold experiment of getting on his front, so after a few hours' rest we started off just after midnight, and by making a move to the right found ourselves at five a m close to the old Menghee's force, their fires spreading over the plain, and we took up our position half a mile ahead on the road he must pass on advancing A little before six they began to move, and for the first time were aware of their progress being checked, but having no intimation of our being near them, they concluded we were a small band of Dacoits, our guns, four in number, were masked by trees, and the Europeans were all kneeling down, almost concealed by the morning mist, so on they marched very boldly, yelling out shouts of abuse and defiance, until they approached within two hundred yards This was the advanced guard of one hundred Ava men, all musketeers, led by a very daring chief on horseback, flourishing his dhao. Here they opened a very well-directed fire, though rather high, and on two of our fellows getting hit, the guns sent a shower of canister and grape into the dense mass, which acted like an electric shock, and a repetition completely routed them, sending them flying over the plain a disorganized rabble, but leaving behind them forty-eight killed, and we captured fifty prisoners, besides four gold umbrellas, three hundred muskets, and spears innumerable. Amongst the prisoners are the Menghee's two sons, aged nineteen and twenty-three, very nice-looking lads, one of them shot through the foot We had no time to look for wounded men, nor do I fancy there were many, as they were so close to us, the grape-shot and canister told their tale with terrible effect The Menghee had a narrow escape, his horse was almost cut in two, and when last seen by his sons he had but four men with him, indeed, never were any body of troops so completely destroyed, and when we left, the villagers had turned out in hot pursuit, attracted by the rich loot the Menghee was known to possess We got to Lamena that evening at seven p m, the men having marched full thirty miles since one o'clock that morning It will hardly be believed that eighty blue jackets backed by three to four hundred Kareens, who behaved very indifferently, could annihilate a force of nearly three thousand fighting men, not Dacoits, but mostly up-country soldiers The whole success is of course mainly attributable to our having Fytche with us, he is a very gallant, daring fellow, and the natives consider him invincible We returned all the better for the trip, and have been absent just a fortnight, only one man sick out of the lot."

east of Pantanno, a strong force proceeded to attack him, and the result was the most sanguinary disaster of the war. This Expedition, consisting of one hundred and forty-three seamen, sixty-two marines, and twenty officers, from H.M.'s ships 'Winchester,' 'Fox,' and 'Sphinx,' and three hundred men of the 67th Bengal Native Infantry, under Major Minchin, with two 3-pounder field guns from the 'Phlegethon,' the whole under the command of Captain Loch, C.B., of the 'Winchester,' left Donabew on the 3rd of February, 1853, and, on the following morning, found themselves opposite the strong entrenched position occupied by Mya-toon. Captain Loch was an enterprising and very gallant officer, but deficient in judgment and totally unfitted for independent command on shore. Despising his enemy, he neglected the ordinary precaution of employing scouts, and advance and flanking parties, to apprise him of the position of the enemy in the thick jungle through which he had to penetrate; and thus it happened that the first intimation he had of their proximity was a heavy and destructive fire, while he was ignorant of their numbers and the strength of their position. Captain Loch made repeated and gallant attempts to storm the enemy's position, but without avail; and, at length, after Captain Price, of the 67th, Mr. Kennedy, First-Lieutenant of the 'Fox,' four seamen and marines, and four Sepoys, were killed, and Captain Loch (mortally), fifty-one seamen and marines, and eighteen Sepoys, were wounded, the force was compelled to retreat, leaving behind the dead and both field-pieces. The disaster necessitated a second Expedition, which General Godwin placed under the command of Sir John Cheape, and to act in support Commander Rennie undertook, at Sir John's request, a flank movement with his small band of eighty seamen and European marines of the 'Zenobia.' During this service it is difficult which to admire most, the boldness and caution of his advance, or the judgment with which he effected a retreat when forced to fall back; throughout Commander Rennie, who was as good a soldier as sailor, brought to bear the experience he had acquired in the China War, when, as First-Lieutenant of the 'Sesostris,' he commanded the shore parties from that ship on every occasion when a naval brigade was employed.

Commodore Lambert, Acting Commander-in-chief, arrived at Bassein in the 'Proserpine,' on the 19th of February, and, after warmly congratulating Commander Rennie on his success, entered into explanations of Captain Loch's disaster, and stated that he had despatched the 'Moozuffer' to Calcutta with despatches for the Governor-General. Commander Rennie proposed starting from Bassein with his men to co-operate in the Expedition against Mya-toon under Sir John Cheape, notwithstanding that the Military Commandant at Bassein de-

clined to assist, and his Excellency agreed to permit him to do so. Accordingly, at 3.30 a.m., on the 26th of February, accompanied by Captain Fytche, he started in the 'Nemesis,' towing all the 'Zenobia's' boats, and proceeded up the Dugga Creek to Khan Gee Goung, and thence in the boats to Kongoon, where they arrived at eight a.m on the 27th. Commander Rennie, having written to Sir John Cheape, reporting his arrival and requesting instructions, marched with his blue-jackets to Mygee, which was reached at ten p m on the 1st of March; here he was reinforced by some two thousand native auxiliaries, with their chiefs, under Captain Fytche's orders, one-third of whom were armed with muskets. Having despatched flanking parties, with directions to be guided in their advance by the sound of his own guns he crossed over the river twenty carts for provisions and ammunition, and some canoes for pontoons. As the messenger to Sir John Cheape returned without having communicated, Commander Rennie started on his march on the following morning, using every precaution to guard against a surprise. Some firing took place between the advance guard and the enemy, when he halted and bivouacked. On the 3rd he marched again, as he says in his journal, "proceeding with great caution, feeling every inch of the road through a tree jungle, our flankers literally creeping along." They soon came upon three deserted breastworks, the last one "having a trench full of spikes in front, and a hole dug on either side." The advance party, on reaching the edge of the jungle, found the enemy in strong force on the opposite side of the creek; and Mya-toon's men, who were dressed in the uniform of our Sepoys, opened a heavy fire from behind their breastwork, which Commander Rennie replied to by his guns. At this time an act of gallantry was performed by Lieutenants J Sedley and J. Wood, who, accompanied by two seamen, under a heavy fire, swam across the creek, which was fifty yards wide and twenty feet deep. The enemy, seeing the Europeans on the left bank, beat a retreat, leaving a 9-pounder gun and three jingalls. During the afternoon, the Burmese returned to the attack in great numbers, upon which Commander Rennie opened on them with his guns, and a brisk action ensued. Finding that he had the main force of Mya-toon to contend with, he reluctantly recrossed his men with the carts and guns, in perfect order. The total loss during the day was eleven natives killed and wounded.

It was not until the 5th of March that Commander Rennie became aware that Sir John Cheape had retreated to Donabew, there to await reinforcements from Rangoon, and had not the officers and men of the 'Zenobia' been well disciplined and ably handled, it is not improbable that a disaster would have occurred not less sanguinary than that which befell Captain Loch.

Commander Rennie arrived at Mygee at five p.m. on the 4th of

March, when it was found that the native allies only mustered forty men, the remainder having disappeared in the jungle.*

* The following Extracts from Commander Rennie's Journal, detail his proceedings between the 2nd and 5th of March —"2nd March, 7 30 Started on our march, advancing very cautiously, our leading chief, Moung-tse-bo, evidently in a great funk, and proceeded until nine a m , when we came on an outpost of some hundred men who fired and fled The sound of the muskets did not improve Moung-tse-bo's nervous excitement, and he persuaded Fytche to halt at ten o'clock on the plea of the place we had reached being the only spot where we would have a supply of water We bivouacked in the open plain and remained undisturbed 3rd Still no reports of guns on our left as we had hoped Seven a m Started for the Danao, proceeding with great caution, feeling every inch of the road through a tree jungle, our flankers literally creeping along, the road very good, and the jungle pretty open, with occasionally a dense thicket, found the breastworks, three in number, deserted, they were of no great value, the last one had a trench full of spikes in front, and had also a hole dug on either side Moved round them, and crawled along for another mile, when Kotso, the native chief in advance, reported his being on the Danao Creek, *i e*, at the edge of the jungle, whence he could see the creek, and that the opposite bank was held by five guns Fancying that we were too late for the fun, and that the force under Sir John had outstripped us, I ran forward to prevent them firing on our natives, and discerned by the reception that Kotso had mistaken Mya-toon's people, who were all in uniform (blue coats with red head dresses), for Sepoys The instant we showed, they opened a heavy fire upon us, but without doing us much harm We were on an open bank and they were firing from breastworks in tolerable security, as we could only get a glimpse of their heads as they peeped over to fire, and as every head had a shower of bullets sent at it, they were not permitted much time to aim However, seeing no chance of driving them out by a fusilade, I directed the men to cross the creek, about fifty yards wide and twenty feet deep. This was gallantly done by Sedley from the left, and Wood with two men swam across from the right and brought over a small canoe, and no sooner was a footing established on the left bank than the brave defenders bolted, leaving behind four dead, one gun, a 9-pounder, three jingalls, and thirty-two muskets Not knowing what might be our next operation, and finding our friends dispersing to loot, I put a port fire to the village and burned it down Fytche being decidedly of opinion that we should halt for the day, I deferred to his wish and piped to dinner Moung-tse-bo was undoubtedly at the bottom of this, his courage, fast oozing away ever since we started, had quite left him under the heavy fire, and his nephew having been shot through the leg by a jingall ball, which broke the bone, he was glad of any excuse to prevent an advance We found the post to be of great strength and the entrenchments well built of mud faced on both sides, and spaces about three feet in height and as many thick, upon which our grape made no impression, and behind which the enemy remained in perfect security, thus accounting for their defence We remained unmolested for the day until five p m , when, having just emptied the men's firearms at a mark, and whilst in the act of refilling their pouches, we observed the enemy in great numbers filing down the road from Mya-toon's camp and taking up positions in the jungle in front and on our flanks, we being, as it were, on the chord of an arc, having a diameter of about four hundred yards No sooner had they got into position than they opened a fire of jingalls and musketry, replied to by our allies, and whenever they collected in knots by our guns. The latter soon slackened the enemy's fire, and by dark it had nearly ceased The bullets flew thick and fast around, over, and amongst us, yet, strange to say, not a man was hurt, and only one grazed Fytche, a jingall ball, on the shoulder In the meantime, as I saw we were in for a night of it, I got Sedley to form barricades of the carts, with our bullocks in the rear, and placing the four field-pieces at the angles, kept all ready to give them a warm reception, in case they dared to rush in Our allies, in spite of every remonstrance, kept yelling like demons and blazing away their muskets, the coward Moung-tse-bo setting them an example in both avocations, and, as was anticipated, by two a.m had nearly expended all they had. At four,

On the 5th Commander Rennie marched to a large village ten miles in advance of Mygee, the inhabitants of which had taken refuge in a junk and begged his protection from Mya-toon; several natives and one seaman died here from cholera. He sent messengers to Bassein for provisions on the 6th, and, on the following day, letters were received from Commodore Lambert from Pantanno, from Captain Smith, the Commissioner, from Donabew, distant about twenty miles from Mya-toon's position, stating that Sir John Cheape had received reinforcements and would positively march on that day, and from Captain Garden, the Deputy Quartermaster-General, enclosing a sketch of the route by which Sir John intended to advance. On the evening of the 9th supplies arrived from Bassein, and, on the following day, Lieutenant Pearse, R.N., brought three days' provisions, sent by Captain Tarleton from Pantanno. Commander Rennie had determined to march again to the support of the main force, and only awaited the return of three of his boats which he had sent to Atoung, twenty miles up the river, under Lieutenant Sedley, when a scout came in with a report that Sir John Cheape was held in check by Mya-toon. On learning this news, notwithstanding that the native auxiliaries were greatly disheartened, he marched at seven p.m. on the 11th of March, and arrived, at noon on the following day, at Atoung, where two letters were received, of that morning's date, from Captain Smith, stating that Sir John had determined on retiring, and, being in want of guides and provisions, was

Fytche told me there would be trouble to hold them on the left bank any longer, that their ammunition was all done, and that any advance was totally out of the question We supplied them with a small quantity of powder to induce them to hold out a little longer, upon which they re-opened the ball, and in the meantime Sedley carried over our carts, ammunition, guns, &c, and in an hour and a half's time they reported all over but the rocket tube and eight men The rocket I fired and then carried over, when having mustered all hands we returned to our boats, not a man hurt, not a thing left behind, we bringing with us a brass jingall as a trophy, and all things considered, though at the time I was averse to the retreat, yet I now think it was by far the best thing we could have done I was relying on the certainty of Sir John Cheape being up that morning, so that, if deserted by all our natives, we could have held our own, and it was not until the 5th that we were made aware of the flank movement by Sir John having been converted into a retreat to Donabew, where they halted and sent to Rangoon for reinforcements Our native allies no sooner found out that we were crossing the creek, than they followed the same course, only not in the same quiet manner, and over they came, yelling like devils and swimming By degrees, from the noise made, the enemy knew we were retiring, and accordingly followed us to the bank, yet with great caution, for we were all over some time before they fired at us, and, it being a dense fog, their firing passed us harmlessly. Our total loss amounted to eleven killed and wounded, all natives, and the enemy acknowledged losing from thirty to forty Out of the host who marched from the Dugga with us, only forty accompanied us back, the remainder disappeared in the jungle. We returned by a capital road a little to the west of the one we advanced by, and remaining at a small village till our boats came down, returned to Mygee at five p m, where we found the people in great alarm, fancying Mya-toon would revenge himself by burning their village."

quite unable to say when he would advance. As Commander Rennie notes in his Journal, it was fortunate for the safety of his small party that he had not marched before. Mya-toon, whose position was only eighteen miles distant, sent a party to reconnoitre the village, but they retired on being fired at. Commodore Rennie now sent a boat to the 'Nemesis,' with directions to bring up supplies for a fortnight, from the 'Zenobia' at Bassein, ninety miles distant; and the boat returned from the 'Nemesis' at one a.m. of the 17th, "doing one hundred and thirty miles in fifty-three hours." On the 17th a letter was received from Captain Garden, to the effect that the advance would positively take place on the following day, the distance to Mya-toon's position being only seven and a half miles.

Before nine a.m. on the 18th, Captains Rennie and Fytche marched with the blue-jackets and two hundred and seventy native auxiliaries, to act in co-operation with the main column, consisting of twenty-two officers and six hundred and five European troops, and twelve officers and six hundred and three Sepoys, besides guns, mortars, and rocket-tubes. At two p.m. the sailors bivouacked, and, early on the morning of the 19th, marched in the direction of Sir John Cheape's guns, which were heard about two and a half miles distant. The line of route was through a dense jungle, where occasionally the enemy opened fire only to retire when the guns replied with canister. The sailors captured three entrenchments, admirably constructed, where they took two guns, and, soon after, heard the bugles and saw the red coats of Sir John Cheape's force on the left bank of the stream. To the disgust of Commander Rennie and "all hands," the blue-jackets arrived on the scene just too late to participate in the attack on Mya-toon's position, which had been carried, with heavy loss, by storming parties led by Lieutenant Taylor, of the 9th Native Infantry, and Ensign Wolseley, of Her Majesty's 80th, the former of whom died a soldier's death, and the latter survived from a ghastly wound in the thigh to win immortal renown as the Commander of the Red River and Ashantee Expeditions. The officers and men of the Naval Brigade were warmly welcomed by the force, the mess of Her Majesty's 51st, (which regiment had greatly distinguished itself during the day), entertaining the former most hospitably.*

Commander Rennie was busily occupied on the 20th, assist-

* Sir John Cheape's losses between the 27th of February and the 19th of March, inclusive, were as follows – Killed, two officers, Ensign Boileau, 67th Bengal Native Infantry, and Lieutenant Taylor, 9th Madras Native Infantry, and nineteen non-commissioned officers and men. Wounded, twelve officers and ninety-three rank and file. It is a singular circumstance that among the officers wounded in Captain Loch's ill-fated expedition was Lieutenant Glover of the 'Sphinx' (now Sir John Glover), the coadjutor of Sir Garnet Wolseley during the Ashantee War.

ing in preparing boats for the sick and wounded soldiers, one hundred and thirty in number, whom Sir John Cheape wished to send down by the steamers to Donabew, and, on the following day, some thirty of them were despatched under the directions of Captain Tarleton, guarded by the boats of the squadron. The entire force commenced the return march on the 22nd, and Commander Rennie arrived at Bassein on the evening of the 25th. Of the 'Zenobia's' men, two died of cholera, three others were severely injured from a tree falling on them during a heavy thunderstorm, and all the remainder, officers and men, suffered from exhaustion and illness caused by exposure, which ultimately proved fatal in some cases.*

* Commander Rennie writes as follows in his Journal, of the proceedings of the 18th and 19th of March —"8 45 a m Our allies having joined, and amounting to two hundred and seventy men with muskets, and about as many carrying provisions, armed with dhaos, we started, and marching over a tolerably open country, advanced rapidly for a couple of miles, then a mile of heavy jungle with large trees cut down and thrown across the path, rendering it impassable, and breastworks throughout about every hundred yards on either side of the road, which was cut up with trenches and spiked After getting through these impediments, we again proceeded by a tolerable road and pretty open country until two p m, when we halted in a large open plain, from which our advance guard had driven an outpost of some fifty men, and in whose sheds we found some little shelter from the intense heat Here we barricaded ourselves for the night in case of an attack, and it was quite astonishing to see the rapidity with which the natives formed theirs At eight p m we fired three guns to signalize to the army our position, and they were instantly replied to by three rockets in a south-easterly direction, apparently about four miles distant Feeling now secure as to Sir John's advance, I directed the men to breakfast at five a m, and at 7 30 started on a forward movement in a fog We, however, had capital guides, one of whom left Mya-toon's camp at midnight, and who knew every inch of the road At eight a m we drove in a picket of some fifty men who fired and fled, and at 8 30 heard Sir John open fire, distance about two and a half miles At nine we came upon a dense jungle whence we were fired on, but a dose of canister from our 12-pounders sent them to the right about and we entered the thicket, and until 11 30 were occupied cutting our way through the two miles of obstructions The road was quite impracticable for a mile and a half, felled trees all the way, and three very strong entrenchments defending the path, the centre one full a thousand yards long and admirably constructed Our guides told us when we approached them, and by threatening their flanks, which was ably done by our natives, we passed unmolested We captured two small brass guns from the centre entrenchment, and a spy told us when he passed the enemy before at sunset that one of the 'Phlegethon's' guns was planted there, but, much to our disappointment, it had been withdrawn during the night. Just as we emerged from the jungle we heard the bugles of Sir John's advance guard, and five minutes afterwards we discovered them on the left bank of the stream, at the village of Kuentanee This village extends on both sides, so, halting my men, I crossed over and, finding the road by the left bank was stated to be much shorter, crossed over the guns, &c, and piped to dinner Moved off in about an hour and joined Sir John about one mile off in a plain, and about an hour afterwards accompanied him to the village of Kymen-ku-Dyun, to arrive at which we had again to cross the river, put the men into quarters, and received a most hospitable invitation from H M.'s 51st Regiment to join their dinner. I rode over the place in company with Sir John Cheape afterwards, and his expressions were, 'D—n me if I think much of the place after all—heh?' 'We ought not to have lost so many men here, heh?' 'D—n me if I think much of it—heh, Thompson?' appealing to his aide-de-camp. In the first place, the attack ought to have been made from the Bassein side, and not from Henzada or from Donabew. Also

Commander Rennie received letters of approval of his conduct during the operations against Mya-toon, from Commodore Lambert and Lord Dalhousie, couched in very handsome terms, which he had the satisfaction of communicating to the officers and men who had served under his orders with the gallantry and discipline of veteran troops. This was the last service of importance rendered by the 'Zenobia's' crew, for such cannot be considered a brush Lieutenant Sedley, when in command of one of the boats, had with some Dacoits when he proceeded to Pantanno to clear the river of them, in accordance with instructions received from Rangoon. On the 27th of June the 'Zenobia' quitted Bassein and proceeded to Kyouk Phyoo and Akyab. The operations against Mya-toon, resulting in the dispersion of his followers, concluded the Burmese War, which, though not productive of any startling achievements by our Military and Naval forces, cost the country, according to the "Hurkaru," up to the 12th of June, 1853, in casualties to officers as follows:—Killed and died, fifty-eight, including, of the Indian Navy, Commander Ball, who died soon after leaving Burmah, and Midshipmen Cobbold, on the 9th of May, 1852, and Evans, on the 1st of June, 1852. Wounded, forty-five, including Lieutenants Mitcheson (twice), Aylesbury, and Windus; Acting-Lieutenants Hunter and Brazier, and Midshipman Clay. Proceeded on sick certificate, eighty nine, of whom twenty-four belonged to the Indian Navy.* During the same period it is said that thirteen hundred and fifty-three European soldiers and seamen, and above two thousand Sepoys, perished by the sword or disease in Burmah.

In consequence of the paucity of officers in the squadron at Burmah — owing to the arduous boat duty and unhealthy climate having necessitated the departure of so large a number on medical certificate to Europe and the Mahableshwur Hills, the great resort of sick officers of the Bombay Presidency— on the 16th of February, Commander Drought and Lieutenants Child and Peevor proceeded round to Burmah, the former relieving Commander Campbell, whose health had broken down, in

they were to blame for having moved at all before they had guides to show them where to go, and the first flank movement was a blunder, they were then only four miles from Myatoon's position, and their returning gave him great confidence, then even at the last, although aware of our proximity, they, instead of waiting half an hour for our arrival, by which we should have got in the rear of Mya-toon, went blindly on, and came unexpectedly to an obstruction which taxed them to the utmost to overcome, and without inflicting any loss on the enemy"

* The following were the officers who left Burmah on sick leave to Europe and India —To Europe, Commander C. D Campbell, Lieutenants Stevens, Lewis, Campbell, Davies, Holt, Mitcheson, Jermyn, and Nisbett, Purser Hora, Surgeons Costello, Wright, Welsh, and Keys, Midshipmen Dawson, Monk, and Moorhead. To India, Lieutenants Lamb and Duval, Paymaster Litchfield; Surgeons Aldridge, Crawford, and Stewart; Midshipmen Yelf.

the command of the 'Sesostris.' On the occasion of Commander Campbell leaving Bombay for England, the "Bombay Times" took the opportunity of eulogizing his great services during the twenty-four years he had passed in India, especially in the recent war, and added:—"With the largest and most arduous division of the duties imposed upon them, the Indian Navy has here, as elsewhere, come off with the smallest share of honours and requital." In May, the following officers proceeded to the eastward to reinforce the squadron in Burmah:—Lieutenants Brooman and Dickson; Mate Rushton; Midshipmen Munro, De Belin, Strong, Bewsher, G. Lewis, and Ogilvy.

In March, Rear-Admiral Sir Fleetwood Pellew, who had arrived at Calcutta to take the Command-in-chief of Her Majesty's ships, proceeded to Burmah, and, having hoisted his flag on board the 'Winchester,' Captain Shadwell, then lying at Moulmein, sailed in her to Madras and Trincomalee. The Expeditionary force to Burmah, officially known as the "Army of Ava," was broken up on the 1st of July, 1853, when there were left in the country two divisions, under the command, respectively, of Brigadiers-General Sir John Cheape and Steel, comprising three hundred and forty-six officers, four thousand three hundred and thirty-four European soldiers, and eight thousand two hundred and forty-two Sepoys. General Godwin embarked on board the 'Zenobia,' for Calcutta, where he arrived on the 8th of August, only, however, to die on the 26th of October, at Simla, in the house of his old friend and companion-in-arms, Sir William Gomm, the Commander-in-chief. General Godwin suffered much unmerited vituperation from a portion of the English and Indian press, but he was eminently popular with those under his command, and, on the occasion of the farewell banquet given by the officers at Rangoon, he struck a responsive chord in every breast, when, referring to the complaints regarding his want of enterprise in not having marched on Ava like his predecessor, Sir Archibald Campbell, he said "that whatever the public and press might say in regard to his conduct of the war, he could honestly state he had done his duty in obeying orders and acting up to his instructions."

Of the Indian Navy squadron employed in Burmah, there remained behind, on the conclusion of hostilities, the 'Zenobia,' Commander Rennie, the 'Berenice,' Lieutenant Berthon, and the 'Medusa,' Lieutenant Fraser. Commander Drought took the 'Sesostris' from Prome to Calcutta, where she was docked with six feet of water in her hold, and transferred to the Bengal Marine, being replaced by her sister-ship, the 'Queen,' which, however, was of little use, as she was in the last stage of decay and decrepitude. Of the officers who had sailed in the 'Sesostris' from Bombay all had been invalided, except Purser Gibbon, Mate Turner, and Midshipman Capel.

In December, 1853, the Marquis Dalhousie proceeded, in the 'Zenobia,' to inspect the newly-acquired Province of Pegu, and, probably, his Lordship's last official despatch written in British Burmah, was that dated on board the 'Zenobia,' the 13th of January, 1854, off Cape Negrais.

From October, 1853, to the following June, a period of nine months, one of the 'Zenobia's' officers, Lieutenant Aylesbury, commanded some gunboats, manned from the 'Zenobia,' stationed on the river frontier for the suppression of Dacoits and preservation of order, and received, personally, the thanks of Lord Dalhousie, as well as of the Supreme Government, and Colonel (now Sir Arthur) Phayre, the Commissioner of Pegu. Under orders from the Government of India, in June, 1855, he also officiated. for twelve months, as Superintendent of the Irrawaddy steam flotilla, which had been organised by Captain Rogers, late of the Indian Navy, Superintendent of the Bengal Marine.*

* In July, 1856, Lord Dalhousie appointed Lieutenant Aylesbury Master-Attendant and Marine Magistrate for Bassein and Dalhousie, as a reward for his distinguished services At our request this gallant officer, who was Second-Lieutenant of the 'Zenobia' throughout the Burmese War, on the departure of Lieutenant Jermyn after the capture of Rangoon, has furnished us with the following Memorandum regarding the services of that ship —

"At the taking of Rangoon we took part in the cannonade and storming of the King's Wharf Stockade, when Lieutenant Jermyn, of the 'Zenobia,' was the first in climbing through an embrasure in the stockade As I saw his white trousers disappear, I thought it was the last I should see of my old friend and messmate. The 'Zenobia' was stationed as guard-ship at Kemmendine afterwards for a month or so, when we were ordered to Moulmein with sick and others *En route* to Madras, the intermediate shaft broke, and we had to put back to Moulmein, we then took our station as guard-ship at Martaban, and the 'Ferooz,' Commodore Lynch, went to Madras in our stead Commander Ball was obliged to leave at Moulmein and resign his command to Lieutenant Joseph Sedley, who, shortly afterwards, was relieved by Commander J Rennie. During the time Sedley was in command, we saw some stockade service On one occasion, I remember his coming on board and saying there was a very strong stockade up the river called Beeling Tat, and that the military on shore had advised him not to attempt the taking of it, as he would burn his fingers We were called away at once, and, after hard work, we came on the place and took it with a rush I fired the houses in the village to windward, and drove the smoke on the enemy, while the blue-jackets attacked them in flank We were next engaged in the China-Buckeer river on boat service Afterwards we were stationed at Bassein as guard-ship, and the men were always away on gunboat service, particularly in the action with Mea Toon, at which so many men were lost, the first men in the stockade, *viâ* Bassein, were the 'Zenobia's' After this affair I was present with Rennie, and second in command, at the Lamena business, and was slightly wounded It was a gallant little affair, and well carried out I was afterwards frequently at small boat affairs, and latterly was despatched to guard the river frontier. The officers appointed for this duty were myself, Mr Brazier, Mr Strong, Mr Pim, Mr Munro, and fifty blue-jackets We proceeded to Kamma as our station. All the time I had command of the river frontier, my men were in first-rate order, I could leave the boats and penetrate after Dacoits, and did so, going to places that no Europeans had ever visited before On my return from this duty, I was presented with the usual thanks, and I have a letter from Colonel Phayre, saying that now my services were over, he could testify that the

The ships of the Indian Navy, which had for so long a period navigated without loss the shallow waters and intricate channels of the Burmese coast, were not destined to leave its shores without leaving behind the bones of one of the finest steam-frigates possessed by the Service. The 'Moozuffer,' whose officers and men had taken such a prominent part in all the operations of the war from the capture of Rangoon, and who everywhere had earned the repeated thanks of the officers under whose orders they had served, had been employed in the early part of 1853 running between Rangoon and Calcutta. Thus we find that, on the 17th of February, she arrived at the Presidency; and the news she brought of the disaster at Donabew, and an outbreak at Beeling, in itself an insignificant affair, was considered of so threatening a character that the Government despatched her on the 24th of February, with four companies of the 2nd Bengal Fusiliers, for Moulmein. On the 15th of May the 'Moozuffer' again arrived at Calcutta, and, on the 8th of July, left her moorings for the last time.

The following letter, descriptive of her loss off the Rangoon river, is from a military officer who was on board at the time:—

"After leaving the Sandheads, we crossed the bay all right, and everything was going on pretty well, with the exception of the weather, which was thick and foul. We first touched at Khyouk Phyoo, and took down from there the pilot who was well acquainted with the Arracan coast, in the navigation of which the captain and officers of the ship were inexperienced. We had remained nearly two days at Khyouk Phyoo, where we were joined by the 'Zenobia,' and the two ships embarked the Arracan Battalion for Rangoon On leaving the port and getting to sea, we soon left our consort hull down, and held on down the Arracan coast at a rapid pace The first night it blew half a gale, and we must have been going at a very high rate of speed, but I believe that the ship was only allowed nine knots an hour in the dead reckoning by the log. The next day and night were so foul and overcast that no observation could be taken, and the consequence was that, on the third day, the captain was necessarily ignorant of the ship's position, and no one else on board was better informed. On the fourth day, land was seen, but as it presented no known peculiarity, and everything was murky and indistinct, we kept off and on, endeavouring to make out where we were, until at length,

tranquillity of the frontier was mainly attributable to my exertions and the bravery of my men I received a very handsome present from Lord Dalhousie, and an appointment (the last he ever gave) as Master-Attendant of Dalhousie. On one occasion, I swore sixty-six heads of villages, under a Buddhist oath, to allegiance to Queen Victoria, and every man passed me with his neck bared for the sword-cut if I doubted his honesty of purpose. I was nine months on the frontier, Brazier and Strong under me were first-rate at boat service, and a credit to the Indian Navy"

approaching too close, the ship took the ground. At low water we were high and dry on a fine firm sandbank, the people from the vessel walking about and taking a full and leisurely view of the poor 'Moozuffer,' from her keel up to her hammock-nettings. But her fatal hour had not yet arrived, for that night at high water she floated, when we backed off the bank and anchored. Next morning we got up our anchor and set off again on a voyage of discovery, and had not made much run when the leadsman sang out four and a half fathoms from the chains. At this moment the captain was busily intent in catching with his glass the palmyra-trees at the mouth of the Rangoon river, and did not hear the cry of the leadsman, who presently gave three and a half fathoms, and almost immediately two and a half fathoms, and we were again aground. The palmyra-trees were made out just at the moment we took the ground, and it was then obvious that we had overrun our estimated course and the mouth of the river considerably by the great speed at which she had been going after leaving Khyouk Phyoo, on Monday the 11th. This time, Friday the 15th, the ship had taken up a fatal position in the Sheeing quicksands, eleven miles to the eastward of the Rangoon river, with all the forepart of the vessel, from the engine-room forward to her bow, on the bank, but a considerable depth of water astern. At night she was nearly off, nay, I believe, was actually afloat again; but the backing of the engines was, as it would seem, stopped too soon, and the tide immediately drove her on the bank again, never more to float She now began to evince unequivocal symptoms of dissolution, for on Saturday morning one of her boilers was forced up, and the steam pipes destroyed in consequence, and at the same time it was obvious that her bottom, under the machinery, was seriously injured, as the engines began to evince strong symptoms of a desire to part company, and there were ten feet of water in the ship, the orlop deck, where the passengers' baggage was stowed, being by this time under water. This day, Saturday, we started off the ship's gig to Rangoon, some forty-five miles or so distant, to give the authorities there intelligence of what had happened and of our condition and position, and fortunately the boat made that place the same night in safety. On Sunday morning we had the pleasure of hearing our guns answered, and before long the 'Pluto' and 'Zenobia' hove in sight, and it being high water the former ran alongside of us, the 'Zenobia' anchoring at a short distance from the wreck. We were not long in shifting everything we could save, with our precious selves on board the two steamers, and we reached this place (Rangoon) on Sunday night, fatigued, harassed, and dirty, as you may easily imagine. Had Saturday night been blowy, there is no knowing what might have occurred to us all,

but the weather favoured our escape. They were busy after we left in getting everything they could out of the 'Moozuffer, and for a short time entertained the idea of endeavouring to float her by means of empty casks, but the futility of such an attempt soon became obvious, for she began to settle in the quicksand on which she grounded, and is now abandoned, and, I believe, invisible."

It is told of Commander Hewett, who felt acutely, as a sailor would, the loss of his noble ship, that when his servant brought up to him on deck the sword presented to him by the Court of Directors in acknowledgment of his distinguished services in China, he ordered him to take it below again, for, he added, "it shall never be said of me that I saved anything when my men lost their all." It was an act characteristic of this fine generous-hearted seaman.

The officers and men of the 'Moozuffer' remained at Rangoon until the 'Ferooz' proceeded with them to Bombay, where she arrived from Madras on the 28th of September. Commander Hewett was tried for the loss of the 'Moozuffer,' but was fully and honourably acquitted, not the slightest blame attaching to him or any of his officers,* the loss of the ship being attributable to the thick weather and an error in the dead reckoning.

Misfortunes never come singly, and, before the close of the year, another vessel of the Indian Navy, whose name has repeatedly received honourable mention in these pages, came to grief on the river where, during the past eighteen months, she had performed such good service. On the 9th of December, the 'Medusa,' Lieutenant H. A. Fraser, left Prome for Kamma, fifteen miles to the northward, to resume her station on the river frontier, but had only proceeded about half-way when she struck on a sunken rock, which instantly stove in her bottom close to the second compartment; and the vessel being in a state of extreme weakness, owing to old age and decay, the sudden rush of water destroyed compartment after compartment. The vessel filled so rapidly that some of the officers and crew were obliged to jump overboard and swim for their lives; only one man was drowned, and Lieutenant Fraser succeeded in saving the treasure chest and most of the ship's papers, but everything else, including the clothing of officers and crew, was

* The following were the officers of the 'Moozuffer' at the time of her loss:—Lieutenants Child, Dickson, and Windus, Surgeon Glasse, Purser Gibbon; Acting-Master Freeman, Mates Turner and Davis, Midshipmen Templer, Harries, and Dawkins. With the exception of Acting-Master Freeman and the three midshipmen, none of the above officers had sailed in the 'Moozuffer' from Bombay in February, 1852. Lieutenant Windus, Purser Gibbon, and Mr. Turner had joined her from the 'Sesostris,' and Mr. Davis from the 'Ferooz' Commander Drought returned to Bombay in the 'Ferooz' on the transfer of the 'Sesostris' to the Bengal Marine.

lost, as the vessel had twenty-two feet of water over her deck.* Lieutenant Aylesbury, of the 'Zenobia,' then at Prome in charge of gunboats, was of great assistance, and the guns were recovered.

On his arrival at Bombay, Commodore Lynch resigned the command of the 'Ferooz,' and proceeded to England, thus terminating his naval career. On the occasion of his departure, Sir Henry Leeke issued a General Order, dated the 12th of October, highly eulogistic of his distinguished career. While in England Captain Lynch was enabled to render his country important services, though in a different arena from that in which his talents had hitherto found scope On the conclusion of the Persian War of 1856-57, Captain Lynch, then residing in Paris, was delegated by Lord Palmerston to conduct the negotiations with the Persian Plenipotentiary, which resulted in the Treaty of Paris of the 4th of March, 1857, and he accompanied to London the Envoy, with whom he was a *persona grata* owing to his familiarity with Persian, among other Oriental languages, his intimate knowledge of Eastern customs and modes of thought, his acquaintance with the members of the mission, and his courtly manners. The Shah of Persia, in consideration of his services, nominated him a Knight of the Lion and Sun, an order instituted by a predecessor specially in honour of Sir John Malcolm. Lord Lyons, the British Ambassador at Paris, always applied to Captain Lynch for advice on Eastern matters and, at his death in April, 1873, his loss was keenly, and very generally, regretted by the society of that capital, both English and native, who admired his ready Irish wit, untempered by cynicism, and his exuberant geniality.†

* Lieutenant Fraser and the officers and ship's company of the 'Medusa' were tried by court-martial at Bombay between the 25th and 28th of July, 1854, for the loss of their ship, and were fully acquitted of all blame The Court also recorded "its approbation of the conduct of Lieutenant H A Fraser, and the officers and ship's company then on board the 'Medusa,' in the exertions they made to save that vessel"

† "Galignani's Messenger," in a notice of Captain Lynch, in its issue of the 19th of April, 1873, remarks —

"Persons familiar with Paris society during the last twenty years, will learn with regret the death of Captain Henry Blosse Lynch, C B. He had long made the French capital his home, and gathered around him many sincere friends The deceased officer was a most amiable and unassuming man, of agreeable converse and great intelligence, everyone seemed to like his society, and what is rare, we never heard a single word uttered against him His decease took place at his residence in the Rue Royale St Honoré"

Sir Henry Rawlinson, in his address to the Royal Geographical Society, after describing Captain Lynch's services and comparing him with Ormsby, Wellsted, and Wyburd, continues —

"He was even more gifted than them as a scholar and linguist, and in having those rare qualities of geniality, tact, and temper which command the respect of the wildest as well as less barbarous Orientals. Geographical science, indeed, is indebted to such men as Lynch for its most useful data, for both in his published official reports and the Journal of our Society, we find the maps and papers connected with his name conveying the soundest information. Happily he lived to

Had Captain Lynch not been an officer of the Indian Navy, it is certain that—as in the recent case of Sir Lewis Pelly, who was made a K.C.B. for his negotiations with the Envoy of the Ameer of Afghanistan at Peshawur—he would have received the ribbon of the Bath for his services in connection with the Persian treaty.

On the conclusion of the Burmese War, the Queen's Government conferred the Order of the Bath on three officers of the Royal Navy, but only one of the Indian Navy, the first of the Service to be admitted to its honours, received the coveted distinction. Commodore Lambert was made a K.C.B, and Captains Tarleton and Shadwell, who had, in addition, been promoted from the rank of commander, were awarded the C.B. Commodore Lynch was the fortunate officer to receive the latter distinction, and Commander Campbell, second in seniority, whose services at Rangoon, Bassein, and elsewhere, were very meritorious, received a sword of the value of 200 guineas, and a letter* from the Court of Directors, to the effect that his rank disqualified him from receiving the C.B, a lame excuse, as many instances have occurred in which officers of the rank of Commander—one even in the case of a distinguished officer of his own Service—have received the decoration.

The following General Order was published to the Service under date the 14th of March, 1854:—"The Right Honourable the Governor in Council has much satisfaction in publishing

witness the extended commercial intercourse between Mesopotamia and the adjoining countries with Europe on the one hand, and with India on the other, which he had striven so well to imitate As a Fellow of our Society of thirty-six years' standing, the absence of his well-known face will leave a void amongst us not readily refilled Of the gap beyond, in the circle of his immediate relations and friends, it is hard to speak, our deepest sympathy, however, is with them."

* The following is a copy of the letter.—

"East India House, Feb 7, 1854.

"Sir,—I am commanded to inform you that the Court of Directors of the East India Company have noticed with great satisfaction the flattering terms in which the Government of India has in its Despatches during the recent war in Burmah, made mention of the conduct and services of the several commissioned officers of the Indian Navy who were employed and have distinguished themselves in the course of that war, and in order to show their sense of the conduct of the Indian Navy, they have resolved to confer some special mark of favour and approbation upon yourself as the senior of the Indian naval officers named in the Governor-General's Despatch of the 2nd of July, 1853, your rank being immediately below that which would render you eligible for the honorary distinction of the Bath. It is accordingly the Court's intention to present you with a sword of the value of two hundred guineas, in testimony of the high sense entertained by them of your services in the Burmese War. "I am, &c,

"(Signed) JAMES C. MELVILL."

The sword bore the following inscription:—"Presented by the Court of Directors of the East India Company to Commander Charles Dugald Campbell, of the Indian Navy, as a testimonial of the high sense the Court entertains of his conduct and services in command of the Hon. Company's steam-frigate 'Sesostris' while employed during the war with Burmah in the years 1852 and 1853."

to the Indian Navy the following despatch from the Honourable the Court, No. 4, dated the 11th of January, 1854.

"Par. 1. We have the gratification of apprizing you that among the honours and promotions by special brevet which have been conferred by the Queen upon the East India Company's Military officers, for service during the late operations in Burmah, Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to appoint Captain Henry Blosse Lynch, of the Indian Navy, to be an extra member of the Military Division of the Third Class, or Companion of the most Honourable Order of the Bath.

"2. We also inform you that the Government of India has, in the 22nd and 23rd paragraphs of their despatch in the Secret Department, dated the 2nd of July, 1853, noticed in very flattering terms the conduct and services of the several commissioned officers of the Indian Navy who were employed and have distinguished themselves in the course of the war, and that it has appeared to us that, adverting to that communication and to the other commendatory despatches which have been published in the 'London Gazette,' during the progress of hostile operations, we might very appropriately show our sense of the conduct of the Indian Navy by conferring some special mark of favour and approbation upon Commander Charles Dugald Campbell, who is the senior of the Indian Naval officers named in such despatch of the 2nd of July, 1853, whose rank is immediately below that which would render him eligible for the honorary distinction of the Bath.

"We have accordingly resolved that Commander Charles Dugald Campbell, Indian Navy, be presented with a sword of the value of 200 guineas, with a suitable inscription, in testimony of the high sense entertained by the Court of Directors of his services in the Burmese war."

A like compliment was paid to Commander James Rennie. The Court sent him a complimentary letter, referring to a despatch from the Governor-General in Council, respecting the services rendered by him during the Burmese War, and intimated their intention to present him with a sword of the value of 200 guineas in testimony of their appreciation of his conduct. This resolution of the Court was communicated to the Service in a General Order, dated the 11th of July, 1854.

CHAPTER VI.

1854—1856.

Services of the 'Semiramis' against Soloo Pirates—Launch of the 'Falkland,' 'Assaye,' and 'Punjaub'—The Cyclone at Bombay of the 2nd of November, 1854—Anomalies in the condition of the Service—Exploring Expedition to the Soomali Country and Death of Lieutenant Stroyan—Affairs at Aden—The 'Elphinstone's' crew at Lahej—Transport of the 10th Hussars and 12th Lancers to Suez—Death of Captain Montriou, his Character and Services—The 'Feroos' at Calcutta—The 'Queen' and 'Elphinstone' at Jiddah—Services of the Indian Navy during the years 1854-56—Affairs in the Persian Gulf—Boat Action at El Kateef—British Relations with the Imaum of Muscat.

THE only service of importance performed by ships of the Indian Navy during the continuance of the Burmese war, was rendered by the steam frigate 'Semiramis,' which had been employed in Chinese waters since 1850.

Early in 1852, a squadron was despatched from Singapore against the Soloo pirates, on the north-east coast of Borneo, to avenge the murder, on the 12th of September in the preceding year, of the captain, super-cargo,* and five seamen of the British schooner 'Dolphin,' at Maladu Bay, some leagues above Labuan, in Borneo. The Expedition comprised H.M.S. 'Cleopatra,' Captain Massie, the Hon. Company's steam-frigate 'Semiramis,' Commander Stephens, and the Hon. Company's steamer 'Pluto,' which had brought the 'Dolphin' to Singapore on her being seized and surrendered by a friendly chief. The squadron proceeded to the mouth of the Kiniabatangan river, and despatched fifteen boats up the river to Tunku, the head-quarters of the Soloo pirates.

An officer of the 'Cleopatra' gives the following account of the Expedition which appeared in the "Illustrated London News" of the 29th of May, 1852, with sketches, dated Singapore, the 16th of March, 1852:—

"The 'Cleopatra' sailed from Singapore on the 10th of January, and arrived at Labuan on the 20th, where she was

* The supercargo was Mr Robert Burns, a grandson of the Scotch poet, who had acquired two of the native languages, and had penetrated further into Borneo than any other European. He had written an account of his travels in the "Journal of the Indian Archipelago" for 1849.

joined by the 'Semiramis' and 'Pluto,' the latter vessel bringing Mr. St. John (the political agent for Borneo) and Captain Brooke, from Sarawak, to accompany us on the Expedition. We started again on the 27th, and proceeded alone to Gaya Bay, leaving the steamers behind to complete coaling. The 'Semiramis' joined us at this place, and we proceeded to Maladu Bay, where we remained four days until the 'Pluto' arrived. We all started together on the 7th of February for Tunku, the pirate settlement. This took a week (although only two hundred miles) on account of the coast being quite unexplored, and the sea filled with reefs in all directions. We anchored off the pirate settlement on the morning of the 15th, and immediately hoisted all the boats out, manned and armed them, and sent them, in company with those of the 'Semiramis' and 'Pluto,' to ascend the river Our force consisted of two hundred and fifty men in fifteen boats, seven of which had guns, each of the commanders taking charge of their own men, and Captain Massie superintending the whole. Our pilot, mistaking the river, ascended the wrong one, after having been obliged to haul all the boats over by main strength, it being nearly low water at the time. After trying the different branches, not at all agreeing with the description of the place, we returned in the afternoon. A large war boat was seen in the river. The next morning, the 16th, the boats were sent in the same order to another river, but being low water, found it impossible to cross the bar, they therefore returned to their respective ships till the tide flowed. When the tide had sufficiently flowed (11 30 a.m.), we again started, and after some little trouble succeeded in getting over the bar, and commenced pulling up the river, the leading boats having white flags. After two hours' pulling up a magnificent river, we arrived at the chief's house, and immediately landed the marines and small-arm men. We found the place deserted, but from the appearance of the fires they could only have left a few minutes before. After having been ten minutes here looking round the place, the men in the boats were suddenly fired upon from the jungle, and one man killed and two wounded. The men, thus taken by surprise, instantly seized their arms and fired into the jungle; and as the boats' guns and congreve rockets could be brought to bear, fired in the direction of the smoke. Small-arm men were then landed on both banks, but nothing more was seen of them. The men then embarked and returned down the river to their ships. Next morning the boats reached the chief's house, about six a m and burnt about forty houses. While this was going on, the natives again came down to the same spot (chief's house) and fired on the crews left in the boats, by which one man was killed and two wounded In the afternoon everybody was again embarked, and returned to their ships

before sunset. Next morning, the 19th, after having committed the bodies of the two men who had been killed the day before to the deep, the vessels weighed, and arrived at Labuan on the 28th, where the steamers were left behind to coal. This small cruise will teach these pirates that they are not safe in their own strongholds, and that they are liable to be attacked by our vessels at any time." From Singapore the 'Semiramis' proceeded to Hong Kong, where she arrived on the 30th of March, with twelve of the crew of the late ship 'Herald,' who were all tried for piracy at the criminal sessions of the Supreme Court, and were executed on the 3rd of May The 'Semiramis' sailed on the 8th of April for the northern ports, and, after some further service, proceeded to Bombay, where she arrived on the 13th of April, 1853. Sir Henry Leeke complimented Commander Stephens, in General Orders, for the good service rendered by him during the three years' commission in the China Seas.

About this time the rumours regarding the projected amalgamation of the Bengal Marine with the Indian Navy, gathered increased consistency. On the conclusion of the Burmese war, the Supreme Government, which had always regarded with jealousy the control exercised over the Indian Navy by the Bombay Government, a control inseparable from the circumstance of the noble harbour of that Presidency being the headquarters of the Service, proposed to raise the Bengal Marine to the position of a Navy, and to give the officers fixed emoluments and rank corresponding with the grades of the Indian Navy. The Court of Directors, however, considered it was more expedient to amalgamate the two services, offering to the commanders of the Bengal Marine commissions as masters in the Indian Navy, and, to the junior officers, a gratuity. The commanders, who received 500 rupees a month, memorialized against the injustice, and, as the Governor-General in Council supported their Memorial, in the end, the two services remained distinct. At this time the two ships of the Indian Navy employed to the eastward, were the 'Zenobia' and the 'Berenice,' and the Bengal Marine consisted of the following steamers .—'Sesostris,' 'Tenasserim,' 'Fire Queen,' 'Hooghly,' 'Nemesis,' 'Pluto,' 'Proserpine,' and 'Phlegethon.'

During the year 1852, an order relating to the uniform of the Service was issued by Sir Henry Leeke.*

* The following is the Government General Order —

"Commodore's Office, Bombay, July 29, 1852.

"In consequence of a communication from the Hon Court of Directors, and by direction of the Right Hon the Governor in Council, and to prevent any mistake in the future arrangements of the uniform of the officers of the Indian Navy, I hereby order the following changes to take place:—

"Commodores of 2nd Class and captains of three years' standing: Two gold epaulettes with forty bullions each, a bonnet and crescent, and edging to the

No events of importance occurred during the year 1853 beyond the concluding operations of the Burmese war, and the launch, in November, of an eighteen-gun sailing corvette of 494 tons, called the 'Falkland,' after the Governor, Lord Falkland. On the 19th of November she was commissioned by Commander John Stephens, late of the 'Semiramis,' but, on the 26th of January, 1854, he was superseded* by Commander H. H. Hewett, who had been residing at the Mahableshwur Hills for the benefit of his health since his return to Bombay. The 'Falkland' was a perfect model of a small ship of war, and with her square spars and tapering masts, having the tauntness almost of a thirty-six gun frigate, was the admiration of Bombay Harbour.

In this year (1854)† two fine steam-frigates were added to the Service. On the 15th of March, the 'Assaye,' which had been a little over two years in building, was launched, the

strap, devices, an anchor surmounted by a grenade, above that the lion Captains under three years—The same epaulettes, devices, an anchor surmounted by a lion Commanders—Two epaulettes, gold bullions 3¼ inches long, 1⅛ inch in circumference, device, a lion Lieutenants—Two plain gold epaulettes, bullion 3 inches long, 1⅛ inch in circumference, no device All the devices on the epaulettes are to be of silver Pursers—Two epaulettes of gold, the same bullion as lieutenants, but silver strap Secretary to Commander-in-chief—The same as pursers, with a golden lion on the strap Surgeons—The same as pursers The epaulettes of all grades are to be loose bullion, and the present box and jacket epaulettes are to be discontinued

"And as much inconvenience has arisen from a want of uniformity of dress for the officers of the Service (more particularly so when waiting upon their superiors), who, from the variety of orders given, and from there being at present six or seven different dresses worn, can scarcely know which is right, I beg it to be distinctly understood that I have no objection to the surtout coat being continued without epaulettes, as worn by the officers of the Royal Navy, and with distinctive lace on the cuffs, as follows, viz —

"Commodores of 2nd Class—Four rows ⅛ inch wide Captains—Three rows ¼ inch wide Commanders and Secretary to Commander-in-chief—Two rows ¼ inch wide Lieutenants—One row ¼ inch wide The surtout coat of all other officers to be plain The coat to be of blue cloth or kerseymere, double-breasted, and with the Hon Company's buttons, and to be worn only by officers above and with the rank of purser Jackets and round hats to be worn on board the ship, if permitted by the captains or commanding officer Mates and midshipmen when on duty at the dockyard or rigging loft, may wear a blue cloth jacket The caps of all officers down to the rank of clerk and of 1st Class engineers and 1st Class boatswains, gunners, and carpenters, are to be surmounted with the Company's lion"

* Some of the crew of the 'Falkland' had refused to obey a negro boatswain, and, by sentence of court-martial, were transported By an exercise of authority which excited much adverse criticism in the Service and the Bombay Press, Sir Henry Leeke superseded Commander Stephens, an officer whom he had, shortly before, highly complimented for the efficiency and high state of discipline in which he had brought back the 'Semiramis' from her three years' commission in China

† In this year also an iron river-steamer for navigating the Indus, called the 'Lady Falkland,' constructed by Messrs Laird, at a cost of £15,000, and sent out in pieces to Bombay, had been launched from the dockyard, but her career was very brief, for, when proceeding to her destination in tow of the 'Berenice,' she foundered on the 6th of May, being totally unable to meet the heavy seas which she encountered on the passage.

ceremony taking place at midnight in the presence of Lord Elphinstone, Rear-Admiral* Sir Henry and Lady Leeke, and nearly three hundred guests, who repaired to the scene of the launch from the dockyard, where an extemporised ball-room had been fitted up. This fine steam-frigate was 277 feet in length "over all," and 39½ feet extreme breadth; her tonnage was 1,800, and horse-power, 650. Owing to the non arrival of her engines, she was not ready for sea until the following October, and, upon the 17th, was commissioned by Commander John W. Young. On the 21st of April her sister-ship, the 'Punjaub,' was launched; this beautiful frigate was seven feet longer than the 'Assaye,' and was fitted with engines of 700 horse-power. Commander Young made over charge of the 'Assaye' to Commander Daniell on the 21st of December, and, on the 2nd of January following, assumed command of the 'Punjaub.'

Bombay will not soon forget the memorable cyclone which burst over it at midnight of the 1st of November, 1854, desolating the city and strewing the harbour with wrecks. The wind veered round the compass, and, at three a.m. of the 2nd of November, the pressure of the wind actually registered 35 lbs. to the square foot† On the following morning Bombay harbour presented a scene of desolation; five square-rigged ships and three steamers were on shore, most of them dismasted, and one hundred and forty-two smaller craft, mostly native, were wrecked. The 'Assaye' drifted towards the Castle walls and carried away her bowsprit, but was fortunately saved from total shipwreck by the exertions of her officers and men. The 'Hastings,' receiving ship, drove from her moorings, sprung a leak, and, while being towed by the 'Queen,' fouled the ship 'Mystery;' and, ultimately, after battering against the fort walls, which she damaged to a considerable extent, was brought to Mazagon in the last stage of decrepitude; and, though she was patched up sufficiently to do duty a little longer as receiving ship, the old frigate was soon consigned to the limbo of the ship-breaker's yard. The surveying brig, 'Palinurus,' was dismasted, and got aground off the dockyard breakwater, where her situation was one of extreme peril, until she floated off with the tide. The Governor's and Sir Henry Leeke's barges, and nearly all the pleasure yachts and bunder boats usually moored off the Apollo bunder, were lost, and the cutters 'Margaret,' 'Nerbudda,' and 'Maldiva' were

* Sir Henry was placed on the Retired List of the Royal Navy with the rank of Rear-Admiral. On the 26th of May in this year, Captain F T. Powell was appointed Assistant-Superintendent

† Equal to a force of 280 lbs against a man weighing 182 lbs, or 13 stone, and presenting a surface of eight square feet The gardens were described as looking as if "a roller had passed over them," the streets were strewed with tiles and *débris*, and the loss of property was enormous.

seriously damaged. The 'Elphinstone' had a narrow escape, as she grounded off the Custom House basin, and was only got afloat by the discipline and smartness of the crew and skill of the officers; backing astern, she set a staysail and threaded her way through the crowded harbour to the anchorage outside the shipping.

The paucity of commissioned officers in the Service, which had long been a serious bar to its efficiency, was more apparent in 1854-55 than at any previous time. Since 1847, when the last augmentation had taken place, the number of ships had been increased by the addition of the corvette 'Falkland,' and the steam-frigates 'Ferooz,' 'Ajdaha,' 'Zenobia,' 'Assaye,' and 'Punjaub,' while a large fifty-gun screw frigate and a smaller steamer were building at Bombay. Of the eight captains on the strength of the Service, three held shore appointments, viz., the Indian Navy Storekeeper, Master-Attendant at Bombay, and Assistant-Superintendent, who also commanded the Commander-in-chief's flag-ship; and three held commands afloat—the commodore in the Persian Gulf, senior officer at Aden, and Superintendent of the Indus flotilla. Owing, however, to a portion of the captains being always absent on furlough or sick leave, some of these commands were held by commanders Again, in the latter part of 1855, out of the sixteen commanders on the strength of the establishment, there were six in England, two were employed on survey duty, one was in charge of the Indus flotilla, leaving a total of only seven for naval duties; as there were nine vessels in commission, which were regular commander's commands, two of these were held by lieutenants, who, however, were as amply qualified for the duties as any post-captains. The evils of the paucity of officers were most seriously apparent among the lieutenants; of the sixty-eight on the list, only thirty-eight were available for active employment: of these, eight held commands, nine were on staff employ or surveying, one was employed under the Bengal government, leaving twenty for the ordinary duties of lieutenants. Now at this time, exclusive of the 'Victoria,' 'Berenice,' and 'Euphrates,' there were the following fifteen vessels employed as men-of-war:—'Assaye,' 'Punjaub,' 'Akbar,' (guard ship), 'Ajdaha,' 'Ferooz,' 'Auckland,' 'Falkland,' 'Clive,' 'Elphinstone,' 'Queen,' 'Semiramis,' 'Zenobia,' 'Tigris,' 'Mahi,' and 'Constance,' requiring at least thirty-nine lieutenants. To make up the deficiency, mates, directly after passing their examinations, and having only five years' actual sea service, were created acting-lieutenants,*

* In the Squadron Orders of August, 1854, when the rank of acting-lieutenant was first largely introduced, owing to the pressing want of officers, the following mates were promoted to the provisional rank from the 10th of that month — Messrs. Barker, Carew, R Carey, Clarkson, Douglas, Forster, Mason, Rushton,

oftentimes to be reduced again when the immediate necessity had passed, while midshipmen kept the watches on board the 'Tigris,' 'Constance,' and 'Mahi,' and oftentimes on board the sloops-of-war: and, indeed, it was a rarity to see more than one "*pucka*" lieutenant in any of the ships of the Indian Navy. An officer seldom remained more than six months in one ship; and it need scarcely be said that this constant chopping and changing militated against efficiency, as, generally, officers returning from a cruise had but just got to know their men, when they were ordered into another ship about to sail from Bombay, to make up her deficiency. That the Service was maintained in its high state of efficiency, was certainly marvellous, and most creditable to the officers, though, perhaps, it was in a measure due to their being uninterruptedly employed, for no sooner had a ship arrived from a lengthened absence on a foreign station, than the officers were draughted to another about to sail; and this went on during the whole period of their service in India. But, on the other hand, the policy of the Court of Directors in keeping an insufficient staff of officers to perform the duties of a considerable fleet, was the reverse of a wise economy, as, owing to the heavy and unremitting labour, a large number of officers were always absent on sick-leave

In 1835, there were twenty-one vessels in all, of which only one was a steamer, the tonnage of the whole being barely 4,500; while, in 1855, there were eleven steam-frigates and sloops, of 12,774 tons, fifteen iron river-steamers, of 6,026 tons, and fifteen sailing vessels, of 2,941 tons—the grand total of tonnage, including two harbour steamers and eleven flats, being 24,159 tons. The officers were worse off than in those days, their prospects less promising, and their work heavier, notwithstanding the augmentations of 1839, 1841, and 1847, and the admission of officers from the merchant service, who were employed in the river-steamers, with the rank of acting-master. The Chairman of the Board of Directors expressed his anxiety for the efficiency of the Service and his acknowledgment of their services, when he stated, "that the value of the force to the Empire of India had been so frequently manifested and acknowledged, that the Court would merely revert to

Skelton, Taylor, Trollope, Wood, J. Carpendale, and Duval From this time it became the ordinary practice to create midshipmen acting-lieutenants on being commissioned as mates The Bombay Government, under date, 8th of August, 1855, published, for the information of the Service, the following extract from a despatch of the Court of Directors of the previous 30th of May —"We take this opportunity of expressing our desire that the mates of the Indian Navy should be appointed by commission, as more in conformity with the practice which obtains with respect to mates in the Royal Navy, with whom they take relative rank."

the point, as now more than ever desirous of consideration, with reference to our line of coast on the north-west; but, like any other force of a similar character, its value must depend upon the state of efficiency in which it is maintained, and hence the great anxiety the Court feel in the decisions on the questions at issue" But in what practical form was this anxiety expressed? The numerous staff appointments, formerly enjoyed by them, were now almost all swept away. Honours were denied to the officers on the most hollow pretexts, while they were lavished upon those of the sister Services. No matter what their standing and experience, officers of every grade in the Indian Navy were subordinate to, and, when acting together, under the control of, the junior of that grade in the Royal service—an invidious distinction which had long ceased in the Royal and Indian Armies The degradation was keenly felt by the Service, and was brought into prominence during the Burmese War, where officers of great experience in river service, like Lynch, Campbell, and Hewett, were passed over in preference for commanders in the Royal Service, while frequently lieutenants of twenty years' uninterrupted service afloat, found themselves placed under the orders of officers far their juniors

On the question of emoluments, the position of the two Services was equally anomalous, though, probably, this statement will be received with surprise by all those who fancied that, on this point at least, the Indian officers were in a better position than their Royal brethren. The captains and commanders of both Services had about equal emoluments; but commanding Royal officers received freight money for carrying public treasure, a privilege which, though formerly enjoyed by Indian officers, was now denied to them, and, in addition, the former received a stipulated allowance from the Company while employed in Indian waters. But, while the Court gave to all ranks a lower scale of furlough pay than that granted to officers of the same grade in their military forces, the lieutenants serving in India had the most cause to complain. Indian Naval lieutenants received only 145 rupees a month, or £174 per annum—from which a considerable reduction was made for the Service Widow and Orphan Fund—which was a lower scale of pay than is granted to lieutenants of the British Navy, serving at home. But this alone did not represent the difference in favour of the latter, as the ward-room messes of the Royal Navy on the Indian station, received an additional allowance from the Court of Directors.* This anomaly was twice repre-

* Lieutenants R N of seven years' standing, doing duty as senior of a ship, receive £200 yearly pay, and all others £182, their duties are lighter as the ships are fully officered, and their mess stores are obtained at wholesale prices. Also,

sented to the Court, in Memorials, to which they replied by peremptorily declining to comply with the prayer of the petitioners. The mates of the Indian Navy received only 80 rupees a month, increased to 100 rupees after eight years' service—a less sum than is paid to officers of a corresponding rank in the Royal Service—and midshipmen only received 50 rupees per mensem, without an allowance by parents or guardians being obligatory, as in the sister Service. Both these ranks were expected also to subscribe to the Indian Navy Fund out of their meagre pay. The fact was, therefore, that the pay of these ranks, particularly of the three junior grades, was insufficient for their support in respectability in India, but the Court turned a deaf ear to all remonstrances and representations. That under these depressing influences, the officers of the Indian Navy, unlike their brethren of the Army, who *forced* the Court to concede higher pay and emoluments, remained true and faithful to their masters, and were ever ready and efficient in time of war, speaks more for their loyalty and patriotism than volumes of eulogy.*

directly they arrive in the Indian Seas, they receive from the Indian Government the following allowances per annum, in addition to their pay —

	Indian Pay Rs	Royal Pay £	Total £
Commander-in-chief . .	30,000	2,555	5,555 per annum.
Commodore in command .	15,000	1,066	2,566
Commodore second ditto .	10,000	940	1,940
Every Captain	5,000	701 575 450	1,201 1,075 950
Every Commander . . .	2,500	300	550

Lieutenants' messes receive the following allowances —

	Rs
3rd rate	2,500
4th rate	2,000
5th rate	1,750
6th rate	1,250
All vessels commanded by a Commander	850

There are other allowances granted them, such as house rent, if doing duty ashore, and an officer in command of a vessel gets freight on Government treasure at the rate of from ¼ to 1 per cent. according to distance The privilege has been a fortune to many On private freight they receive from ¼ to 2 per cent. In the Indian Navy, freight on Government treasure was not allowed, and, on private freight, they received only ½ per cent They formerly received from ¼ to 2 per cent, and were responsible for ¼ of any loss, but were cut down to ½ per cent, and made answerable for the full value of any loss Consequently no officer cared to carry treasure under such conditions

* The "Friend of India," in August, 1854, acknowledged that if "a feeling which approaches discontent, constantly makes itself manifest among them, it is not without foundation" "Their pay," it added, "is scarcely on the Indian scale, their promotion is wretchedly behindhand, their nominal rank only serves to render their practical subjection to the Royal Navy more irksome and humiliating. They are in the position in which the Company's officers were placed before the great Indian reform, when they could never practically attain a higher rank than that of captain Their services scarcely meet with the reward which becomes brave men or a grateful Government. The personal efforts of the

There were two other points on which the Service had just cause of complaint at the period at which we have arrived. One, in direct antagonism to every scheme having for its object the efficiency of the Service—which, as we have seen, the Chairman of the Court stated the Directors had so much at heart—was the employment of steam-frigates as packet ships, by which it was impossible to train the men to their duty as gunners, and all attempts at smartness and discipline were rendered abortive.* The mail service was also rendered still more unpalatable by an order from the Court, some two or three years before, by which the officers were deprived of the *batta* formerly allowed to them. This extra pay, small as it was, was granted as a small remuneration for the discomforts and inconveniences to which the officers were subjected by their cabins being appropriated to passengers; the Company received the passage-money, and denied their officers any compensation for robbing them of the accommodation to which they were legally entitled! And yet it was stated in evidence before the House of Commons some years before, that the Service had not only naught to complain of, but the officers were happy and contented with their lot. From the first establishment of the packet service, the entire body of officers felt the duties derogatory to them as commissioned gentlemen ranking with the Army, and officers like Captain Campbell, who were the salt of the Service, complained of the indignities to which they were subjected by the duties thrust upon them. This was so far back as 1838, and the Court ordered that the commanding officers should not be required to sign returns like masters of merchantmen.

During the continuance of the Burmese War, the monthly line of packets between Suez and Bombay, was run by the 'Ajdaha,' 'Akbar,' and 'Victoria,' the latter a serviceable, but slow, vessel of small horse-power. Formerly the officers commanding the steamers employed in the packet service, were senior lieutenants, but when the steam frigates, 'Ajdaha' and 'Ferooz,' which also carried the mails before the Burmese War,

Governor-General secured for Captain Rennie a local recognition, but his companions obtained for their Burmese sufferings only money, and even the fortunate exception gained nothing valuable at home" A Committee, consisting of a Member of Council, the Commander-in-chief of the Indian Navy, the Master-Attendant, the Assistant-Superintendent, and the Military Paymaster, was ordered by the Court of Directors at this time to assemble for the purpose of inquiring into the grievances, and report upon the state, of the Indian Navy The general result of this investigation, as regards increased full and furlough pay, rank and other pressing grievances, was, however, *nil*

* A writer to the "London Mail" of the 24th of November, 1853, observes:—"Picture to yourself an officer and gentleman, brought up in all the strictness of a man-of-war's etiquette and cleanliness, made to preside over the system in vogue, and can it be wondered at that the packet service is detested by every officer in the Indian Navy? It is looked upon by them as derogatory to a gentleman."

were built, the Court directed that the commands should be held by commanders. Formerly, also, the commanding officers supplied the servants and provisions, but, in 1847 or 1848, Government gave the provisioning of the passengers and supply of the servants, to a Parsee contractor, who, of course, tried to make all he could out of the contract. The complaints of the public were now loud and frequent, but there was no help for them, as the captain was not responsible.

Soon after the appointment of Commodore Lushington, much discussion had occurred in England on the condition of the Indian Navy, and a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the subject In May, 1850, Sir Charles Wood, the Chancellor of the Exchequer expressed himself strongly against the principle of employing ships of war in the packet service, and procured the transference of these duties to the Peninsular and Oriental Company; but, nevertheless, the change was not carried out until Sir Charles Wood, now presiding over the Board of Control, carried into effect his own recommendations made to the Court some years before. The contract for the conveyance of mails and passengers was given to the Peninsular and Oriental Company, and the steamers of the Indian Navy were reserved for purely naval duties.

The second point referred to above, which was an anomaly such as probably never before existed where common sense ruled the day, was the fact that the administration of the Indian Navy was subject to the control of a Military Board and a Military Audit Department, so that military officers, who did not know the difference between the main-sheet and a sprit-sail yard, allowed or disallowed the expenditure of stores according as their wisdom prompted them, thus causing endless delays to officers before their accounts were passed, vexatious, and, oftentimes, ridiculous references being made to them long after they had quitted their ships.* Formerly the Military

* The following anecdotes, told in the Service, illustrate the profound ignorance of the Military Board as regards nautical matters —

A master sent in his expense and supply books to be audited at that office; a spar, it appeared, had been expended during the cruise of the vessel, and to prove that such was the fact, he appended to his accounts a copy of the ship's log, wherein it was shown that on such a day, and at such an hour, the main-topsail-yard was carried away, and immediately replaced by another. The Board, however, not knowing the precise meaning of the technical term "carried away," imagined that the yard had been clandestinely taken off by some one, and, in the plenitude of their wisdom, they sent the account books back to the master, with a letter, calling upon him for an explanation, and intimating at the same time that it was a highly reprehensible proceeding, to permit any article, the property of Government, to be carried away without some authority for so doing, and in the absence of this authority, the master would either be charged the full value of the missing spar, or he was to have it brought back again.

Another instance, still more ludicrous, occurred on board one of the steamers.— The master, or accountant, it seems, had used more rope and plank than was

Board was aided in Marine matters by a naval officer or secretary, but that appointment was abolished, notwithstanding strenuous opposition on the part of Commodore Lushington.

The Court of Directors had always reserved to themselves the entire patronage and management of the Marine, and there was so much maladministration in consequence, that, says a writer, in the "Deccan Herald" of the 8th of May, 1863, "bills occurred for stores sent out from home amounting to between £80,000 and £90,000, and so carelessly were these selected that from £20,000 to £30,000 worth were sold annually in Bombay."

The evil policy of employing the ships of war as packet and passenger vessels was abandoned with the happiest results in the improved discipline and efficiency of the Service, but the anomalies as to pay and supervision of accounts, were continued to the last, and were only abrogated with the abolition of the Indian Navy.

In the year 1854, the French steam frigate 'Cayman' was lost off Zeyla, on the Soomali coast, when Captain Frushard, commanding the 'Semiramis,' with praiseworthy alacrity proceeded to her assistance, and conveyed the officers, crew, and stores to Aden.*

his established allowance for so many months, and he was sorely puzzled how to account for the deficiency, when one of his messmates, on a sudden thought, suggested that he should expend the articles he was short of as follows, viz —forty fathoms of 3-inch rope for twiddling lines, and twenty feet of 3-inch plank for tommy noddies, as he was quite certain, if his sage advice was only adhered to, that the Military Board would not notice it The Master took the hint, the entry as above was made in the books, and they were duly forwarded It will scarcely be believed that the accounts were passed by the Board without a single question being asked as to what was meant by twiddling lines and tommy noddies As to the latter, it would have been a puzzle for the master himself to explain what that article was, such a thing never having been heard of The former is well known to be a sort of twine or cord used generally for man-ropes, boats' yoke-lines, and other similar purposes, but it is made of white line, and not of junk

The above incidents, we believe, actually took place, though we do not personally vouch for them, certainly, as the Italians say, "*se non e vero e ben trovato*"

* Captain Frushard writes to us —

"I had arrived with the mails from India during the night, and in the forenoon saw a Native craft coming in, and my glass soon told me there was an officer in her He came on board the 'Semiramis' at once, and reported his vessel a wreck off Zeyla I sent word to Commander Montriou (the senior officer at Aden), and as soon as I had taken on board coal enough, started for Zeyla, and there I found the 'Cayman,' high and dry upon one of the inner reefs. Fortunate it was for them that the wreck was there, for a few miles away on either side, and the Soomalies would have considered her a godsend. Old Shirmakhi, the Sheikh of Zeyla, was an old and proved friend of ours, and had given some huts in the town for the use of the 'Cayman's' crew, and assisted in sending the news to Aden I received on board and conveyed to Aden the captain, officers, crew, sails, arms, ammunition, tanks, hammocks, and a vast amount of general salvage, including even a lot of the fittings of her cabins. The 'Elphinstone' arrived at Zeyla before I left, and brought over chains, anchors,

In the same year an Expedition, for geographical purposes, was organised at Bombay, which merits some notice here, as an officer of the Indian Navy was one of the party, and was the only one who fell a victim to the treachery of the natives. This Expedition, which was started under the auspices of the Bombay Government, had for its object the exploration of the Soomali country, and was placed under the command of Captain Richard Burton, of the 18th Bombay Native Infantry, the now world-renowned traveller, who had already earned a reputation by his adventurous visit to Mecca in the disguise of a Mahommedan. The other members of the party were Lieutenant Stroyan, of the Indian Navy, a surveyor of high scientific attainments, Lieutenant Herne, 1st Bombay Fusiliers, and Lieutenant Speke, of the Bengal Army, immortalised by his discovery of Lake Victoria Nyanza. Captain Burton successfully accomplished a preliminary journey to Harrar, which had never before been visited by any other European, Lieutenant Speke penetrated into the country of the Warasingali tribe of Soomalies, and Lieutenants Herne and Stroyan remained at Berbera during the annual fair, to acquire information regarding that port. All four met at Berbera in April, 1855. with the intention of accompanying the return kafilah inland to Ogaden. The fair at Berbera terminated on the 15th of April, when the last inhabitants of that late populous town proceeded into the interior; on the 18th a baghalah entered the creek, and the nacoda and crew were entertained by the officers who, most providentially as it turned out, detained the vessel all night in the harbour. The travellers retired to rest that night as usual, and about two a.m., on the following morning, were attacked by a body of one hundred and fifty to two hundred well armed Soomalies, chiefly of the Esa Moosa tribe, at whose approach the servants, almost without exception, took to flight, leaving their masters to defend themselves as they best could. Lieutenant Stroyan was killed before he could reach his arms, Lieutenant Burton was wounded by a spear, which passed through his cheek, dividing the palate, Lieutenant Speke was taken prisoner, wounded in several places, but managed to effect his escape almost by a miracle, and Lieutenant Herne alone remained unscathed. The entire property and baggage of the Expedition were plundered, and the surviving officers, with the few servants who remained faithful to them, took refuge in the baghalah, carrying with them the remains of Lieutenant Stroyan, which they committed to the deep during their passage to

&c., and all were housed in the store-rooms at Aden till a vessel came from Reunion and took away the bulk The only notice I ever received for this, though done entirely on my own responsibility, was the offer through the Consul at Bombay, of a gold medal from the French Government. As this was not till three years after the salvage, I declined to receive it, as coming too late."

Aden. A demand was made by Brigadier Coghlan on the elders of the tribes for the surrender of the principal instigators of this unprovoked outrage, who were well known by name, and it was enforced by a rigid blockade of their coast, maintained by the 'Elphinstone' and 'Mahi,' which stopped the entire trade of Berbera during the seasons of 1855-56, thus inflicting a severe punishment on the offending tribe. The Soomali chiefs showed every disposition to comply with the demands made upon them, but they were unable to do so to the full extent, as most of the offenders escaped to other tribes, and thus were beyond their reach, and only one man, who bore the mark of a gunshot wound on his back, was sent to Aden a prisoner. At length Government, satisfied that all had been done which was within the power of the tribe, consented to the withdrawal of the blockade, upon certain conditions, which was embodied in a treaty, and, in November, 1856, the blockading vessel was recalled.*

On the 2nd of December, 1856, the 'Elphinstone,' Captain Frushard,† sailed from Bombay for Zanzibar, carrying Captains

* Captain Playfair's "History of Arabia Felix"

† Captain Frushard was enabled to render an important service to his Government in the year 1848, on the occasion of the first voyage of the 'Ferooz' to Suez The incident is worthy of record as showing the description of civil duties, unostentatiously performed, and oftentimes unchronicled, which the officers of the Indian Navy rendered to their own and the Home Governments Captain Frushard writes—"I had just anchored at Suez when the Vice Consul (Levick, I think, was his name) came on board and gave me a letter from Mr Murray, the Consul-General in Egypt, addressed to the Commander of any vessel of the Indian Navy arriving at Suez, which was to the effect that Abbas Pasha, late Governor of Cairo, was about to proceed on the pilgrimage to Mecca, that he had on all occasions evidenced his friendliness to the English, and treated foreign visitors to Cairo with great distinction, and he, Mr Murray, deemed it desirable that Abbas Pasha should be conveyed to Jiddah by any vessel of the Indian Navy, if possible The Vice-Consul Levick also told me, as from Mr Murray, that on the return of Ibrahim Pasha from England, he had accused Abbas of malversation during his governorship of Cairo, and it was probable Ibrahim on that, or some other protest, would put Abbas 'out of the way,' and Mr Levick added that 'Abbas was then in Suez' I went on shore and called upon Abbas Pasha and offered to convey him to Jiddah, at which he was greatly pleased, and wished to go off *at once*, although I told him I was not ready, as I had to take in coal However, I took him on board in my gig, and lucky it was for him, for that same afternoon a number of Ibrahim Pasha's followers arrived at Suez, and I then learnt that Abbas Pasha had escaped from Cairo the night before The next day a large party of priests, boys, and followers embarked, and I proceeded to Jiddah, leaving an official for the commander of any vessel that might arrive to take on my mails to Bombay, if they came during my absence Abbas and most of his followers talked only Turkish Arabic, but his medical man was an Italian, who spoke French well, and my purser, Cole,(*a*) was well up in Arabic, and so we got on swimmingly The morning after landing Abbas at Jiddah, I left for Suez On the afternoon of my arrival there, Nubar Bey came from Cairo with a despatch from Mr Murray, apprising me of the death of Ibrahim Pasha, and the great importance and necessity for Abbas Pasha's return, Abbas now being Viceroy. I immediately left again for Jiddah, taking Nubar Bey with his despatches.

(*a*) Mr. Cole was afterwards for many years British Consul at Jiddah.

Burton and Speke on their first exploration of Equatorial Africa. After a brief stay at Zanzibar, where the officers received great kindness from the Sultan, and the British Consul and Hon. Company's Agent, Colonel Hamerton—who died on the ensuing 5th of July—the 'Elphinstone' sailed for Aden, where Captain Frushard performed the duty of senior naval officer, to which he had been appointed from the 3rd of August, until his departure to England, on sick leave, in 1858.

We will now give some details of affairs at Aden, taking up the thread of the narrative from the year 1848, the point at which we had left off. The Red Sea squadron of the Indian Navy found ample employment in keeping the Arab tribes and the Soomalies on the opposite coast, to their treaty engagements, or in punishing them for repeated outrages.

The first of a series which for many years complicated the relations of the British with the Arab tribes near Aden, occurred on the 29th of May, 1850. A boat from the Hon. Company's steam-frigate 'Auckland,' proceeded to the north coast of the harbour, and the crew, having ventured on shore, were attacked by a body of Bedouins from Bir Ahmed;

Abbas was at Mecca on our arrival at Jiddah, and I despatched Cole and Nubar Bey on dromedaries to find him They were fortunate, and returned with him, when I sailed at once and landed him in Suez on the eighth or ninth day after Ibrahim Pasha's death, and so saved much trouble in Egypt, for already there were four parties in the field—Ibrahim Pasha's sons, the Army, the Priests, and the faction from Constantinople I received the approval of the Home and Bombay Governments, but, until then, I had my doubts whether I should not be "checked" for the coal I had expended

"Before reaching Suez, Nubar Bey came to me and said the Pasha wished me to accept a sum of money in purses I don't remember how many, but as a purse is £15, I know the total was a goodly sum. I told Nubar to inform the Pasha I could not accept one, the rules of the Service expressly forbidding it. At Suez a crowd of notables from Cairo greeted our landing, among them a Colonel Bonthron, or some such name, who was one of Ibrahim Pasha's suite when on his visit to England, and Abbas gave me into his charge to be escorted to Cairo, where I was lodged in the palace of the Foreign Minister The director of the principal hotel came daily for orders about meals, &c, 'by order,' also various officers to know where I wished to visit, and my servants might each have had a carriage had I willed so. The palaces were open to me, a review of the cavalry was ordered expressly for my pleasure, and on all occasions of my visiting or driving with the Viceroy, I was received with marked distinction and seated in the place of honour, and I found that he had daily information of how I had been attended to Of course I was a 'big man' in Cairo, and had no end of suppliants for my good word to the 'Supreme Head.' Although presents were offered me, I never accepted more than an amber mouth-piece, the value of which I gave, on leaving Cairo, as gratuities to those who had attended upon me.

"I had a very gratifying reception on taking leave, and while he lived, I had several letters from Nubar Bey, written by direction of the 'Supreme Head' (as he termed the Viceroy), all showing that Abbas Pasha had a lively remembrance of what we had done for him In one he said he had 'ordered a yacht to be built, to be called the 'Ferooz'.' In another that 'I and the officers of the 'Feroos' were to be free of the Desert.' Again, 'That he had ordered a carriage from London for me, which, however, never reached me.'"

one man was killed, and a boy, who was wounded, and another seaman, saved their lives by running round the coast to the Barrier gate, while the remainder swam off to a waterboat which happened to be near at hand. Shortly afterwards a Sepoy of the 3rd Madras Native Infantry was wounded at the Barrier gate, by a fanatic, who was shot by the sentry. On the 28th of February, 1854, a party of officers from the garrison, consisting of Captain Milne, of the Bombay Army, Lieutenant M'Pherson, of H.M's 78th Highlanders, Lieutenants Ogilvie and Henchy, of the Madras Artillery, and Mr. Saulez, proceeded into the interior for antelope shooting, being accompanied to Lahej by Lieutenant Cruttenden, of the Indian Navy, Assistant Political Agent, who, having procured an escort from the Sultan for their protection, returned to Aden. The party spent the following night at a neighbouring village, inhabited entirely by Syuds, or descendants of the Prophet, where they imprudently dismissed their guard. In the middle of the night, a fanatic, named Syud Hoossein, succeeded in gaining entrance to the courtyard, where they were sleeping, and killed Captain Milne, and wounded Lieutenant M'Pherson and Mr. Saulez, and, making his escape, found refuge with Ahmed bin Abdulla, the Foudtheli Sultan. A few days later, on the 27th of March, an armed Arab, from Bir Ahmed, contrived to evade the police at Steamer Point, and landed at Aden, with the intention, it was supposed, of assassinating the Political Agent, Captain Haines. The first European he met was Lieutenant Delisser, of H.M.'s 78th Highlanders, whom he attacked, when that officer, who was riding, dismounted, and grappled with the assassin, and, after having received several wounds, killed him with his own jembea, or Arab dagger. The body was subsequently hung in chains at the Barrier gate, through which all the Arabs from the interior had to pass on entering Aden. On the 4th of June, in the same year, a Sepoy was wounded outside the Barrier gate, and, on the 12th of July following, some of the crew of the merchant vessel, 'Sons of Commerce,' which had been wrecked at Koobet Sailan, having landed, were attacked, and two men murdered and the wreck plundered by the subjects of the Lahej Sultan. The captain and four of the crew proceeded to Aden, where they arrived on the following day, when the 'Elphinstone,' Lieutenant Batt, was despatched with some troops, and brought the survivors in safety to Aden. Lieutenant Lithgow, first of the 'Elphinstone,' proceeded on shore to examine the wreck, when a body of four hundred Arabs opened fire upon the boat. As the wreck was beyond rescue and the weather very boisterous, the 'Elphinstone' returned to Aden. The chief instigator of this outrage, was seized by the Sultan of Lahej, and executed on the 27th of

October, thus affording a proof of the friendship of himself and his people, the Abdali.

The combined Foudtheli and Akrabi now carried on incessant depredations, and supplies were constantly stopped, to the great distress of the inhabitants and garrison of Aden, while the Sultan of the Abdali expressed his inability to protect the communication between Aden and the interior, and repress the aggressions of his neighbours. The only means of punishing these troublesome allies, at the disposal of the Political Resident, who was debarred, by orders from Bombay, from undertaking hostile operations, was by blockading Bir Ahmed and Shugra by the ships of the Red Sea squadron, and excluding members of the offending clans from Aden. This course was adopted, and the 'Elphinstone' blockaded the Foudtheli coast, while, at the same time, friendly relations were formed with other tribes in the vicinity of Aden, who were thereby detached from a threatened coalition with the Foudtheli against our ally, Sultan Ali Mahsin of the Abdali.

Such was the state of affairs towards the end of 1855, at which time Sultan Ali suddenly came to terms with the Foudtheli, and the latter expressed an earnest desire to make peace with the British, and promised to respect and preserve the roads leading to Aden. Brigadier (now General Sir William) Coghlan, the Commandant and Political Resident at Aden, found it expedient to accept these advances, and so far to relax his hostility as to raise the blockade of Shugra, and permit the Foudthelis free access to Aden; the question of the restoration of the annual stipend, withheld from the Foudtheli Sultan since the murder of Captain Milne, was, however, reserved until the sincerity of these protestations of peace had been further proved. This arrangement was acceded to chiefly at the request of Sultan Ali; but, no sooner did he see a prospect of a permanent peace between the Foudtheli and the English, than he used every artifice in his power to prevent it.*

At this time also the Akrabi tribe tendered their submission, and the roads being open, supplies were abundant in Aden.

* "Early in 1857, says Captain Playfair, to whose valuable "History of Arabia Felix" we are much indebted, "the Akrabi tribe tendered their submission and sued for friendship. These overtures were accepted, and thus an end was put to all the differences which had so long complicated the relations between the authorities of Aden and the neighbouring tribes The results of these measures left nothing to be desired, the roads were open and secure, and supplies abundant, while the Foudtheli and Akrabi ceased from their depredations. The Sultan Ali of Abdali, chagrined at good relations being thus established between his neighbours and the British, demanded toll upon the wells of Sheikh Othman, from which the town and shipping of Aden were to a great extent dependent for water. This gave rise to a long correspondence carried on by Sultan Ali in a tone of haughty contempt, and the matter was not finally settled until Brigadier Coghlan threatened to stop his stipend, and the Governor of Bombay had passed a severe censure on his conduct."

But the *quondam* peacemaker now became the disturber, and, towards the end of 1857, the Abdali began plundering the supplies coming from Bir Ahmed to Aden, and all efforts to induce Sultan Ali to award compensation proved futile, his replies to the remonstrances of Brigadier Coghlan being a curious compound of insolence, recrimination, and subterfuge. About the middle of January, 1858, Sultan Ali wrote a kind of circular letter, copies of which were sent to Captain Playfair, and several officers of the Aden garrison, charging the Aden Residency with disregard of treaty obligations, injustice, oppression, and support of his enemies, and concluding with a menace that not having received a direct reply from "our friend, Lord Elphinstone," then Governor of Bombay, he had determined "to keep his people from entering Aden, and to close his country till the Government shall come to its senses" This menacing despatch he followed up by plundering the Foudtheli, and refused a demand for restitution made by the British Political Agent, who, at length, broke off all communication with him, and discontinued the payment of his stipend. Ali Mahsin, on his part, retaliated by prohibiting his tribe from sending any supplies into Aden, and seized several kafilahs of coffee and grain, the property of Aden merchants, after having exacted a transit duty upon them. Subsequently, about the beginning of March, he occupied in force the fort and village of Sheikh Othman, distant a few miles from the isthmus line of works, and so situated as to command all the roads leading into Aden, and, in order to distress the garrison and shipping, which were to a great extent supplied with water from this place, he filled up all the wells, except such as were required for his own people. As such a state of things could no longer be tolerated, the Brigadier assumed the character of a soldier, and, conciliatory measures having failed to bring the recalcitrant Arab chief to terms, determined to have recourse to arms.

As soon as it was known that an Expedition was projected against Lahej, the crew of the 'Elphinstone,' then quartered on shore at Steamer Point, wrote and despatched the following letter, or "round robin," to Brigadier Coghlan, the original of which we have now lying before us, signed by "all hands," whose honest Saxon names are familiar to us as those of shipmates :—

"Honoured Sir,—We, the 'Elphinstone's' crew, having heard that there is to be an Expedition against Lahej, humbly beg that you will kindly allow us to serve with the forces (as many of our comrades are doing in India) where we flatter ourselves we might be of use in working the field-pieces or else as infantry, and, Sir, if you will kindly have the kindness to grant our humble petition, we will ever pray for your health and prosperity.

"Would you allow us to be the forlorn hope as we are living ashore and have got nothing else to do, and

"We remain, honoured Sir,

"Your most obedient servants."

(Here followed the signatures of the crew, in their watches and with their ratings opposite their names.)

The gallant Brigadier was the last man to refuse such a request, and almost the entire ship's company, under the charge of a lieutenant and two midshipmen, with field-pieces, accompanied the force.

On the 18th of March, 1858, Brigadier Coghlan marched out of Aden with a force of two or three companies of H.M.'s 57th Regiment, a wing of the 29th Bombay Native Infantry, and the detachment of seamen.

The force was unopposed till it arrived within two miles of the village of Sheikh Othman, when the Arabs opened fire under cover of the hillocks, where they had taken up their advanced position. The British main body being halted, the enemy were dislodged from their cover by skirmishers sent out from both flanks, aided by the guns, and a small detachment of horse. This operation discovered about five hundred men, under the command of a brother of the Abdali chief, mostly mounted on camels, who disputed the ground with obstinate bravery and considerable skill, but in less than an hour gave way. Brigadier Coghlan then advanced upon the fort and village, which were quickly stormed by the sailors, the first to enter the village, cutlass in hand, being a gallant young midshipman, Mr. Montagu H. Jones,* who outran his men, like Achilles, "podosakûs," (swift of foot) and, heedless of aught but the honour of being "in at the death," received a wound as he vaulted lightly over the low wall. The Arabs now retired to some distance, and, about ten a.m., on being joined by considerable reinforcements from the direction of Lahej, spread themselves over the country, evidently intending to contest the further advance of the British in that direction.

Shortly after, a parley was demanded, and three of the Abdali chiefs came forward, and solicited, on the part of Sultan Ali, the cessation of hostilities, pledging themselves to concede all the British demands, and stating their readiness to proceed to Aden to treat for peace. Satisfied with their good faith, the

* This young officer realized all that Marryat wrote in his wildest imaginings of reckless dare-devil midshipmen. Montagu Hornby Jones would dive off the maintop-gallant yard-arm or under the ship's bottom, and perform feats that would seem impossible to any but the genus midshipman. He was the son of the late General Sir Harry Jones, R.E., G.C.B., who led the forlorn hope at San Sebastian, and was worthy of such a father, possessing talents that would have made him a Cochrane had opportunity permitted. He was cut off within two years of the Lahej Expedition, and in penning these few lines the author fulfils a pleasing duty to the memory of a friend and most promising young officer.

Brigadier, at their earnest request, commenced his return march to Aden, having first blown up the fort and village of Sheikh Othman with the powder captured there. On the following day supplies began to pour into Aden in great abundance, and, soon after, the Sultan's brother arrived at the Residency to settle the basis of a reconciliation. Brigadier Coghlan's demands were complied with, and, for a time at least, Sultan Ali's overweening self-importance received a check.

The detachment of seamen distinguished themselves both by their gallantry in storming the walled village and by their marching powers. The Brigadier highly commended them for their activity and discipline. and the officers and men received the thanks of the Bombay Government.

Sir William Coghlan, at our request, has supplied us with the following particulars of this well planned and happily executed little Expedition:—

"I possess no record with regard to my Expedition against the Arabs on the 18th of March, 1858, and my report of that day's proceedings was not published. Our troubles in India were then recent, and it was not expedient to let the world know that we had difficulties in Arabia. But what happened was in this wise:—The Sultan of the Abdali (Lahej) had for some time previously given me much trouble. I bore it as long as possible, for our policy was one of peace. At length, however, his insults became intolerable, and I resolved to go forth with part of my garrison, and settle all scores at once. This I did with entire success. The force included a detachment of seamen from the 'Elphinstone.' We had a hard day's work under a blazing sun, and I was glad to get back to Aden in the evening without any loss from *that* enemy. The Arabs opposed us at the Khore Mucksa, where, by their numbers, they presented a formidable appearance, but they never checked our advance. When we approached the village and fort of Sheikh Othman, the 'Elphinstone's' party scaled the walls, and had the British flag at the mast-head in a few minutes. Thus they attained the object prayed for in the accompanying letter,* which I received a day or two previously. They were 'the forlorn hope, having nothing else to do!' This curious document may recall some of the signatures to your recollection. Thus ended this little affair, which was a hard day's work, thoroughly successful, and of more importance than some of those then occurring in India which were made a good deal of."

Not long after their return from this service, the crew of the 'Elphinstone' were attacked with cholera, and, in a few days, there died Assistant-Surgeon Brigstocke, Mr. Midshipman Dodd, Mr. Taylor, boatswain—a genuine salt of the old school, well known

* This is the "round robin" already given.

in the Service as "Polyphemus," owing to his having lost an eye in action—and nine petty officers and seamen. Her commander, Captain Frushard, proceeded to England on sick-certificate, after thirty-three years' continuous service in the East, and Commander Adams, of the 'Assaye,' on his arrival at Aden, found the ship dismantled and the crew housed on shore. With characteristic energy he sent working parties on board the ship, fumigated and whitewashed the holds, store-rooms, and lower deck, sent up masts and yards, bent sails, ordered the crew on board, and despatched her on a cruise with the 'Assaye's' surgeon in medical charge, when not another case of cholera occurred.

In 1854, when this country was engaged in her great struggle with Russia, and the Muscovite bear and the still more insatiable Crimean winter were calling for more victims, the 10th Hussars and 12th Lancers were ordered to proceed from India to participate in the glories and disasters of the sanguinary struggle before Sebastopol,* upon which the eyes of the world were fixed. The 10th Hussars, about seven hundred men, with their horses, embarked on board the 'Punjaub,' Commander Young—which had been fitted in six days with stalls for two hundred and fifty horses—'Auckland,' Commander Drought, 'Victoria,' Lieutenant Adams, and the sailing transport 'Sultana,' with Lieutenant Etheridge, I.N., as agent for transports, all of which sailed for Suez on the 9th of January, 1855; and it may be noted as a proof of the fine lines of the 'Punjaub' and her admirable sailing qualities, that, though without her engines and impeded by her great paddle-boxes, she sailed the other vessels hull down, and, while they were staggering under full steam or a press of sail, she was running before the gale with her topsails lowered on the cap. On the 21st of February, the 12th Lancers, with their horses, sailed in the 'Queen,' Commander Montriou; and the transports, 'Precursor' (steamer); 'Earl of Clare,' with Lieutenant Jackson, I.N., as agent for transports; 'Earl Grey,' with Lieutenant Hunter, I.N., as agent for transports; and 'Jessica,' with Lieutenant Whish, I.N., as agent for transports. On the 24th of February, the 'Semiramis,' Lieutenant Batt, and 'Assaye,' Commander Daniell, sailed for Mangalore, and, having embarked the remainder of the 12th Lancers, proceeded to Suez, but the engines of the 'Assaye' broke down, and she had to tranship her cargo of men and horses to the 'Semiramis.'

The supervision of the transport duties was performed by

* The only officer of the Indian Navy present at the bombardment of Sebastopol, was, we believe, Lieutenant Pengelley, who served in the Turkish Contingent as Naval Director of the Land Transport Corps, from the 13th of October, 1855, to the 29th of May, 1856, while thus employed he witnessed the bombardment of the northern forts of Sebastopol, and was present at the occupation of Kertch by the Allies, for which services he received the medal.

Captain Frushard, assisted by Lieutenant Worsley,* First Lieutenant of the 'Punjaub.' The following Government General Order was published to the Service, eulogistic of the officers of the Indian Navy employed in transporting the 10th Hussars and 12th Lancers to Suez:—

"Bombay Castle, June 19, 1856

"The Right Hon. the Governor in Council has much satisfaction in publishing to the Indian Navy the following extract, para 40, of a despatch from the Hon Court, No. 76, dated 31st of October last:—

"'We have perused with much satisfaction the letter of the Commander-in-chief of the Indian Navy, dated 24th of April, 1855, in which he reports the return of the vessels with the officers of the Indian Navy who were in command of divisions of transports, and brings prominently to notice the names of Captain Frushard, Commanders Young, Daniell, and Drought, and of Lieutenant Worsley. The testimony therein borne by Sir Henry Leeke to the zeal and activity displayed by those officers in the performance of the arduous duties assigned to them, as well as to the good conduct of every officer and man serving under their orders, and the successful result of those transport arrangements, reflect great credit upon the Indian Naval Service, and fully entitle all the parties concerned to our hearty commendation.'"†

On the 11th of May, 1855, Commander Young again took command of the 'Assaye,' and, on the 11th of December, Commander Montriou, who was relieved in the 'Queen' by Lieutenant Adams, assumed command of the 'Punjaub,' which he exchanged for the appointment of Master-Attendant (in succession to Captain Frushard, appointed Senior Naval Officer at Aden on the 3rd of August); and, finally, on the 5th of April, 1856, the command of the Punjaub' was conferred on Lieutenant Fullerton of the 'Tigris,' an intelligent and zealous officer. Captain C. Montriou, who served with distinction in the first Burmese war under Commodore Hayes, and as Indian Navy Draughtsman for many years, died of cholera at Bombay on the 29th of April, only sixteen days after his promotion to the rank of Captain on the retirement of Captain Lynch.

The "Bombay Telegraph and Courier" thus writes of the character and career of Captain Montriou:—"A man of extraordinary talents and abilities, beloved and admired

* This officer, who was distinguished for his activity and capacity, and had gained credit while first-lieutenant of the 'Semiramis,' during his service in China in 1850-53, was appointed to the command of the 'Ajdaha' in the following year.

† Military Letter, No 59, dated the 19th of May, 1855 Reports arrangement for the conveyance of H M 's 10th Hussars and H M 's 12th Lancers to Suez, and conduct of officers engaged therein belonging to the Indian Navy.

by every one who knew him, he had served continuously for thirty-two years in the service of Government in India, and was considered a very superior officer. He had served in the first Rangoon War, and took a prominent part in all the maritime surveys round by Bengal. In 1839 he came to Bombay, and commanded the receiving ship 'Hastings,' and was acting draughtsman as well for some years. In this position he became a great favourite with the late Sir Robert Oliver, and he was in such good favour with seamen, that he had often from three to four hundred sailors in his ship, and by this means he made up the war complements of the ships and steamers equipped for the China War. He planned and wrote out the whole of the ordnance equipment required for the vessels of the Indian Navy, and was a general referee from the highest official quarters respecting professional matters afloat; but, strange to say, though he had a most wonderful memory, was highly read, and well informed upon almost every subject, yet he could never be induced to become an author. His love of reading and writing was great, and there were few men, however learned, that he could not cope with in scientific acquirements. His manner was retiring and unassuming, but at the same time he had a high and noble spirit, and was most warm-hearted and generous From 1847 to 1851, Commander Montriou was in charge of the Observatory, and then Government appointed him Senior Naval Officer at Aden. Here he, on several occasions, distinguished himself in the boat attacks of the Arabs, and co-operating with the Resident for the welfare of the port; and he was constantly consulted by the Resident in political matters, on account of his great tact, learning, and experience.

"But at Aden, private misfortunes and family bereavements told heavily upon his constitution, and, after a long and distressing illness, he was burnt out of house and home, and he and his wife and child were left utterly destitute of everything, except the clothes they had on when rescued from the flames. On this occasion he lost property to the amount of 26,000 rupees. He therefore had to begin life anew, and, on his return to Bombay, was given the command of the 'Queen,'* and then

* The following instance of the devotion to duty which distinguished Captain Montriou, is given by Lieutenant Carew, at this time one of the officers of the 'Queen.' He says —

"We were steaming down the river Hooghly, bound to Bombay, when we struck on that most dangerous bank, the James and Mary. The tide was rapidly falling, and no time was lost in laying a bower anchor out in mid-stream, and shifting all the guns to windward, where they were well secured, meantime the boats were lowered. Our vessel, whose keel adhered to the mud of the steep bank, was heeling over fast, when Captain Montriou, in answer to something said by the pilot, replied, 'No, the ship may leave us, as *that* we can't help, but we won't leave her while she floats, so we will go to quarters' We remained at quarters watching the vessel gradually heeling over till the guns hung from their

of the 'Punjaub,' and last year was nominated Master Attendant and captain of the port. His losses so embarrassed his affairs that he was unable to visit England for the recovery of his health. His whole career had been one of usefulness and honourable distinction, and we believe he also drew up the Report for the Committee of the House of Commons, respecting the surveys of the East India Company. Commander Montriou leaves a wife and two sons and two daughters to lament his loss."

Sir Henry Leeke paid the following tribute to the deceased officer in a Squadron Order:—"It is with sincere and very deep regret the Commander-in-chief has to announce to the Service the demise of Commander Charles William Montriou, Master-Attendant, whose melancholy death took place this morning at ten o'clock, at his residence in Colaba. In making this sad event known, the Commander-in-chief cannot resist expressing the mournful gratification he feels at being able to bear testimony to the truly upright and honourable career of Commander Montriou, during the many years he has served in the Indian Navy. In all his duties he was strictly correct, and ever anxious to perform them with a degree of integrity and zeal seldom surpassed, and his loss will be felt by all who have had the pleasure of serving with or knowing him. The Commander-in-chief desires that captains and commanding officers will cause as many of the officers and seamen of the ships in port as can be spared, and all officers of the dockyard establishment, to attend at the Colaba Church, at a quarter past five o'clock this evening, to follow his remains to the grave, and pay the last melancholy tribute to one who was so justly esteemed and beloved in the Service."

The 'Zenobia,' Commander Rennie, continued to be employed to the eastward after the Burmese War, under the orders of the Governor-General. Early in 1855, she embarked at Rangoon a mission conveying a complimentary letter from the King of Burmah to Lord Dalhousie, which was responded to by his lordship delegating Major Phayre and other officers to Ava. The 'Zenobia' conveyed to Rangoon this mission, of which Commander Rennie, Lieutenant Heathcote, and Mr. Ogilvy were members, and, on the 1st of August, they proceeded on their way to Ava, and successfully accomplished the duties entrusted to them. On the 2nd of August, during Commander Rennie's absence, the 'Zenobia' proceeded to the Andamans, to rescue the crew of the brig 'Rob Roy,' which had been wrecked on that inhospit-

breechings and side-tackles, when she suddenly cut her keel out of the mud, and started off into deep water until her anchor brought her up. The pilot said it was the first vessel he had known to be saved when once in the position we were, and no merchantman could have been. It was the heavy guns shifted to windward that saved her"

able group, the captain, his wife, and some of the crew having been picked up after four days' exposure in an open boat at sea, while proceeding to Rangoon to make known their fate.

On the 31st of July, 1855, Commander Drought was transferred from the command of the 'Ferooz,' to that of his former ship, the 'Auckland,' which was on the eve of sailing to the China seas, and, on the 4th of September, the former ship left Bombay, under charge of Lieutenant Batt, for Calcutta, when Commander Rennie assumed command of her, being relieved in the 'Zenobia' by that officer. From this time, except during the brief interval occupied by the Persian War, the 'Ferooz' remained under the immediate orders of the Supreme Government. On the 15th of November, the 'Ferooz,' which had arrived at Madras two days before from Galle, conveyed Lord Dalhousie, who had been staying some months at the Neilgherry Hills for his health, to Rangoon, whence his lordship returned to Calcutta on the 29th of November, the last time he steamed up the familiar waters of the Hooghly. On the 17th of the following month, the 'Ferooz' was despathed to Suez to convey to India his successor, Lord Canning, and Lady Canning, and, on the 28th of January, 1856, she anchored in Bombay harbour with his Lordship, who was greeted with great enthusiasm by the people of the Western Presidency, though, from the peaceful aspect of affairs, few of those welcoming him on his landing, could have anticipated that the viceroyalty of the new Governor-General was destined to be not less famous, as regards the occurrence of events of the first magnitude, than that of any of his predecessors. On the 6th of February, Lord Canning proceeded in the 'Ferooz' to Madras, and, after a stay of eleven days with the Governor, the late Lord Harris, sailed on the 25th of February for Calcutta. The 'Ferooz' arrived off Fort William on the 27th, and, two days later, his Lordship was sworn in, and commenced his momentous administration of Indian affairs.

On the 9th of March the Marquis Dalhousie, accompanied by his daughter, Lady Susan Ramsay, after a memorable rule extending over eight years, quitted the scene of his labours on board the 'Ferooz,' which conveyed him to Suez. "His Lordship carried with him," said the 'Bombay Times,' "a larger portion of respect and regard than has perhaps ever before attended a retiring Governor-General;" and when this truly great man went over the side of the 'Ferooz,' after taking an almost affectionate adieu of Commander Rennie, who had ever been an especial favourite of his, and all the other officers, the ringing cheers with which all hands greeted him, and the echoes of the guns as, for the last time, he received the salute due to his exalted position, must have evoked some painful regrets.

Far different from these were the next passengers carried by the 'Ferooz' From Suez she conveyed to Jiddah, the new Shereef, or High Priest, of Mecca, and his harem of wives, who were jealously guarded by the *tertium quid*, those sable-hued and hideous eunuchs, from the contaminating glances of the young midshipmen and other Feringhees. All the officers were required to give up their cabins and mess-rooms to this aged ecclesiastic and his bevy of beauties, for which they received no return; and when the Shereef expressed his desire to testify his acknowledgment for the great inconvenience to which all the officers had been subjected, by presenting them with some token of his regard, the Government refused the proffered gift, and, with equal magnanimity, themselves made no return. The 'Ferooz' arrived at Bombay on the 28th of April, and, on the 21st of June, sailed for Calcutta.

During the course of the year 1855, the 'Akbar' was fitted up as the receiving-ship and flag-ship of the Commander-in-chief, in place of the old 'Hastings,' which was finally towed away from her moorings to be broken up, after thirty years of not very eventful service, for this small thirty-two gun frigate, which was built on the eve of the first Burmese War, was the least successful of any ship launched from Bombay dockyard, and indeed, while her wretched sailing qualities fully entitled her to the opprobrious term of "an old tub," her limited accommodation unfitted her for the duties of a receiving-ship.

On the 14th of January, 1856, the 'Queen,' Lieutenant Adams, sailed from Bombay for Jiddah and the other ports of the Red Sea,* to afford protection to the British and French

* Our last account of the events at Mocha, in which the Indian Navy participated, brought us down to the year 1836, when Turkee Bilmas and the remnant of his followers narrowly escaped an imminent death by taking refuge on board the Hon Company's ships 'Benares' and 'Tigris' Early in 1840, the Egyptian troops evacuated Yemen, which threw the country into a state of anarchy, and, in May, Hoossein Shereef of Aboo Areesh, who had obtained the co-operation of the Beni Asseer, a powerful Bedouin tribe mustering twenty thousand warriors, had already occupied Hodeida and Mecca, for which he agreed to pay the Pasha of Egypt an annual tribute of 90 000 dollars The Shereef now addressed a most insulting letter to the Governor of Bombay, demanding the immediate surrender of Aden, while his conduct towards the merchants of Mocha was cruel and oppressive In April, and again in July, 1841, the Imaum of Sanaa sent missions to Captain Haines, to request the co-operation of the Red Sea squadron in an attack on the ports of Yemen, but the Political Resident's instructions enjoined strict non-intervention in the affairs of Arabia, and he was forced to reply in the negative The recognition by the British Government of the Suzerainty of the Porte over Yemen, induced the latter, owing to the representations of the British Ambassador at Constantinople, to despatch a Commissioner, Ashraf Bey, in March, 1842, to depose the truculent Shereef, but so well did the latter play his hand—probably resorting to that trump card of Turkish officials, bribery—that the Special Commissioner not only avoided all chance of meeting Lieutenant Cruttenden, I N, Assistant Political Resident at Aden, who had been sent to confer with him, but reported to the Porte that the Shereef had been much misrepresented, and that he was submissive to the Sultan and solemnly denied all intention of insulting the British flag In July, 1843, this clever schemer was raised to the dignity of Pasha, and formally invested by Ashraf Bey with the

Consuls, and to endeavour to suppress the threatened conflict which afterwards broke out between the Turks and Arabs. From January to the following April, Lieutenant Adams was engaged, in conjunction with the 'Elphinstone,' Captain Frushard, assisting our allies, the Turks, in the defence of Hodeida, which was besieged by a vast horde of the Asseer tribe of Arabs, estimated by Captain Playfair to be not less than sixty thousand men. The two ships took up positions commanding the town, and, for a considerable time, received on board the families of the besieged who sought refuge from the horrors of an assault by the enemy. At length the Asseer Arabs, despairing of success, dispersed, owing chiefly to a virulent outbreak of cholera, which, according to Playfair, carried off fifteen thousand men and many of the principal chiefs. This was the last service performed by the 'Queen,' which, though constructed only sixteen years before, was worn out, being as short-lived as most of the British-built steamers supplied to the Service.*

Government of the Tehama, or seaboard, upon the condition of paying 70,000 dollars annually In 1848, the new Imaum of Sanaa declared war against Shereef Hoossein, whom he first defeated in battle, and then compelled to capitulate upon his own terms, which were the surrender of Mocha and other places, together with the payment of a ransom of 20,000 dollars But now the tide of success again turned, and Zebeed was captured by one division of the Shereef's army, while another laid siege to Mocha, which, after an obstinate defence of two months, was delivered up by an act of treachery. So suddenly was this perfidy planned and executed, says Captain Playfair in his "History of Arabia Felix," that the Shereef's General, Ameer Futteh Mahommed, had barely time to save his life by taking refuge on board the 'Mahi,' which happened to be lying in the roads He was taken to Aden, where he was entertained at Government expense, and provided with means to return to his country. A desultory warfare was now carried on between the Imaum and Shereef Hoossein, and, in 1849, the Turkish Government sent a fleet and land force against Hodeida, whereupon he delivered up the ports of the sea-coast, and, retiring to enjoy his ill-gotten gains, died in March of the following year.

Many ships of the Service proceeded to Mocha and Jiddah to protect British interests during the above disturbances, among them the 'Zenobia,' Lieutenant A. H Gordon, in 1840, and the 'Euphrates,' Commander Campbell, in 1848. In that year also Lieutenant Adams was sent in the 'Tigris' to Jiddah to enquire for some women, said to have been sold into slavery by a Bombay merchant, and held a conference with Hassab Pasha at Wadi Fatimah, half way between Jiddah and Mecca. The Pasha consented to send the women to Jiddah, where they were examined by Lieutenant Adams, but they were too well tutored to own the truth

In January, 1856, as above stated, the Asseer Arabs invested Hodeida, but they were prevented from proceeding to extremities by the presence of the 'Queen' and 'Elphinstone.' The Turkish Sultan having appointed a new Shereef of Mecca in April, 1856, he proceeded from Suez to Jiddah in the Hon Company's steam-frigate 'Feroz,' as already mentioned, and, after some severe fighting before Mecca, his authority was acknowledged in the Holy City.

* Captain Adams writes.—"We remained at Hodeida a considerable time, until a transport with Turkish troops came from Jiddah; the suburbs were burnt to prevent the enemy forming a lodgment, and I took up a position to cover the town and assist the defence of the southern fort. Disease, said to be cholera, set in, and the Asseer tribe took their departure. I then went on to Jiddah, re-

In an earlier chapter detailing the action fought in the Persian Gulf, by the 'Elphinstone,' in 1834, with the Beni Yas pirates, we described the dealings of the Company's cruisers with that tribe up to the date of the conclusion of the peace of the 4th of May, 1853; but such instruments as treaties of peace, even though they be denominated "perpetual," are considered as binding by Arab tribes only so long as they are too weak to break them, or their interests are involved in their maintenance. Bearing this in mind, the reader will not suppose that "Othello's occupations's gone," and that the Indian Naval squadron had henceforth a sinecure in keeping the peace of the Persian Gulf. On the contrary, after, as well as before, the year 1853, the Hon. Company's ships were seldom many days in Bassadore harbour, before they were despatched here and there on the requisition of the British Political Resident of the Persian Gulf, who resided at Bushire, off which a ship generally lay at his disposal, to restrain the predatory instincts of the Arab tribes, which were too deeply ingrained not to crop up in piratical acts directed against each other and the British flag. As the historian of the Indian Navy, we will now briefly detail the instances in which the services of the squadron were called into requisition, both to keep the peace and maintain the authority of the British Government as the controlling power in the Persian Gulf.

In May, 1825, hostilities having arisen between Sheikh Sultan bin Suggur, the Joasmi chief, and Sheikh Tahnoon, of the Beni Yas, who, as being a dependent of the Imaum of Muscat, resented the occupation by the former of the towers of

mained for a week or two, then crossed over and ran down to Massowah, and finding all quiet there, returned to Aden, took the Assistant Resident over to the Soomali coast, settled some disputes, then brought him back to Aden, and started for Bombay" The 'Queen' was now in the last stage of decrepitude, and that she did not share the fate of the 'Cleopatra,' was due to the Captain's skill. Captain Adams writes to us —"We fell in with the tail end of a cyclone, and our non-arrival at Bombay caused great anxiety to Government, particularly to Sir Henry Leeke We put back to Aden, where I had the 'Queen' condemned. I found on the arrival of the mail, that the 'Ferooz,' Captain Rennie, had been sent out to seek for any vestiges of the 'Queen,' and that my brother officers had given themselves promotion by striking us of the 'Queen' out of existence. I received a semi-official letter from Sir H. Leeke, telling me to offer the Peninsula and Oriental Company 1,000 rupees to tow the 'Queen' to Bombay, but I took the responsibility of the 'Queen' being condemned, and towed the 'Elphinstone' to Bombay. I did this, knowing that if the 'Queen' foundered with the 'Elphinstone' in tow, we could escape to her. We arrived safely at Bombay, where the Persian Gulf Expedition was fitting out. Sir H Leeke wanted me to take the 'Queen' to the Gulf to be anchored in Bushire creek, on our capturing the town, but I declined, and took command of the 'Semiramis,' Commander Alan Hyde Gardner proceeding to England sick I prepared her for sea, when Captain Young was appointed to the command, and Captain Jenkins to the 'Assaye,' of which I was made second captain" For the judgment displayed by him at Hodeida, Lieutenant Adams received the thanks of the Bombay Government, under date the 5th of May, 1856.

Brymee, a place on the frontiers of his Highness's territories, two cruisers were sent to the pearl banks, and succeeded in preventing the war from degenerating into indiscriminate plunder. In the following August, in consequence of an act of piracy on a Bahrein vessel, by some Shargah war dhows, the Commodore sailed to that port with his squadron, and made a demand for full compensation for the life and property sacrificed, threatening immediate hostilities in the event of non-compliance. This decisive course of action brought Sultan bin Suggur "to his bearings," and he lost no time in affording redress to the Bahrein chief, Sheikh Abdoolla, who, in a letter to the British Political Resident, expressed himself amply satisfied. "The successful termination of this business," says Lieutenant Hennell, then Assistant Political Resident, "created a sensation throughout the Gulf highly creditable to our Government." In the following year the Bahrein chief came to an open rupture with Sheikh Rahmah bin Jaubir, (the notorious old pirate chief of Khor Hassan, whose fort at Demaun, a small island close to Kateef, had been destroyed in 1816 by the Uttoobees), but two of the Company's vessels of war stationed off Demaun for the protection of the trade of Kateef from Rahmah, prevented the two chiefs from carrying on regular hostilities until their withdrawal, agreeably to orders from the Bombay Government. The two chiefs then engaged in war until the end of 1826, when Sheikh Rahmah, seeing defeat inevitable in an action in which his vessel was engaged with a superior force, terminated his life and his guilty career by blowing up his ship together with himself and all his crew.

In 1832 most daring outrages were committed by the people of Rashid bin Humeed, Sheikh of Ejman, upon the commerce of Muscat, and an application being made to Sultan bin Suggur for redress, the latter disowned all responsibility, as he exercised no authority over the Ejman chief. Upon this the Company's cruisers 'Ternate' and 'Tigris' proceeded to that port and demanded the restitution of the captured vessels and property within twenty-four hours. "Entire compliance," we are told, "was yielded, and, after some little delay and hesitation, the boats, money, and jewels, the property of the passengers, were yielded up." Again, in November of the same year, when a large fleet of Joasmi vessels of war, containing fifteen hundred men, under command of Sultan bin Suggur, appeared at the head of the Gulf, in order to assist Sheikh Nassir, the hereditary Governor of Bushire, who had been ejected from the town by the Persian authorities, the Resident only succeeded in preventing a blockade of the port, which would have caused great distress to the inhabitants, by appealing to the Commodore of the Persian Gulf squadron. This was a mode of

argument to which alone the Joasmi chief would listen, and, accordingly, he returned to Shargah without the anticipated plunder of a rich Persian town.

Soon after Captain Sawyer's action with the Beni Yas, a portion of the tribe, in order to escape the consequences of the British demand for the restitution of the plundered property, migrated from Abu Thubi to Adeed, the situation of which afforded peculiar facilities for continuing a lawless mode of living. Some members of the tribe, acting independently of each other in three vessels, commenced a course of piracy on the high seas, their practice being to take their plunder into the interior for disposal. As this could not be permitted, the only course was to hold the chiefs of the ports of Adeed, Wukra, and Biddah, responsible for the acts of these people, whom they not only permitted to go unmolested, but supplied with water and other necessaries; accordingly, to fulfil this object, and, at the same time, to remove the impression that any part of the dangerous and intricate coast between Ras Reccan and Adeed was inaccessible to our cruisers, two sloops-of-war and a schooner were despatched to take the attempt to coerce these chiefs. It was entirely successful, and, after threading the numerous and dangerous Coals, they succeeded in reaching Biddah, Wukra, and Adeed in safety, and bound the Sheikhs of those places by the enforcement of pecuniary guarantees, to seize the boats of the pirates; and, eventually, some men of the pirate chief, Jassim bin Jubbur Rugrajee, were seized, and their baghalah was burnt on the beach in the presence of the Resident. This took place in 1836, and, five years later, the same pirate chief, who had during that interval been guilty of similar acts, seized and plundered a Ras-ul-Khymah vessel; as the Biddah Sheikh was suspected of sharing the proceeds of previous piracies committed by this old offender, and he had been personally warned by the Resident in September, 1836, not to harbour him, Commodore Brucks proceeded in February, 1841, with a squadron, consisting of the steam frigate 'Sesostris,' which had arrived from England in the previous June, the 'Coote,' eighteen-gun sloop-of-war, and the 'Tigris,' ten-gun brig, to demand the surrender of the pirate vessel and its prize, together with the payment of 300 dollars, and an additional sum for other property plundered. "This affair," says Captain Kemball, "was most judiciously arranged." After a brief fire, when the shells from the 'Sesostris' created great consternation, the Commodore's demands were complied with, and the vessel of Rugrajee, who was actually at Biddah when the squadron arrived, but fled into the interior, was publicly burnt and his effects were confiscated. On the conclusion of this affair the squadron proceeded to Debaye, to settle accounts with the chief of that place, who, like the Adeed and Biddah

Sheikhs, had seceded from Abu Thubi after the events of 1834, and established what is called the Boo Felasa branch of the Beni Yas. Muktoom-bin-Butye, the young Debaye chief, who succeeded to power in 1836, having permitted his people to commit acts of piracy, and refused redress to the demands of the Resident, Commodore Brucks opened fire upon his town with shell from the 8-inch guns of the 'Sesostris,' when he was quickly induced to pay 400 dollars and surrender two captured bagarahs.

In December, 1844, in consequence of an act of aggression committed on the pearl banks, by a Joasmi dhow on one from Ejman, the Political Resident demanded 200 dollars as compensation, and the Commodore proceeded with two vessels of war to Ras-ul-Khymah and Shargah, and enforced payment. In 1846 hostilities commenced between the coalesced tribes of Debaye, Ejman, and Amalgavine, against the Joasmis, during which Sheikh Suggur bin Sultan, the son of the old Sheikh Sultan bin Suggur, was killed. On the death of this fiery young chief, who had always counselled his father* to give no heed to the Resident's arguments for peace, Commodore Hawkins proceeded to Shargah with a squadron, when, says Lieutenant Disbrowe, the Assistant Political Resident, "he succeeded in bringing hostilities to a close, and through his intervention a temporary peace was concluded between the contending parties." The truce, which was for six months, was signed in the presence of the Commodore, "and," says Disbrowe, "that alone insured its being kept inviolate."†

* Perhaps the last occasion on which the old Sheikh of Shargah, then said to be one hundred and three years old, was brought to book by the Service, was in 1859, when Commodore G. Jenkins enforced at forty-eight hours notice, the surrender of seven boats which had been engaged in piratical acts on the opposite coast. He also extracted from the Bahrein Sheikh the restitution of the cargo of a Persian ship with interest at five per cent. In December 1857, when the British merchant ship 'Ambassador' went ashore on the island of Kenn, and was plundered by the islanders. Commodore Jenkins recovered the whole of the cargo, for which the underwriters in London proposed to present him with a complete silver service of plate, though with characteristic disinterestedness, he only consented to receive a portion with a suitable inscription.

† In our account of the destruction of Ras-ul-Khymah and humiliation of the Joasmi Arabs, we referred to Article IX. of the Treaty of the 8th of January, 1820, concluded with the maritime tribes of the Persian Gulf, by which the Arab chiefs bound themselves to cease from engaging in the slave trade. In the month of July, 1839, the following more detailed agreement was entered into with this object, with the chiefs of Ras-ul-Khymah, Abu Thubi, Debaye, and Amalgavine —

"Political Department, Bombay Castle, December 3, 1839

"The following engagement for the suppression of the slave trade in the Persian Gulf, entered into with the British Government, by each of the four following maritime Arabian chiefs, in the month of July last, is published for general information, namely:—Sheikh Kuleefa of Abu Thubee, Sheikh Mukhtoom of Debaye, Sheikh Abdoola of Amalgavine; and Sheikh Sultan bin Suggur of Ras-ul-Khymah

"'*I do hereby declare, that I bind and pledge myself to the British Govern-*

Early in the year 1845, one Humeed bin Majdull, chief of the Amayir, a small tribe occupying an island between Kateef and Grane, having put to sea with three baghalahs, seized and plundered a trading vessel belonging to Kharrack, and when the nacodah, or native captain, represented that the property he was plundering belonged to a British subject, that chief laughed him to scorn and insolently asked, "Who are the English?" He was soon to have a reply to his question. It was ascertained that the Amayir chief had, shortly before committing this piracy, broken with part of his tribe, and quitting his residence, Jezirat-Boo-Ali, took refuge with Mahomed bin Khaleefa, the Bahrein Sheikh; but he soon parted from his entertainer, and repaired with a large band of followers to a small island called Gunnah, or Jinnah * Here he established himself, and, relying upon the strength of his position, as owing to shoals the island was unapproachable to the cruisers, gloried in his deeds of piracy, and expressed his utter contempt for any endeavours the English might make to bring him to punishment. As the piracy upon which he was now embarked was of too flagrant a character "to admit of a compromise being made regarding it," although it was in June, one of the hottest months of the year, Commodore Hawkins sailed for Gunnah with his flag-ship, the 'Coote,' and the schooner 'Constance,' Lieutenant Ford, in order to exact full satisfaction from Humeed bin Majdull. Captain Kemball, the Assistant Political Resident, who accompanied the Expedition, writes as follows of its results:—"When the naval force approached the pirate's den, and Humeed bin Majdull was called upon to afford redress for the wrongs he had committed, he sent back a reply of haughty defiance; he declared his perfect indifference for any

ment in the following engagement:—1st That the Government cruisers, whenever they may meet any vessel belonging to myself or my subjects, beyond a direct line drawn from Cape Delgado, passing two degrees seaward of the island of Socotra, and ending at Cape Gaudel, and shall suspect that such vessel is engaged in the slave trade, the said cruisers are permitted to detain and search it. 2nd Should it on examination be proved, that any vessel belonging to myself or my subjects, is carrying slaves, whether men, women, or children, for sale, beyond the aforesaid line, then the Government cruisers shall seize and confiscate such vessel and her cargo. But if the aforesaid vessel shall pass beyond the aforesaid line, owing to stress of weather or other cause of necessity, not under control, then she shall not be seized. 3rd. As the selling of males and females, whether grown up or young, who are "hoor," or free, is contrary to the Mahomedan religion, and whereas the Soomali tribe is included in the "ahtar" or free, I do hereby agree that the sale of males and females, whether young or old, of the Soomali tribe, shall be considered as piracy, and that after four months from this date all those of my people convicted of being concerned in such an act, shall be punished the same as pirates.'"

* These islands lie along the coast, which extends between Kateef and Grane (or Koweit) in a north-westerly direction This country is called Burr-el-Adan, and is frequented by Bedouin tribes. Jezirat-Boo-Ali is the first large island to the north-west of Kateef, and contiguous to the mainland About eight miles to the eastward of it lies Gunnah, now called El Jinnah on the charts

plans the British vessels might think fit to adopt, and spoke in somewhat boastful terms of the deed he had done. The bold and resolute conduct of the Commodore, however, quickly brought the chief to his senses; for notwithstanding the strength of his position, and the numerous shoals that surrounded it—so difficult of access that the 'Coote' could not approach within five miles of it, and even the schooner 'Constance,' after threading her way through an intricate channel, with frequently only six inches of water under her keel, was unable to get within effective range of her guns—daylight of the morning succeeding their arrival found the town and vessels of the Amayir chief closely fronted with a formidable line of gunboats in battle array, all ready to pour forth their contents should resistance be offered, or satisfaction denied; and the insolent tone of contumacy hitherto held by the haughy pirate, was instantly changed into one of profound submission." The Chief hastened to wait upon Captain Kemball to pray for mercy, which was accorded to him on surrendering his great baghalah, which, in the following October, was redeemed by the payment of 2,059 "Mohamed Shah rupees," and the deposit of property to the amount of the balance of the value of the bagarah, the capture of which had brought down this punishment upon him. "Thus were brought," says Captain Kemball, "to a successful conclusion, without loss of life or bloodshed, the operations against Humeed bin Majdull, which, though short in duration, when we consider the terrific heat of the sun in the month of June, the risk incurred by the vessels, and the exposure to which their crews were of necessity subjected, must be pronounced to have been both arduous and harassing." In their despatch to the Bombay Government of the 22nd of April, 1846, the Court of Directors said of this affair:—"We concur in the praises bestowed by Major Hennell and by your Government, on the gallant conduct and skilful arrangements of Commodore Hawkins, by which the confidence of Sheikh Humeed bin Majdull, in the inaccessibility of his coast was destroyed, and his submission to your demand for reparation, for the plunder of the Kharrack boat, was obtained without firing a shot."

In the summer of 1846, Abdoolla bin Saeed, the Wahabee Governor of Kateef, who was at war with Mahomed bin Khaleefa, the Bahrein Sheikh, whose dependent the Amayir chief was, addressed an insolent letter to the Political Resident, informing him that unless he took measures to expel Humeed bin Majdull from Gunnah, and forced him to restore several boats he had seized belonging to his people, he would let loose the Bedouin coast tribes under his authority: in reply, Colonel Hennell despatched two cruisers to honour him with a visit,

and to warn him that should he dare to carry his threat into execution he might expect the treatment that awaited all those who attempted to prey upon British, or other legitimate, commerce in the Gulf. In the following year, the intervention of Commodore Lowe, in the 'Elphinstone,' prevented the outbreak of hostilities between the troops of Esai bin Tariff, an ally of Mahomed bin Ahmed, ex-chief of Bahrein, and those of Mahomed bin Khaleefa, the reigning Sheikh of that island, until the permission of the Resident being obtained, a battle took place, which resulted in the death of the former chief, and the ruin of the cause of Mahomed bin Ahmed.*

In 1850 some Bedouins, owing allegiance to the Sheikh of Bahrein, committed an act of piracy, upon which Commodore Porter, who had succeeded Commodore Lowe in the command of the Persian Gulf squadron, proceeded to the island, and exacted compensation to the Nacodah and crew to the value of the plundered cargo; it was much to the interest of this powerful chief to keep on good terms with the English, for not only had the Resident, under instructions from Bombay, intimated to him in September, 1849, that although his Government declined to take him specifically under its government, yet the squadron would prevent any attack on Bahrein from the Wahabee and other confederated chiefs, but, in the previous June, one of the cruisers conveyed back to the island some of the most influential of the merchants, who, disgusted at the Sheikh's arbitrary proceedings, had quitted Bahrein and taken up their quarters at Kenn. Notwithstanding these favours, Mahomed bin Khaleefa exhibited the petulance and arrogance characteristic of all these ignorant Arab chiefs, for, scarcely had he given satisfaction to Commodore Porter in 1850, than, irritated at some slight cause, he sent messages to Colonel Hennell, of the most "insulting and unbecoming character," applying to the British Government as well as to the Resident personally. A ship-of-war was at once despatched to Bahrein to demand explanations, and the Sheikh, repenting his ebullition of anger, deputed his brother, Sheikh Ali, to Bushire, to offer his humble apologies. The Resident, in reply dated October, 1850, expressed his willingness to forgive all expressions as regarded himself personally, but to such as "bore reference to the British Government as well as to himself, Colonel Hennell con-

* The Uttoobees of Bahrein were always among the least predatory of the Arab tribes of the Gulf, the great pecuniary interests involved in the maintenance of the pearl fisheries probably acting as a restraining influence However, occasionally the cloven hoof of Bedouin lawlessness would show itself, but the only instance of importance was in 1834, when the sons of Sheikh Abdoolla bin Ahmed ill-treated and insulted the Native British Agent As the father afforded no reparation, the Indian Naval squadron appeared at Bahrein, when the Sheikh restored the money that had been extracted from the Agent, and presented him with a khelut, or dress of honour, on board the Commodore's ship.

sidered it due to the dignity of the former that, on the first occasion of the Commodore's proceeding to Bahrein, the Uttoobee Chief should visit him, and personally express his regret that anything incautiously spoken by himself, in a moment of irritation, should have been considered offensive or disrespectful to the British Government." To this suggestion a ready consent was given by Sheikh Ali on the part of his brother, and, in due course, Sheikh Mahomed bin Khaleefa proceeded on board Commodore Porter's pennant ship, and made the *amende honorable* to the majesty of the British Government.

Humeed bin Majdull, the Amayir Chief, was a true Bedouin of the Ishmaelite type, whose hand was against every man; in him piracy was bred in the bone and perforce manifested itself in the flesh. The severe lesson he had received in 1846, had not taught him prudence, or the conviction that it was vain to war against the invincible British Government. In 1854, he was as aggressive and insolent as ever, and it was found necessary to have recourse to what a French diplomatist once called *saignée*, a little blood-letting, before the body politic could be restored to a healthy condition. Humeed bin Majdull—otherwise known among his compeers as "Sahail bin Ateesh," or "the Sun of the Morning Star," because he eluded the cruisers, and was said to be a myth—had captured a large baghalah, and replied to the repeated remonstrances of the Political Resident, who went there in person to demand its restitution, by defiant messages and a refusal to yield up what he had gotten by his strong arm in the manner of his ancestors in the days before the Company assumed the police of the Persian Gulf; he even went so far as to tell Captain Kemball that the territory belonged to the Sultan of Turkey, and pointed to the Turkish flag flying over him as affording protection from the British demands. The Political Agent now applied to Bombay for instructions, and was directed to employ force. Accordingly the matter was placed in the hands of Commodore Robinson,* and, in November, 1854, that officer sailed for El Kateef, in his flagship, the 'Clive,' accompanied by the 'Falkland,' Commander Hewett; 'Tigris,' Lieutenant Foulerton (an active officer who had been Second Lieutenant of the 'Coote,' in 1846, when Commodore Hawkins brought Humeed to his senses); and 'Constance,' Lieutenant Crane. The Arab chief had established himself and his piratical crew, consisting of no less than two thousand desperate and well-armed men, at Anich, near El Kateef, where, owing to the water being so shoal that ships' boats could not approach within eight miles of his position, he thought he was safe from all attack. He counted, however, without his host,

* Commodore Porter's term of service expired in April, 1852, when he was succeeded by Commodore G. Robinson.

when that host was the British seaman. Commodore Robinson's instructions from Bombay were that the baghalah was to be destroyed, but that the men were not to land, as the Arabs were in such great force; but the Commodore, having ordered away all the boats of the squadron manned and armed with their guns, placed Commander Hewett in command and gave him *carte blanche* to do what he thought necessary. There were the enemy, there was the baghalah, and he knew that Commander Hewett would do his duty and teach the Arabs a lesson if any man could.

The attack was made in twelve boats, containing two hundred seamen and marines, and eight guns—two 12-pounders and six 3-pounders—and one rocket-boat.

The baghalah, the object of the attack, was high and dry on the beach, and round it the Arabs had constructed a sand-bag battery, from which they maintained a heavy fire upon the boats which were pounding them with shot and shell, Lieutenant James,* of the 'Clive,' being particularly effective with his 12-pounder in the launch of that ship Presently the receding tide left the heavier boats high and dry, when Commander Hewett formed them with their bows towards the enemy. who, thinking that now they would fall an easy prey to their numerical superiority, swarmed out to the attack. But they were met by a heavy fire of grape and canister from the guns, while, animated by their leaders, the seamen and marines maintained a continuous musketry fire, which forced the enemy to retire to the protection of the baghalah. When the tide made again, the Arab Sheikh sent a flag of truce, which Lieutenant Foulerton brought to Commander Hewett, who demanded the surrender of the baghalah, which was at length agreed to. The boats then proceeded to the squadron, and, on the following morning, returned and burnt the baghalah.

The Arabs, who never anticipated that the boats would carry guns, and considered their position perfectly impregnable, except against a land attack by a large force, were struck with consternation at the rockets and canister. An eye-witness writes that "a shell was seen to fall close to a group, when one of them immediately ran and picked it up, and was carrying it to his comrades when it exploded in his grasp, and blew him to pieces, with three or four more who had crowded round him to look at the fuse burning. Speaking of the shells, they called them 'babre Chatties,' and the rockets, which they could not understand, they called 'Devil's tails.'" The Expedition was admirably planned and executed, and, while the British

* Mr. H. H James was First Lieutenant of the 'Clive' and 'Falkland,' when carrying the Commodore's broad pennant in the Persian Gulf between 1851-56, and worked up the crews of both ships to a high state of efficiency.

loss was small, only a few men being wounded,* the Arabs suffered heavily, and the bearer of the flag of truce from the Sheikh, in true Bedouin phraseology, owned that "they had eaten lead like hail." The 'Falkland' soon after sailed for Bombay, where she arrived on the 15th of January, 1855, and, a few months later, after a short further service in the Gulf, Commander Hewett proceeded to England on medical certificate, where he died on the 8th of December; in him the Indian Navy lost one of its most gallant and distinguished members Commodore Robinson also returned to Bombay in the following March, whence he proceeded to England, and retired after thirty-one years' service. The Bombay Government, by order, dated the 25th of June, 1855, in the handsomest terms thanked Commodore Robinson, Commander Hewett, and the officers and men engaged in the Expedition to El Kateef.

Turning now to the Beni Yas Arabs, we find only two important instances of the violation of the annually renewed Maritime Truce. In the autumn of 1850, an act of piracy was committed by some subjects of Sheikh Syeed bin Tahnoon, who, in 1845, succeeded to the chiefship on the assassination of Khalifa bin Shakhboot, the able and, for an Arab Sheikh, honourable chief, who measured the strength of his squadron against the 'Elphinstone' in 1834. Upon this becoming known, the Commodore despatched the Hon. Company's brigs, 'Tigris,' Lieutenant Manners, and 'Euphrates,' Lieutenant Tronson, to Abu Thubi, to demand from the Sheikh the payment of 600 dollars as "deah," or price of blood, for the two Joasmis slain, together with the surrender of the captured vessel with all her stores. Nothing could exceed the skill and boldness displayed by these two officers, who took their vessels through the intricate channel and shoals that guard the entrance to the port, bringing them within effective range of the strong fort of this large town, which, with its twenty thousand inhabitants, was the most populous on the coast. Sheikh Tahnoon and his people had hitherto considered that their ships and habitations were safe from the visits of a British man-of-war, and their astonishment at seeing the 'Tigris' and 'Euphrates' anchored off them, with ports open and guns shotted, all ready to open fire, created an extraordinary impression. The Sheikh "caved in" to the demands of Lieutenant Manners, and promised compliance, "without hesitation or demur," says the Political Agent. The boats and stores were immediately surrendered, and the 600 dollars were paid within a few weeks.

* There were many narrow escapes, one man receiving a ball through the top of his hat, and another one in the loom of his oar between his hands whilst pulling, which, but for the oar, would have lodged in his body.

Notwithstanding this lesson, the Beni Yas chief, in March, 1852, sent out an armed vessel, and seized a bagarah belonging to a Debaye merchant of Abu Thubi. The Resident, on hearing of this infraction of the Maritime Truce, immediately wrote a letter, demanding the immediate restitution of the captured property and individuals; and Commodore Robinson, who had just succeeded to the command of the Persian Gulf squadron, sailed for Abu Thubi, with a view, in the event of contumacy being displayed by the delinquent chief, "to give weight by his presence to the requisition proposed against him, and to warn him of the consequences which must ensue from such a wilful disregard of his engagements with the British Government." The Beni Yas chief was amenable, as before, to reason, when it assumed a material shape, and both the property and prisoners were restored without demur.

Our faithful ally, the Imaum of Muscat, or more properly, "Seyyid" Said, had often cause to congratulate himself on his ancient and oft-exhibited friendship for the English, particularly on those critical occasions when the services of the Indian Naval squadron were called into requisition to save his kingdom from anarchy and secure his unstable seat upon the throne. His Highness's sovereignty over portions of his restless Bedouin subjects, was often limited to the extraction of a fluctuating amount of revenue.

On the 31st of May, 1829, a British ship, the 'Oscar,' being wrecked a few miles south of Ras Roos,* on the Jaalan coast, was boarded by some Beni-Boo-Ali Arabs, who plundered her of cargo to the value of £80,000. In consequence of representations made to the Bombay Government by the underwriters in India, Commodore Collinson sailed in the 'Ternate,' accompanied by the 'Fly' schooner, having on board the Resident, for Muscat, where was already assembled a squadron of three of the Company's vessels of war from Bombay. A portion of the cargo, consisting of Cashmere shawls, which had found its way to Muscat, was recovered, and, on the 19th of October, the British squadron sailed for Sohar, accompanied by the Imaum, who was most anxious for restitution of the property, with two of his frigates; but after a minute investigation, no trace of any plundered cargo could be found. From this place the Commodore and Resident proceeded to Khor Jerameh,† where they had an interview with Mahomed bin Ali, the famous chief of the Beni-Boo-Ali tribe. The

* In 1852 the British ship 'Centaur' was wrecked at this place, the Bedouins, according to their invariable custom, plundered her, but one of their vessels took the crew to Muscat

† This place, called also 'Bunder Jerami, is used by native vessels as a harbour of refuge—in 1846 the Hon Company's surveying brig, 'Palinurus,' found thirty-five baghalahs anchored here—but the town which is said to have formerly existed on the south-western side, has long been abandoned for want of water.

Sheikh, after some persuasion, was induced to own to the possession of a few shawls, which, with some 1,200 dollars, he gave up to the British officers; but in consequence of the tribe residing in the interior, and, therefore, being inaccessible to a naval force, the Commodore and Resident both decided it would be unwise to land the seamen and attempt coercive measures. The squadron therefore returned to Muscat and thence to the Gulf.

On the 15th of December of this year (1829), having concluded a treaty with the Bahrein Sheikh, with whom he had been at war, the Imaum left his nephew, Mahomed bin Salem, as his Wali, or viceroy, and proceeded to Zanzibar, for the purpose of suppressing a rebellion at Mombasa; but no sooner had he quitted Muscat than some of his chiefs rose in arms, and Sheikh Sultan bin Suggur made a warlike demonstration The Imaum's deputy sent off a fast sailing vessel to bring back his uncle, and appealed for help to the Bombay Government. Accordingly, acting under instructions received through the Resident in the Gulf, the Commodore immediately despatched a ship-of-war to Muscat, with orders to assist in the defence of that place, and also made arrangements to proceed with the remainder of the squadron directly there was imminent danger of the town being attacked At the same time measures were taken to prevent any of the maritime Arab chiefs from menacing the territories of our ally. The Imaum returned to Muscat on the 8th of May, 1830, all his plans for the reduction of Mombasa* having failed, and he was now equally unsuccessful against Sohar, and found himself obliged to cede that town and other districts to his rebellious cousin, Humood bin Azan, whose father had transferred Sohar to Seyyid Said. Early in 1832, the Imaum again quitted Muscat for Zanzibar, but his departure was the signal for fresh disturbances, and his son, Seyyid Hillal bin Seyyid, and nephew, were treacherously seized and thrown into prison by Saood bin Ali, chief of Burka. As it was the British policy to preserve the integrity of the Imaum's territories, the Persian Gulf Squadron once more sailed for Muscat, and letters were addressed to the Sheikhs of Abu Thubi, Shargah, Sohar, Soweik, and Burka, intimating the determination of the British Government to support their ally, and directing the last-named chief to release his prisoners. Saood bin Ali, who was visited by a vessel of war, complied with this demand, and a cruiser was left at Muscat, which had been gallantly held by the Imaum's daughter, who personally saw to the defences of the place, and addressed letters to the British authorities at Bombay and Bushire, requesting the assistance which was so promptly

* It was not until his visit to Zanzibar in 1837 that the Imaum succeeded in establishing his authority over Mombasa.

afforded. The Imaum returned to Muscat on the 10th of September, "and," says Captain Kemball, "the demonstration made in his Highness's favour by the visit of the British vessels of war to the coast of Batnah, and their appearance at Muscat, was undoubtedly attended with highly beneficial consequences to the interests of his Highness." Indeed so weak was the hold of our ally upon Oman at this time that, according to the same high authority, it was only the timely assistance thus afforded that "prevented his immediate downfall."

In 1836, Seyyid Said again attacked Humood* at Sohar, in conjunction with the Wahabee general of Faisul,† who had shortly before succeeded to power as Wahabee Ameer; but, hearing of the treacherous intentions of his ally, he relinquished the siege, and, says the native historian of Oman, a cruiser of the Indian Navy brought Humood to Muscat, who gave "a written promise that he would not stir up strife against the Seyyid and his children" during the absence of the Imaum at Zanzibar.

In the year 1845, when his Highness was absent at Zanzibar,‡ having left affairs in the hands of his son, Seyyid Toweynee, a weak and irresolute prince, Muscat was on the point of surrendering to a Wahabee army, when the squadron made its appearance off the Batnah coast, and, though not participating in the hostilities, "manifested the interest felt by the English in their ally the Imaum" This intervention, coupled with the promise by Seyyid Toweynee, of the payment of an annual tribute of 5,000 German crowns, which his father had sanctioned, brought about a cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of the forces of the Wahabee leader, who, in reply to a communication from the Resident, expressed his great friendship for the British Government

Again, in 1852, on the departure of Seyyid Said for Zanzibar, the Wahabee Ameer sent his son, Abdullah, demanding the cession of Sohar and the payment of a preposterous tribute; and had it not been for the intervention of the British Resident and the presence of a sloop-of-war, the chiefs of Sohar and the

* About 1850, Humood, by an act of treachery, fell into the hands of his cousin, who confined him in Muscat, where he died shortly after, probably of starvation, according to the custom in Oman

† When the Egyptian army overran the whole province of Nedjd in 1838, Faisul surrendered himself a prisoner, but returned to Riadh in 1843, when he re-established his power, but addressed letters to the chiefs of Oman and the British Resident in the Persian Gulf, expressing a desire for the renewal of the amicable relations that existed between his father, Toorkee, and the British Government

‡ The Imaum took up his residence principally at Zanzibar after the year 1840. In April, 1840, Captain Hamerton, of the 15th Bombay Native Infantry, was appointed first Political Agent at Muscat, subsequently he was appointed Consul by the Home Government, and proceeded to Zanzibar, where he continued to reside up to his death in 1857.

tribes on the Batnah coast, as whose champion Abdullah made his appearance, would, most probably, have joined forces against the imbecile Toweynee. As it was, the Muscat Government got off easily by agreeing to pay the Wahabee Ameer, 12,000 crowns, besides all arrears. Thus it appears, from this retrospect of the affairs of the Asiatic dominions of the Imaum, that our ancient ally, or his deputies, had often cause to hail the advent of one of the Company's ships of war, as the *deus ex machinâ* which could alone ensure the integrity of his dominions.

Seyyid Said died at sea, off the Seychelles, while on his passage to Zanzibar, on board his frigate, the "Victoria," on the 19th of October, 1856, at the age of sixty-five, after a reign of fifty-two years, the first seventeen being in conjunction with his brother, Salim. The body was conveyed to Zanzibar for interment, and his death was lamented by all his subjects. Seyyid Said left fifteen surviving sons, three of whom were acting as his Walis, or governors, over the three chief towns and districts of his principality. These were Toweynee, the eldest, at Muscat; Majid, the fourth, at Zanzibar; and Toorkee, the third, at Sohar. Majid agreed to pay Toweynee an annual subsidy of 40,000 crowns; but having subsequently refused to carry out the stipulation, Toweynee, early in 1860, equipped a powerful Expedition to coerce his brother. Under instructions from Government, the Hon Company's steam-frigate 'Punjaub' sailed from Bombay for Muscat, and off Ras-ul-Had Commander Foulerton encountered the Omanee squadron of seven ships of war, having on board a large military force. Major Russell (now Sir E. L. Russell, K.C.S.I.), the Political Agent, communicated with the leader, and informed him that the Expedition would not be permitted to proceed, and, accordingly, the fleet returned to Muscat, *re infecta*.

Eventually, both parties agreed to submit the question in dispute to the arbitration of the Indian Government; and the Governor-General, Lord Canning, appointed a Commission under the presidency of Brigadier (now General Sir) William M. Coghlan, Resident at Aden, to inquire into the merits of the case. On the grounds that the succession in the Imaum's family rested on election, and that Majid was duly elected their ruler by the people of Zanzibar, the Viceroy, on the recommendation of the Commission, confirmed him and his successors on the *musnud*, but directed him to pay to the ruler of Muscat an annual subsidy of 40,000 crowns, together with 80,000 crowns, the arrears for two years. This compromise was accepted by both parties early in 1862, and has remained ever since in force.

In this work we have no concern with Persian Gulf politics, or the contentions of the rulers of Muscat, beyond this year,

1862, when the abolition of the Service was decided upon by the Home authorities; but, before that period, the Indian Navy was of essential assistance to the Sultan of Zanzibar, in enforcing his claims as the legitimate successor of his father, Seyyid Said, in his African possessions. Burghash, fifth son of the late Seyyid Said, who was lately the honoured guest of the British nation in London, was disinclined to concur in the decision of the British Government, and, in 1859, rose in rebellion against his brother Majid, when the services of the Hon. Company's steam frigate 'Assaye,' Commander G. N. Adams, were called into requisition by Colonel (now Major-General) C. P. Rigby, her Majesty's Consul-General and Political Agent at Zanzibar. Owing to the inability of Sultan Majid to subdue his brother, the Consul informally made a call for assistance on Commander Adams. Volunteers to lead the native troops were called for, and landed from the 'Assaye;' but when the rebellion assumed larger proportions, and the loss in killed and wounded on both sides was heavy, Commander Adams refused, without a formal requisition, to permit his officers and men to take part in the operations, as, had any of them been killed, he would have been liable to a court-martial. The Political Resident, finding that nothing could be done without British aid, accordingly made the necessary official demand, upon receipt of which Commander Adams organized the following force from the 'Assaye,' under Lieutenant Wood, and from Her Majesty's gunboat 'Lynx,' which happened to be at Zanzibar:—Europeans, 'Assaye,' one hundred and thirty; 'Lynx,' thirty; provision-carriers and commissariat, under Purser W. Johnston, twenty; and between thirty and forty coal-trimmers, from the 'Assaye,' to drag the field-pieces and carry rocket-tubes and ammunition.

The rebels had loop-holed and armed a large country-house and stockaded the grounds, which the Sultan's troops made repeated but ineffectual attempts to storm. The small British column soon shelled the enemy out of their stronghold, when Seyyid Burghash fled into Zanzibar, and took up his quarters in the women's apartments in a large mansion near the Sultan's residence. Commander Adams immediately sent the Marines, Engineers, and all the sick Europeans who volunteered for service, and indeed every man he could muster, under Lieutenant H. Carey, to assist in blockading the house. Seyyid Burghash, finding every avenue of flight closed to him, tried to escape by a plank he threw across the street to the opposite house; but the sacks of straw placed on the plank, to afford protection from the fire beneath, were so riddled with bullets, that he gave up the attempt. Next morning, when every preparation was made to storm the house, which was a large defensible building, Commander Adams sent a cousin of the

Seyyid's to him, to induce him to surrender, as he wished, if possible, to avoid the necessity of assaulting a place filled with women. Burghash, seeing that the game was up, surrendered himself to Commander Adams, who made him over to Sultan Majid; and after a durbar, held the same day, he was delivered up, together with forty of the most desperate of his followers, to Commander Adams, who conveyed him to Muscat, whence he was removed to Bombay.

The following is a copy of the despatch addressed by Colonel Rigby to Commander Adams, at the request of the Sultan:—

"British Consulate, Zanzibar, October 20, 1859

"Sir,—I am requested by his Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar to convey to you, and the officers and men under your command, his warmest thanks and acknowledgments for the important services you have rendered him during the late rebellion of his brother, Seyyid Burghash. His Highness is fully sensible that it is chiefly owing to the prompt assistance afforded him by the British seamen that this island and town have been saved from anarchy and ruin, and the capture of his brother, Seyyid Burghash, effected without bloodshed. The conspicuous gallantry of several of the young officers of the 'Assaye,' who were present at the attack of the strong position occupied by the rebels, is talked of with admiration by all classes; they remained for several hours under a heavy fire, serving the guns and rockets, in advance of all his Highness's troops, and endeavoured to induce the Beloochies and Arabs to storm, and also assisted in carrying the wounded out of fire.

"His Highness particularly desires me to express his sincere thanks to Lieutenants Wood and Davis, who commanded the detachments from the 'Assaye,' and also Lieutenant Carey, who commanded the party to which Seyyid Burghash surrendered.

"I shall have great pleasure in bringing to the notice of Government the steady good conduct of your men during the whole period the 'Assaye' has been at this port, as also the cheerfulness with which they undertook a long march into the interior of the island, and by their discipline and good conduct whilst employed on shore, have maintained the high character of the British name amongst all classes of people here."

The following is the resolution of the Bombay Government, dated the 3rd of December, 1859, in acknowledgment of the services rendered by Commander Adams and the officers and men of the 'Assaye':—

"Resolved—The Right Hon. the Governor in Council is of opinion that the officers and men who were detached to render assistance to Seyyid Majid, the Sultan of Zanzibar, against the

rebels under Seyyid Burghash, in accordance with a requisition of Her Majesty's Consul and Agent, Colonel Rigby, rendered valuable service, and are deserving of high commendation for the spirit and intrepidity with which they did their duty. His Lordship in Council also concurs with the Commander-in-chief of the Indian Navy in considering that Commander Adams deserves the approbation of Government for the alacrity and judgment with which he complied with the requisitions of Her Majesty's Consul."

Seyyid Burghash remained in exile at Bombay until he promised to forbear from again fomenting disturbances in Zanzibar, when he was allowed to return. He loyally kept his word, and, on the death of his brother in 1870, quietly succeeded to the throne.

We will now resume the history of the Indian Navy from the year 1856, merely observing that in breaking the continuity of the narrative as detailed year by year, our object was to give a connected record of the dealings of the Service, between the years 1825-55, with the Arab tribes of the Persian Gulf and the rulers of Muscat.

We now enter upon a not unimportant phase of the services of the Indian Navy in the Persian Gulf, namely, that in which they were brought into actual collision with the native Power which exercised a preponderating influence in that portion of the East.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PERSIAN WAR. 1856—1857.

The *Casus Belli*—The Declaration of War—Departure of the Expedition for the Persian Gulf—The Landing in Hallilah Bay—The Bombardment and Surrender of Bushire—Suicide of General Stalker and Commodore Ethersey—The Bombardment and Capture of Mohamra—The Expedition to Ahwaz—Conclusion of the Persian War, and Government General Orders thereon—The Distribution of Honours

SO long ago as the latter part of 1853, and immediately after the conclusion of the Burmese War, matters in Persia, owing partly to the intrigues of Russia, appeared so threatening that, on the 26th of December, 1853, the 'Auckland,' Commander Macdonald, was despatched to the Persian Gulf. Bushire, also, was in such a ferment that the 'Clive,' flag-ship of the Indian Naval squadron, remained off the port to protect British interests, and the reports from the Resident, Captain Arnold Kemball, were of so alarming a character, that the Marine Department received orders to report upon the number of ships available in the event of an emergency. On the arrival of the 'Auckland' at Bombay, on the 11th of February, 1854, from visiting Bushire, Bassadore, and Muscat, the advices were considered so far from reassuring, that the Government despatched to the Persian Gulf, on the 16th of February, the 'Akbar,' Commander Balfour, and schooner 'Constance,' Lieutenant Stradling. These fears were, however, temporarily allayed by the receipt of a despatch from Mr. Thompson, H.M.'s Chargé d'Affaires at Teheran, dated the 25th of January, 1854, in which he announced that the Shah had declared to him that strict neutrality would be observed by Persia in the war between Russia and Turkey. The following were the movements of the ships of the Indian Navy, in connection with Persian affairs, during the years 1854 and 1855.

On the 26th of March, 1854, the 'Tigris,' Lieutenant Dakers, who died soon after his return, arrived from the Persian Gulf with despatches from Bushire; five days later, the 'Ajdaha,' Commander Barker, sailed, and, after visiting Bussorah, Bushire, Bassadore, and Muscat, cast anchor in Bombay harbour on the 26th of May. Meantime, the 'Akbar,' Commander

Balfour, had arrived also from Bussorah, on the 15th of April; and, on the 8th of July, the 'Ferooz,' Commander Drought, returned from visiting Bushire, Bassadore, and Muscat. On the 24th of November, the 'Ajdaha,' with the remains of Sir Frederick Fitzclarence, the late Commander-in-chief, sailed from Bombay for Suez, for the purpose of conveying up the Gulf the Hon. C. A. Murray, the British Minister and Envoy at the Court of Teheran, and, on his Excellency's arrival at Suez on the 26th of December, she left for Bushire, whence Mr. Murray found his way, *viâ* Bagdad, to the Persian capital, where he found anything but a cordial welcome, while the 'Ajdaha' proceeded to Bombay, where she arrived on the 2nd of April. On the 17th of May, the 'Victoria,' Lieutenant Adams, arrived from Bushire, when that officer, taking command of the 'Queen,' sailed on the 2nd of June for the Gulf, whence she returned on the 4th of October; and, on the 25th of July, the 'Falkland,' Commander Hewett, arrived at Bombay, bringing intelligence that the Shah had declared his intention to maintain a strict neutrality in the war between Russia and Turkey. On the 16th of August, the 'Falkland,' now commanded by Lieutenant Manners—Commander Hewett having proceeded to England on three years' sick leave—again sailed for the Gulf, and that officer, removing to the 'Clive,' brought her to Bombay on the 29th of October, 1855. On the following day, the 'Assaye,' Commander J. W. Young, sailed for the Persian Gulf, and, on the 16th of January, 1856, the 'Semiramis,' Lieutenant Etheridge, which had been on a cruise round the Gulf, arrived at Bombay, bringing copies of the correspondence between Mr. Murray and the Persian Government, and a request from the Envoy for the immediate despatch of a steamer to Bushire. Accordingly, three days after her arrival, the 'Ajdaha,' Lieutenant Worsley, with a detachment of European artillerymen on board to act as marines, sailed for the Gulf. The 'Semiramis,' now under Commander Alan Hyde Gardner, also proceeded thither on the 11th of April; and the 'Clive,' which had returned to the Gulf, arrived from Bushire on the 9th of May. The 'Victoria,' Lieutenant Giles, proceeded to the Gulf on the 28th of May, followed, on the 16th of August, by the 'Assaye,'* temporarily commanded by Lieutenant

* The 'Assaye,' Commander Young, had meanwhile been employed on other service. She had returned to Bombay on the 9th of March, and on the 16th of April, sailed for Calicut, the savage tribe of Sourahs having risen in insurrection at Pula Kimedy, a zemindaree of Ganjam From thence she proceeded to Madras, where she arrived on the 7th of May; embarking the 31st Madras Native Infantry, she sailed again on the 12th for Vizagapatam, where the regiment was landed. On the 19th of May she again cast anchor in Madras roads, and on the 2nd of June, arrived at Bombay Commander Young was now appointed Master-Attendant in place of Captain Montriou, deceased, and Lieutenant Nisbett was placed in temporary command of the 'Assaye.'

Nisbett, which returned on the 15th of September, after visiting Bushire, Bassadore, and Muscat; two days later arrived the 'Ferooz,' Commander Rennie, which had been ordered round from Calcutta on the prospect of hostilities, followed, on the 20th, by the 'Berenice,' Lieutenant Chitty, which had not been round from the eastward since she left Bombay for Burmah in February, 1852. The 'Ajdaha' returned from the Persian Gulf on the 7th of September, and, on the 19th, the 'Ferooz' sailed for Bushire with despatches for the Political Resident, Commander Felix Jones, I.N.,* and conveyed some military staff officers to make preparations for the Expedition that was now resolved upon. On their arrival at Bushire, these officers landed in the town, and proceeded to the Residency, when Commander Jones directed them to return, as, on account of the excited state of the population and the presence near the town of a body of Persian troops, he could not be answerable for their safety. Commander Rennie† proceeded on shore with despatches for the Resident, and then sailed for Bassadore, where the staff officers were landed, and the 'Ferooz' returned to Bombay.

The necessity for the hostilities that were now imminent may be described in a few words. Notwithstanding treaties and protestations, the Persian Government, with singular faithlessness, in December, 1855, had announced its intention, in the Teheran Official Gazette, to despatch a force to Herat, on the pretext that Dost Mahomed, the Ameer of Afghanistan, had been instigated by his "neighbours" to possess himself of Candahar. This threat was carried into execution, and, after a gallant resistance of many months, Herat was captured on the 25th of October, 1856. On the 20th of November, Mr. Murray struck his flag at Teheran, and, on the 5th of December, withdrew to Bagdad; meanwhile, on the 1st day of November, the Governor-General issued his Declaration of War, in which he stated that, remonstrances having failed, "a force has been directed to assemble at Bombay, and will embark as soon as the necessary arrangements shall have been completed. The further operations of the force, after it shall have reached the Persian Gulf, will be guided by such instruc-

* Commander Felix Jones received temporary charge of the Political Agency in Turkish Arabia, from Colonel Rawlinson on the 1st of April, 1855, and, from the 2nd of May was appointed Acting Resident of Bushire, in succession to Captain Kemball, which was made substantive from the following 31st of July, and certainly, if intimate knowledge of the languages and customs of the Persians and other races, was any qualification for the post, no better man could have been selected from any branch of the public service

† We remember, being then a midshipman on board the 'Ferooz,' how this judicious, as well as gallant, officer, who had "an eye to business" whenever any fighting was on the tapis, took advantage of this last opportunity of reconnoitring Bushire, to take careful soundings both in going ashore and returning, to be of use in eventualities.

tions as the progress of events and the policy of the British Government may demand"*

During the month of October, Bombay dockyard resounded with the din of preparation as ships of war and transports were fitted out; the former to undertake warlike operations, and the latter to carry the Expeditionary army with the necessary stores and supplies. On the 15th of October, Sir Henry Leeke issued orders that the following steamers were to be provisioned and fill up with water for five months, for the number of troops stated against their names, in addition to their own crews: 'Assaye,' four hundred Sepoys; 'Semiramis,' three hundred Sepoys; 'Ajdaha,' three hundred Europeans; 'Victoria,' two hundred Europeans; and 'Hugh Lindsay,'† one hundred and sixty two Europeans. In addition to these eight steam-frigates and sloops, the naval part of the Expedition, which was exclusively drawn from the Indian Navy, was to consist of the 'Falkland,' 'Clive,' and 'Euphrates' (surveying brig), under command of Lieutenant Constable, who was specially appointed surveyor to the Expedition, with Lieutenant Sweny as his assistant. There were also the following iron steamers, which were of great service, owing to the small draught of water: 'Comet,' Commander Selby, which was employed on the Tigris, between Bussorah and Bagdad;

* The attack on Herat was justly made a *casus belli* for the following reasons On the 25th of January, 1853, certain articles of agreement were concluded between Colonel Shiel, at that time H M 's Envoy at the Court of the Shah of Persia, and his Highness the Sudar Azim, or Prime Minister, by which the Persian Government engaged not to send troops to Herat on any account, unless foreign troops—that is, troops from the direction of Cabul, or Candahar, or other foreign country—should invade Herat In the event of troops being sent, the Persian Government engaged that these troops should not enter the city of Herat, and that, on the return of the foreign troops to their own territory, the Persian forces should be immediately withdrawn from the neighbourhood of Herat to Persian soil. The Persian Government also engaged to abstain from all interference whatsoever in the internal affairs of Herat, and relinquished all pretension to acknowledgment of allegiance on the part of the people of Herat It was at the same time stipulated that so long as there should be no interference of any sort whatever on the part of the British Government in the affairs of Herat, the engagements contracted by the Persian Government should remain in full force and effect On the other hand, it was agreed in the name of the British Government that, if any foreign powers, such as the Afghans or others, should wish to interfere with, or to take possession of, Herat, the British Government on the requisition of the Persian Ministers, would not object to restrain such foreign powers by friendly advice, so that Herat might retain its independence While the British Government faithfully adhered to the obligations which it accepted under the agreement of January, 1853, the Government of Persia manifested a deliberate and persevering disregard of the reciprocal engagements by which at the same time it became bound, and endeavoured to subvert by force the independence of Herat, which was the declared object of the agreement in question Before the year 1853 was over, the Persians, with characteristic treachery, strove to ignore their engagements by annexing Herat, while the English Embassy was insulted — (*Vide* Proclamation of the Governor-General of the 1st of November, 1856)

† The 'Hugh Lindsay,' commanded by Acting-Master Darke, was brought round from the eastward to be employed as a transport.

'Napier,' Acting-master McLaurin; 'Planet,' Acting-master Fletcher; and 'Assyria,' Acting-master Neal.

Sir James Outram, who was in England, was nominated to the supreme command, Major-General Stalker proceeding in charge of the first division of five thousand men. Sir Henry Leeke, at his own request, was authorised to command the Indian Navy squadron, but was instructed to return immediately after the capture of Bushire. It was certainly a most unfair act of Government to send an officer to supersede the Commodore of the Persian Gulf squadron, and a great slur upon that officer, than whom a more gallant and high-minded sailor did not exist in any Service. Sir Henry Leeke was not an Outram, or he would not thus have consented to pluck from Commodore Ethersey the chance of distinction thus almost placed within his grasp; and it is well known that the latter felt keenly what was virtually an act of supercession, and in no small degree it prompted him to the commission of the rash act which shortly after terminated an honourable and not undistinguished career. The appointment of Sir Henry Leeke was the more unjustifiable as it was owing to the extreme pressure brought to bear upon him that Captain Ethersey held the post of Commodore in the Persian Gulf On Commodore Robinson's return to the Presidency, in March 1855, the Bombay Government, apprehending difficulties with Persia, offered the post to Captain Ethersey, then Superintendant of the Indus flotilla; but he declined it, owing to his broken health, which had decided him to proceed to England and resign the Service. Government, however, which had the highest opinion of his capacity, urged him to reconsider his decision, and, in an evil hour, he sacrificed the prospect of repose he had so well earned by long and meritorious service, and acceded to the request alike honourable and flattering to him. Accordingly he was gazetted to be Commodore of the Persian Gulf Squadron from the 12th of April, 1855, and, hoisting his broad pennant on board the 'Clive,' assumed charge from the 17th of June, Commander Daniell succeeding him on the Indus. Sir Henry Leeke assumed command of the fleet from the 8th of November, hoisting his flag on board the 'Assaye,' his assistant, Captain Powell, being appointed to officiate as Superintendent during his absence.

The following were the ships and commanding officers of the Indian Navy squadron employed in the Persian War: 'Assaye,' flag-ship of Rear-Admiral Sir Henry J. Leeke, Captain Griffith Jenkins (Captain of the Fleet), and Acting-Commander G. N. Adams; 'Falkland,' Commodore Ethersey and Lieutenant J. Tronson; 'Semiramis,' Captain J. W. Young; 'Ferooz,' Commander J. Rennie; 'Punjaub,' Acting-Commander A. Foulerton; 'Ajdaha,' Lieutenant M. B. Worsley; 'Berenice,' Lieutenant

A. W. Chitty; 'Victoria,' Lieutenant E. Giles (and later, Lieutenant Manners); 'Clive,' Commander Albany Grieve, who received command from Lieutenant Manners. Government chartered twenty-three transports,* having a tonnage of 20,432 tons, also the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamers 'Precursor,' 'Pottinger,' and 'Chusan,' and three steamers of the Bombay Steam Navigation Company, the 'Sir J. Jejeebhoy,' 'Lady Falkland,' and 'Bombay'—the whole being placed under the charge of Commander Macdonald, with a staff of Indian Navy officers as agents for transports. The greater portion of the troops, under the command of Major-General Stalker, embarked at Bombay, but some transports were despatched to Vingorla to convey H.M.'s 64th Regiment and the 20th Bombay Native Infantry, which had marched thither from Belgaum, and others to Porebunder, to embark the 3rd Cavalry, and to Kurrachee to ship the 2nd Belooch Battalion, 2nd Europeans, and a battery of Artillery.†

On the 8th November, the 'Punjaub,' 'Victoria,' 'Semiramis,' 'Ajdaha,' and 'Berenice,' with a division of transports, sailed for the Persian Gulf; on the 11th, the 'Clive' sailed, convoying a second division; on the 13th, the 'Assaye' and 'Ferooz,' with other ships; and finally, on the 15th, the 'Euphrates.' The 'Assaye' and a portion of the Expedition called at Muscat, and, by the 24th of November, the whole force had reached the appointed rendezvous off Bunder Abbas Thence they made sail for Bushire, on the 26th, in three divisions On the 29th of November, the 'Ferooz,' towing two transports, and the 'Falkland,' Commodore Ethersey, arrived off the town, thus affording to the Governor the first certain information of the approach of an armed British force. The Governor immediately addressed an official inquiry to Commander Felix Jones as to the destination and object of the ships in Persian waters, to which the Resident, who had repaired on board the 'Assaye,' which arrived at Bushire a few days later, replied on the 3rd of December, after holding a conference with General Stalker and Sir Henry Leeke—that his functions in connection with Persia had ceased, and that it lay with the "Sirdar General Sahib"

* The following is a list of the twenty-three transports —For Artillery—'Rajah of Cochin,' 'Melbourne,' 'Madge Wildfire,' 'Sibella,' 'Dakota,' 'Merse,' 'Mirzapore' For Light Cavalry—'Abdulla,' 'Bayne,' 'Alabama,' and 'Fairlie' For the Poona Horse—'Arthur the Great,' 'Thames City,' and 'Clifton' For Infantry, the bulk of which were to embark in the steamers and ships-of-war—'Result' and 'Maria Gray' For Stores—'Futtay Salam' and 'Philo' Coal hulks—'Bride of the Seas,' 'British Flag,' 'Somnauth,' 'Defiance,' and 'Rhoderick Dhu.'

† The first Division of the Expeditionary force numbered five thousand six hundred and seventy combatants, (of whom two thousand two hundred and seventy were Europeans), three thousand seven hundred and fifty camp followers, with eleven hundred and fifty horses and four hundred and thirty bullocks.

to answer the Governor's queries. This the General did by sending, together with Commander Jones's letter, a copy of the Declaration of War issued by Lord Dalhousie on the 1st of November. No answer was received to these communications, and, on the following day, the 4th of December, the British flag was hoisted at Kharrack, after an interval of sixteen years, under a Royal salute from the guns of the 'Ferooz'

The first operation to be undertaken was the capture of Bushire, and, on the 6th of December, most of the transports, which had been scattered by the head-winds, having rejoined the fleet, dropped down to Hallilah Bay, about twelve miles south-east of Bushire, which had been selected by Commodore Ethersey as the best site for the landing of the troops, the coast between this point and Bushire presenting an unbroken line of cliff, which, though of no great height, was quite insurmountable for artillery, while in the bight formed by Hallilah Bay, the land slopes gently upwards from a fine broad beach. On the morning of the 7th of December, the sea being smooth and the weather favourable, the disembarkation commenced under cover of the fire of a division of eight gunboats, armed with 24-pounder howitzers, under Lieutenant Stradling, and the guns of the 'Ajdaha,' which had the honour of firing the first hostile shot in this war, directed on a body of the enemy who had taken post in a date-grove about two hundred yards to the left of the beach. This force which was supported by a larger column, retired, but not before they had suffered some loss from the shells, one of which killed a leading Persian chief. On the 9th of December the disembarkation of the troops was completed without loss or hitch of any kind. General Stalker does justice to "the officers and seamen for their unwearied exertions in landing troops, which, owing to the absence of any other boats than those of the fleet, was a work of much labour, occupying the greater part of three days and two nights." On Sunday, the 9th, the troops, with three days' provisions in their havresacks, advanced upon the fort of Reshire, about four and a half miles below Bushire, a strong work, having thick walls, a dry ditch forty feet deep, with a redoubt in front scarped on the sea face. The 'Assaye' opened fire with admirable effect, with her 8-inch guns, at a range of 1.700 yards, being unable to make a nearer approach; and after the greater portion of the enemy had retreated, the British troops stormed the position. In this advance, Brigadier Stopford of the 64th, and Lieutenant-Colonel Malet of the 3rd Cavalry, were killed, and three officers were wounded, of whom two died. Meanwhile Commander Jones had proceeded to Bushire in the 'Assyria,' bearing a summons to the Governor to surrender, and offering most favourable conditions; but his flag of truce

was fired upon from the town, and he returned to the 'Assaye,' which, with the rest of the fleet, had arrived before Bushire. An apology from the Governor followed, regretting the act, which he attributed to the ignorance of an artilleryman, and begging for twenty-four hours' delay, which the Admiral promptly refused.

The anchorage was buoyed during the night of the 9th, by the boats of the fleet, and, at eight on the following morning, the ships of war took up their positions off the defences of the town with springs upon their cables, while the army approached on the land side. A redoubt, commanding the wells on the plain, from which Bushire derived its supply of water, was shelled in the morning by some of the gunboats, and its garrison forced to retire into the town. The engagement then commenced between the ships and the defences, and continued for four hours, when, at noon, the enemy ceased firing and lowered the Persian colours.

Sir Henry Leeke, writing from his flagship off Bushire, on the 10th, describes in the following terms the part taken by the squadron in the attack on Reshire on the 9th and the bombardment and capture of Bushire on the following day; but, unfortunately, he did his best to bring ridicule on a successful day's work by comparing one of the Persian batteries to "a miniature Malakhoff." He says:—"On my nearing the fort, (Reshire) we saw it full of Persian soldiers, who were drawn up ready for the attack. At this moment I was about 1,700 yards from them when we commenced firing shell, many dropping within the trenches and committing much slaughter, obliging the Persian troops to fly, with the exception of about eight hundred, who made a resolute stand, and were driven out by the troops in one of the most brilliant and gallant charges I ever witnessed. Here the troops halted for the night. I then pushed on for the roadstead; and at daylight this morning, seeing the Persian Army drawn up near the walls (their centre supported by a high fortified tower and redoubt), I ordered the 'Falkland,' sloop, 'Ajdaha,' steam-frigate, 'Berenice' and 'Victoria,' steam-sloops, under the command of Lieutenants Tronson, Worsley, Chitty, and Giles, and eight heavy armed gunboats, under Lieutenant Stradling, to place their ships in position to attack it. This was done in a most gallant way; and in the course of an hour I had the satisfaction to see the whole of the Persian troops in full retreat to the town, but in perfect order and with great coolness supported by their artillery.

"A boat with a white flag was now seen approaching the ship, and, on one of the chiefs arriving on board, a request was made by the Governor of the town for a delay of operations for twenty-four hours to offer terms. This I instantly refused, in consequence of his having fired on one of our small steamers

bearing a flag of truce the day before. Half an hour was given him to get out of the way of our shot; and the ships having been placed in line of battle, my flag-ship in the centre, the action commenced, and continued on both sides for two hours, when, observing two batteries outside the town, one a kind of miniature Malakhoff, harassing the 'Semiramis' and 'Ferooz,' I directed our fire towards them, and in three hours they were perfectly silenced and the guns dismounted. A tower on the north-west angle of the fort, and a masked battery below the Residency flagstaff outside the walls, kept up a constant and steady fire upon the 'Semiramis' and 'Ferooz.' It was necessary to silence them also; and seeing that both ships were much damaged by their steady aim, the foremost guns of this ship were ordered to be directed towards them, and in the course of an hour both batteries ceased firing I was now anxious to make an opening in the wall of the town, that the troops might have nothing in their way if General Stalker on his arrival determined upon carrying the place by assault. Our fire was therefore directed to the south-west angle, and the breach commenced by knocking down a part of the town, and the embrasure in which a gun was mounted, as well as the lower part of the wall. The fire from the batteries at this time gradually slackened, and at this moment the flagstaff in the town was hauled down in token of submission and the place surrendered. The Army was by this time close to the town; and it was a source of the greatest pleasure to me to feel that we had cleared away every obstacle that presented itself on their onward march, the more so as they had lost so many gallant fellows the day before when storming the Fort of Reshire. The ships of the fleet have suffered considerably in their hulls, masts, and rigging from the fire of the enemy's guns; the 'Semiramis' and 'Ferooz' have some shot through them, but nothing to prevent all being ready for sea in a day or two. I am most happy to add that no person has been touched, nor has any casualty occurred during the four hours and a half we were under fire. How this has happened is miraculous, for the grape-shot which fell at every instant around and abreast the gunboats and the round shot over and about our ships were very severe, and proved that our enemy were more formidable than they were supposed to be even by those who had known the town years before, there being fifty-nine guns mounted on the batteries.

"It now becomes a pleasing part of my duty to bring to the notice of your Lordship in Council the very great assistance I have received from Commodore Ethersey (who met me off the island of Kishm, and from his knowledge of this place gave me much valuable information), Captains Jenkins and Young, Commanders Macdonald (in charge of all the transports), and

Rennie, and Acting-Commanders Foulerton and Adams (the latter the captain of this ship), the officers, petty-officers, and seamen of the fleet under my command; nor can I ever forget their gallant conduct in this day's battle, or their cheerfulness and activity in carrying out my orders and in moving their ships into position abreast of the batteries; and I am sure the Government will think with me that this was no easy task to perform, for most of the vessels drew from fifteen to sixteen feet of water, and we had to take them (at high water) some way through soft mud to get near enough to the forts, and this under a heavy fire. Where all have so ably and gallantly performed their duty, it is difficult to particularise individuals, but I desire to express my warm thanks to Captain Griffith Jenkins, the first captain of the ship, for the very great assistance he has afforded me throughout the whole of the operations, and particularly during the action. He was the first officer—assisted by Major Hill of the Engineers, and Lieutenant Clarkson, the first lieutenant of my flag-ship—to enter the town and hoist the British flag. In conclusion, may I again request your Lordship's notice of the gallant officers who have given me so much assistance and support during the time I have been fitting out the Persian Gulf Expedition By their exertions nearly ten thousand persons, with all their camp equipage, provisions, guns, and stores, and eleven hundred horses, have been landed on the shores of Persia without the slightest accident, and, with the exception of five horses, without a casualty of any sort; and by to-morrow evening the troops will have their tents pitched, cooking things ready, and every arrangement to give them comfort and shelter in the cold weather and rains of the winter. The Indian Navy, being a service of seniority, precludes promotion, and unlike their brethren of the Army, they can gain nothing of advancement to a higher rank; but if, in bringing to the notice of your Lordship in Council their meritorious conduct upon this as well as every other occasion, I have the good fortune to render a service to those who have so thoroughly done their duty, it will be a source of the greatest gratification."* Thus, after a bombardment of less than five hours, fell

* The following despatch from Commander Felix Jones, I N, Political Agent, to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, dated the 13th of December, 1856, gives some further details of the capture of Bushire.—

"My last despatch made known my retirement from Bushire I now continue the report of my proceedings to the present date in connection with the Expeditionary force in this Gulf On the 20th of November a detachment of the fleet ('Ferooz,' steam-frigate, towing two merchant ships, and corvette 'Falkland'), first hove in sight of Bushire, and dispelled the prevailing idea that the force would not quit the shores of India This illusion I had been able to maintain perfect to the last moment, though the object I had contemplated of an immediate descent on the coast failed, from the fleet being scattered in various parts of the Gulf. It was not, indeed, until the 6th inst, that they were sufficiently collected to admit of direct operations being commenced, but in the meantime

Bushire, which General Stalker described, in his despatch, as "infinitely stronger than I had any reason to believe from the

the island of Kharrack was occupied and formed into a military depôt, as reported in my despatch to Major-General Stalker, under date of the 4th inst The day subsequent to the arrival of the first ships, the Governor of Bushire wrote to me officially on the subject of the display before the town, but, as I was then about proceeding to meet the General some miles off at sea, an answer to his inquiries was delayed, as shown in the accompanying letters On the 3rd of December the Governor-General's Proclamations were sent to him officially, with the sanction of the Major-General commanding the forces To these there was no reply On the 6th inst the fleet moved down to Hallilah Bay, which Commodore Ethersey had pronounced the best suited for the debarkation of the force, and no spot could have been better selected Dispositions were made for landing the force on the following morning, when it was effected in admirable order, though not unobserved by the enemy, small parties of whom were driven from their lurking places in the date groves by the fire of the gunboats and well-directed shot from the steam-frigate 'Ajdaha,' commanded by Lieutenant Worsley Shortly after noon the force was enabled to advance from the beach and take up an extended front before the enemy, seen at intervals watching our movements, a few miles in advance Great difficulties, however, had to be contended with in landing the cavalry horses and artillery equipage, from a paucity of native boats, which I had failed in procuring from the Arab coasts, owing to the impracticability of dealing with the people in moments of emergency and need These difficulties were, however, readily surmounted by the skill and activity of the Indian Naval officers and men, whose exertions on this occasion merit the highest praise These exertions were fully appreciated by their associates in arms, not less active in their endeavours to get at the enemy with the least possible delay Forty-eight hours sufficed to put the troops in motion northward, the ships-of-war, led by the Admiral, advancing along the coast to their support This was on the morning of the 9th, and by noon the enemy were observed to be in force in the village of Reshire Here, amidst the ruins of old houses, garden walls, and steep ravines, they occupied a formidable position, but, notwithstanding their firmness, wall after wall was surmounted, and finally they were driven from their last defence (the old fort of Reshire), bordering on the cliffs at the margin of the sea This was carried at the point of the bayonet, the enemy then only flying in despair down the cliffs, where many met their death in their endeavours to escape through the ravines of the south The nature of the ground, however, rendered pursuit difficult to the horses, though many were cut up in a chase of some distance Details of this spirited affair will be given by the proper officers, I shall, therefore, merely observe that the enemy received at first a lesson he will not readily forget, for the tribe families of Dashti and Tungestoon comprising its ranks are regarded as the most brave as well as the most skilled in the defence of posts, like Reshire, where regulars cannot work with full effect. Brigadier Stopford, C B, met his death here, and other loss was experienced The wounded were received into ships the same evening, and provisions were thrown into the fort from seaward during the night It had been agreed that I should proceed in person to the town of Bushire, in a small steamer, with a flag of truce, bearing the accompanying copy of a summons to surrender, with the terms offered to the garrison While the above was enacting, I proceeded on this errand with the humane object also of receiving such of the merchants and townspeople as might be desirous of shelter in the fleet. This was quite in accordance with the wishes of the Government of India in regard to the inhabitants of Bushire, and the Major-General, the Admiral, and myself were induced to believe that my presence near them might tend to avert much bloodshed In this, however, we were disappointed, for on passing through the intricate channel leading to the town, two batteries, at a distance of 500 yards, opened upon the 'Assyria,' bearing the flag of truce, in defiance of all usages of war Deeming it might be a mistake, I caused the vessel to stop, but a second and third shot passing close to us, I was compelled to retrace my steps, and even then two more guns were discharged I could scarcely account for this conduct, having taken some pains to explain the meaning of a flag of truce, in the event of

information I had received." Speaking of the services of his personal staff, the General says of Mr. Purser Johnston, of the

warfare, before quitting the town, but, while relating the circumstance to Rear-Admiral Sir Henry Leeke, a flag of truce from the shore was reported, and the bearer (Mirza Ismail, collector of customs in the town) came off with a written apology from the Governor, who, with the chief officers of the garrison, was stated to have been outside of the walls examining into the condition of the exterior defences at the time, every regret was expressed, the act was attributed to the ignorance of the artillerymen, with hopes that it would be overlooked To this the Admiral and myself replied that, so far as we were personally concerned, we were willing to credit the statements of the Governor, and accepted the apology, though the act itself, in whatever way originating, must stigmatize the Persian Government and its officers in the eyes of all civilized States Mirza Ismail returned with a summons to the shore While this was going on, a note from the Major General commanding announced his intention of advancing on the town the following morning, and the Admiral disposed his fleet in order of battle, for first dismantling the newly-erected outworks, and then moving with a view of breaching the south wall of the town The following morning, as the tide served, the ships were in the positions assigned to them A second flag of truce had come off, begging twenty-four hours' delay, but this was promptly rejected, and at near eight o'clock the signal was hoisted to engage Shot and shell were aimed at the redoubt south of the town, but with little effect, owing to the great range, though eventually the enemy assembled there to oppose the troops were dislodged, and beat a retreat with their guns into the town The ships, in the meantime, had moved upon the town, and such was the ardour displayed to get close to the works, that every ship was laid aground at the turn of high water, and for four hours continued to cannonade the defences, which were active in replying the whole time Many of their guns, however, were not of sufficient calibre to reach the ships, but the perseverance of the Persian gunners in firing from the more heavy pieces was admired by every one Their shot told very often on the hulls of the 'Victoria,' 'Falkland,' 'Semiramis,' and 'Ferooz,' which latter vessels, under Captain John Young and Commander James Rennie (if comparisons are admissible where all exerted themselves alike) had the posts of honour for the day Details of the affair it is unnecessary for me to enter upon It will suffice for me to report that, some of the guns being silenced, on the approach of the army, under Major-General Stalker, C B, to breach the wall on the gate side before the assault, the Persian flagstaff was felled in token of submission This was at noon The Persian flag has since been recovered by myself, and presented as a joint trophy to the chiefs conducting the combined operations in this Expedition, who, with every officer and man in it, whether soldier or sailor, have certainly won for themselves an honourable name After surrender, some little hesitation was shown on the part of the Governor and garrison to come out of the town an assuring note, coupled with the threat of an assault in half-an-hour, was, however, sent in by a freed captive, and on the expiration of the time that officer was seen issuing with his suite from the gate I moved forward with a party to receive and conduct him to head-quarters, where, after tendering his sword, he met with a gracious reception from the Major-General and Rear-Admiral commanding the forces Shortly afterwards the Sirhang, or Commandant, submitted, the entire garrison at the same time laying down their arms on my proceeding into the town with assurances of safety from the Major-General Commanding-in-chief The British colours were then hoisted at 4 30 p m. on the Residency flagstaff by Lieutenant Clarkson, of the Indian Navy, the troops under orders to garrison the town moving at sunset into the place"

After the capture, the following Proclamation was issued by Major-General Stalker, C B, commanding the Persian Field Force —

"The town and outworks of Bushire, after a four hours' cannonade, having surrendered unconditionally to a combined naval and military force assembled before the place, were formerly taken possession of in the name of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, yesterday afternoon The British colours were hoisted at the Residency flag-staff in the town at 4.30 p m, the topmast of His Majesty the Shah

'Assaye,' who, with Lord Dunkellin, of the Coldstream Guards, and Major Taylor, of the Persian Embassy, was attached to him:—"To Mr. Johnston's knowledge of the country and its inhabitants, with the unwearied zeal he has exhibited, I am much indebted"

The night before the attack on Bushire, Commander Rennie sent Acting-Lieutenant Sconce, of his ship, in a boat with muffled oars to buoy a fourteen-foot channel off the batteries; and that officer performed the task in an admirable manner, and enabled the 'Ferooz' to advance three hundred yards within the other ships. On the capitulation of Bushire, the Governor and his staff were sent on board the 'Punjaub,' as prisoners of war, and the 'Semiramis' left for Bombay, where she arrived on Christmas Eve. Sir Henry Leeke sailed from Bushire in the 'Assaye,' three days after the capture of the town, bringing with him the three principal prisoners and the captured flag. While running down the Gulf for Bassadore, an Arab chief boarded the 'Assaye' for the purpose of proffering the aid of his tribe to the English, as, he said, all the people of the coast would prefer the British rule to that of the Shah. In the course of conversation with him, it transpired that a well-equipped Persian division of three thousand men was assembled near Lingah, with the intention of crossing to the Island of Kishm and attacking the depot station at Bassadore. Dismissing the Sheikh with fair words, Sir Henry steamed on, and, soon coming abreast of the Persian camp, opened upon it with his heavy guns. The fire was immediately returned, but the havoc caused by the 8-inch shell crashing through the camp, and knocking over horses and men, soon caused the enemy to retire, which they did in good order. The safety of Bassadore was henceforth assured by the presence of the 'Punjaub,' and a force of marines was entrenched on shore. On the arrival of the 'Assaye' at Bombay, Sir Henry Leeke hauled down his flag and resumed the duties of Commander-in-chief; though his appointment to a command on active service was made by Lord Elphinstone it was discovered that the proceeding was directly in contravention of the orders of the Court of Directors made six years before. On the 19th of January, Captain Jenkins assumed the duties of Assistant-Superintendent, and Acting Commander Adams remained in command of the 'Assaye.'

of Persia's flag-staff having been felled in token of submission. This occupation of Bushire on the mainland of the Persian territories was announced officially this day, with a salute of twenty-one guns from the fleet, the ships being dressed in the usual form God save the Queen"

Captain Felix Jones, with his Assistant, Lieutenant Disbrowe, was engaged after the occupation in giving confidence to the towns-people, securing the magazines, granaries, and other public stores, endeavouring to re-open the bazaars, and in adopting measures for the public safety, as well as in taking steps for obtaining supplies.

Meanwhile, Sir James Outram had arrived from England, and, on the 17th of January, proceeded with his staff to the Persian Gulf on board the 'Semiramis.' The transports had returned to Bombay in large numbers, and, with fourteen additional ships,* commenced embarking the Second Division of the Army, consisting of the 78th Highlanders, 26th and 23rd Bombay Native Infantry, a Light Infantry Battalion, specially organized, of eight hundred men; 14th Dragoons, 1st Scinde Horse, a troop of Horse Artillery, and two Light Field Batteries. This division, organized into two brigades, was placed under the command of Brigadier-General Henry Havelock, C.B., of the 13th Regiment Light Infantry, an officer to whom might be applied the description Homer puts into the mouth of Minerva when upbraiding the valiant Diomedes:—

"Whose little body lodged a mighty mind!"

Under Government Orders of the 13th of January, the Expeditionary Field Force, Lieutenant-General Sir James Outram, K.C.B., in command, was divided into two Divisions, under Generals Stalker, C.B., and Havelock, C.B.; Brigadier-General John Jacob, C.B., commanding the Cavalry Division. Colonel (now General Sir) Edward Lugard, C.B., of the 29th Regiment, was Chief of the Staff, and the Brigadiers were:—General Stalker's Division, Brigadiers N. Wilson, K.H., and R. W. Honner; Lieutenant-Colonel H. W. Trevelyan, Artillery, and Lieutenant-Colonel Tapp, Cavalry. Second, or General Havelock's, Division, Brigadiers W. Hamilton, and J. Hale; Lieutenant-Colonel G. Hutt, C.B., Artillery, and Colonel C. Stewart, Cavalry. Among the officers of the Head-Quarter Staff was Lieutenant W. Pengelley, I.N., appointed to the Land Transport Corps, under Major Curtis, at the express request of Sir James Outram, who wrote, saying he considered his services "indispensable." Here Lieutenant Pengelley's experience in the Crimean War made him of great value.

On the 28th of January the 'Ferooz' arrived at Bombay, towing two transports from Bushire, and sailed again on the 9th of February. The 'Semiramis' arrived at Bushire on the 26th of January, with Sir J. Outram, who marched inland on the 3rd of February with his entire force—except a small detachment, assisted by a party of seamen from the ships-of-war to work the guns—and, on the 5th, occupied the enemy's entrenchments at Boorazjoon, about forty-six miles from Bushire, without opposition. The return march was commenced on the 7th, and, on the following morning, the two

* The following were the fourteen additional transports:—'Ocean Monarch,' 'Hamoody,' 'Nadir Shah,' 'Golden Era,' 'Fazl Kereem,' 'Lord George Bentinck,' 'Carmenta,' 'Hibernia,' 'Eliza,' 'Saldanha,' 'Raby Castle,' 'Belgravia,' 'Tornado,' and 'Thomas Campbell.'

armies came into collision at Khoosh-aub, when the Persians were totally defeated, with a loss of seven hundred killed, that of the British being only ten killed and sixty-two wounded. The brunt of this action was borne by the horse artillery and the Scinde Horse, which made two brilliant charges.

On the 17th of February, the 'Assaye' sailed for the Persian Gulf, followed by the 'Victoria' on the 22nd, and by the 'Ajdaha' on the 3rd of March.

Sir James Outram, pending the arrival of all his reinforcements, made active preparations to attack Mohamra, where a Persian army, thirteen thousand strong, was ascertained to be assembled under the command of the Shahzada, Prince Khanla Khan; at this point, situated at the junction of the Karoon with the Shatt-ul-Arab, or main stream, the enemy had erected batteries of solid earth twenty feet in thickness and eighteen feet in height, with casemated embrasures, armed with heavy guns, which commanded the passage of the latter river

Two unhappy events, however, occurred before the departure of the Expedition to attack this stronghold. On the 14th of March Major-General Stalker, a soldier who had seen considerable service, committed suicide by shooting himself through the head with a pistol, and, on the 17th, only three days after this melancholy event, Commodore Ethersey, now commanding the naval portion of the Expedition, committed suicide under precisely similar circumstances, the verdict of the Court of Inquest being that he died by "his own hand whilst suffering under mental aberration."

The sad state of nervous depression to which Commodore Ethersey had been reduced, was fully stated in the evidence given by Commander Felix Jones, before the Court of Inquest. If there was one officer more than another who commanded the respect and confidence of the entire Service, as in every way calculated for a high command by reason of his antecedents, great experience, and indomitable courage and resolution, it was Richard Ethersey, "Grim Dick," as he was called; but failing health had unstrung that iron nerve, and he, who, some ten years before, would have rejoiced at the opportunity of earning distinction at the cannon's mouth, shrunk from responsibility and was full of chimerical fears.

On Commodore Ethersey's death, Captain J. W. Young assumed the command of the squadron, and, soon after, hoisted his broad pennant on board the 'Ferooz,' when Commander Selby, who, as Surveyor of Mesopotamia, had been stationed on the Tigris in the river steamer 'Comet,' assumed command of the 'Semiramis' before the commencement of the ensuing important operations. Sir James Outram intended to proceed to the attack of the earthworks at Mohamra immediately upon his return from Boorazjoon, but was delayed by the non-arrival

of reinforcements, owing to tempestuous weather, and he deemed it essential to leave a strong garrison at Bushire. Meanwhile the troops began to arrive, and, early in March, the 'Assaye,' 'Ajdaha,' 'Falkland,' 'Berenice,' (with General Havelock and his staff), and several transports, sailed in quick succession for the Shatt-ul-Arab, with troops. On the 18th of March, Sir James Outram left Bushire in the 'Ferooz,' that tried soldier, Brigadier-General John Jacob, C.B., remaining in command of the garrison, with only the 'Euphrates,' Lieutenant Constable, to assist him. The position of this force was one of considerable danger and difficulty, as it was known that a large Persian army was within forty miles of Bushire, and might, probably, take advantage of the absence of the greater portion of the Expedition, to make an attack. Still more anxious was the position of Lieutenant Constable. This officer, having stripped his brig to her lower-masts, took her over the two and a-half miles of shoal water between the town and anchorage, and up the creek which runs until it loses itself in the swamp behind Bushire. He then re-embarked everything on board, crossed top-gallant yards to make a brave show, borrowed three 32-pounders from the 'Clive,' and took up his station on the left flank of the British entrenched camp. Had the Persian attack, which was daily anticipated, really taken place, the position of Lieutenant Constable and his little brig would have been a critical one, as retreat was impracticable without deserting his ship.

By the 24th of March, the entire force destined for the attack on Mohamra, assembled in the Shatt-ul-Arab,* and, on

* Captain Adams writes to us of the 'Assaye's' doings at Bushire and at Ma'amer, the rendezvous in the Shatt-ul-Arab —"Taking the 'Assaye' into action at Bushire I was ordered by Sir Henry Leeke to carry her as close as I could without grounding. I took her close in and anchored with three inches of water under her keel, and reported to the Admiral that it was as close as I could get her. During the bombardment I remained on the bridge, the Admiral and Captain Jenkins being on the quarter deck. The 'Assaye' grounded, and then learning their magazines were on the other side of the town towards Hallilah, we listed the ship to give good elevation and had the luck to blow up one or more powder magazines. The Admiral, Captain Jenkins, and Clarkson went on shore, leaving me to get the ship off, which I did. At Ma'amer, previous to the bombardment of Mohamra, General Havelock and a lot of troops had come in advance, but owing to Bushire being threatened, they got short of provisions, so we knew not what was to be done as we had strict orders not to land on Turkish soil for fear of compromising our Government. I offered to supply his troops with salt and fresh provisions on alternate days, and rigged a stage with spare spars and booms, and having moored our large boat at the end, sent Johnston, the purser, and a lieutenant, to see that no one landed, and bought any number of bullocks and sheep. Havelock dined with me one Sunday with Chitty and his staff, and was delighted with our 68-pounders and the 'Assaye' in general. I was to have dined with him in the 'Berenice,' but half an hour before dinner time, I received a despatch ordering the Cavalry and Horse Artillery to Bushire instantly. As the tide served I ordered Worsley to one transport, Tronson to another, Clarkson to a third, and so on, with men to get them under weigh, and in less than three-quarters of an hour, they were *all* sailing down the river with pilots from our

that day, the fleet, with transports in tow, moved up the river without molestation to the appointed rendezvous, opposite a tope of trees about three and a-half miles below the forts, where the final arrangements for the attack were completed. The river at this point is about 300 yards wide, and the enemy's position at Mohamra was clearly visible from the decks, though groups of officers went aloft to the tops, whence they eagerly scanned the works which they were to attack on the morrow. That these fortifications were of a truly formidable character was known from the best sources, as not only were they familiar to Commander Selby, but Captain Maisonneuve and the officers of the French fifty-gun frigate 'Sybille,' who had just returned from inspecting them, warned the British officers at Bushire that they were of very great strength, and freely expressed their opinion that the force then assembled in the Roads, was inadequate to bombard and capture the works.

Sir James Outram, who was not given to exaggeration, gave the following description of these fortifications after their capture: —"For some months past the Persians had been strengthening their position at Mohamra. Batteries had been erected of great strength, of solid earth, twenty feet thick, eighteen feet high, with casemated embrasures, on the northern and southern points of the banks of the Karoon and Shatt-ul-Arab, where the two rivers join. These, with other earthworks armed with heavy ordnance, commanded the entire passage of the latter river, and were so skilfully and judiciously placed, and so scientifically formed, as to sweep the whole stream to the extent of the range of the guns up and down the river and across the opposite shore: indeed, everything that science could suggest, and labour accomplish in the time, appeared to have been done by the enemy to effectually prevent any vessel passing up the river above their position; the banks, for many miles, were covered by dense date groves, affording the most perfect cover for riflemen; and the opposite shore, being neutral territory (Turkish) was not available for the erection of counter batteries. The accompanying rough sketch will, I fear, give your Excellency but a faint idea of the great strength of the Persian position, and the difficulty of successfully attacking them in it without very considerable loss. I could have landed my troops on the island of Abadan, which was strongly occupied by the Persians; and there is no doubt that, after defeating them, the southern battery would eventually have fallen to us. But the several batteries on the northern bank of the Karoon commanded the entire southern bank, as well as the stream of the Shatt-ul-Arab; and it would have been a serious and an ex-

vessels. I went and reported to Havelock, who had received a similar despatch, that all the transports were on their way, at which he was pleased, and his staff commiserated me on losing my dinner."

tremely difficult operation to have crossed the rapid current of the Karoon in the face of the enemy, had the means existed for doing so. But, until our small steamers and boats could round the southern point, and join us, we should have been helpless. After mature deliberation, I resolved to attack the enemy's batteries with the armed steamers and sloops-of-war, and, so soon as the fire was nearly silenced, to pass up rapidly with the troops, in small steamers towing boats, land the force two miles above the northern point, and immediately advance upon, and attack, the entrenched camp."

At nine p m on the 24th March, a boat with muffled oars, having some of the heads of departments on board, proceeded up the river to choose a position for a mortar battery, and, when close under the forts, having ascertained that the island on which it was said a mortar battery could be erected, was a swamp, they returned without being fired at. But the ingenuity of Commander Rennie came to the rescue with the proposal of a mortar raft, and, in defiance of the engineers, who said the first shot would smash it, a raft was constructed during the night, under Commander Rennie's directions, of casks and studding-sail booms securely lashed together, and, being manned by the Bombay artillery, and armed with two 8-inch and two 5½-inch mortars, was towed up to its position opposite the northern fort, by the steamer 'Comet.'

The 25th of March was occupied in trans-shipping troops, horses, and guns, into the small steamers and boats, and, says Captain Hunt, of the 78th Highlanders, "the blue-jackets of the Indian Navy worked with a will, and helped their red-coated brethren through every difficulty—the way in which the horses were handled by them being particularly remarked, and the animals themselves seemed to know they were in proper hands." At nightfall the enemy brought some field-pieces down opposite the ships, and opened fire on the 'Assaye,' which vessel soon silenced them with her 68-pounders; they kept up a picket fire, however, all night, and, on the following morning, several of their cavalry were seen moving about amongst the trees, dressed in a light blue uniform with white belts.

The morning of the 26th was magnificent, and the sky cloudless, with just sufficient wind to blow the smoke clear of the ships so that a good aim could be taken by the captains of the guns, who probably threw few shots away. As a spectacle, the action that ensued was grand and effective. The scene, as the ships, with ensigns hoisted at each masthead as if *en fête* for some great national holiday, simultaneously opened their broadsides, was brilliant to a degree; and as, during the progress of the bombardment, the hearty British cheers of the seamen announced to their comrades in the transports that a magazine had exploded or some battery been silenced, the enthusiasm would

rise to fever heat. Perhaps other memories were aroused in the minds of the more cultivated or thoughtful of the combatants. These cradle-lands of the human family had, from before the days of Semiramis, Alexander, and Trajan, witnessed some of the most momentous and sanguinary struggles known in history, and now, on the same classic ground where Babylonian, Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman, had struggled for mastery, for the first time the cannon of Britain roused the echoes and taught the people that another power from the far west claimed the heritage of sovereignty, once held by those mighty nations of antiquity. Before that eventful day had closed, that great soldier, Sir James Outram, equal to the best of his predecessors, had "watered the horses" of Britain in the stream that flowed past the site which tradition has handed down from countless ages as the home of our first parents, the Garden of Eden.

All the arrangements being complete, at daylight on the 26th, the men-of-war, having got steam up, weighed, and proceeded up to the attack. The following were the ships engaged:—'Ferooz,' Commander Rennie, with Commodore Young's broad pennant at the main; 'Semiramis,' Commander Selby, towing the 'Clive,' Commander Grieve; 'Assaye,' Acting-Commander Adams; 'Ajdaha,' Lieutenant Worsley; 'Victoria,' Lieutenant Manners, towing the 'Falkland,' Lieutenant Tronson. While the ships of war proceeded to silence the batteries, the transports, consisting of nearly fifty ships and steamers, remained at their anchorage. The mortar raft opened fire at daybreak, and the 8-inch shells were very effective, though, owing to the distance being over 1,000 yards, the shells from the 5½-inch mortars fell short. During the five hours the mortars were playing on the enemy's works, they discharged one hundred and two shells in and about the forts, being at the rate of one every three minutes. At six a.m., the 'Semiramis,' followed by the 'Ajdaha,' 'Clive,' 'Victoria,' and 'Falkland,' having taken up the stations allotted them by Commodore Young, within 800 yards of the batteries, opened fire as they came up Half-an-hour later the 'Ferooz' and 'Assaye,' passing the south fort, took up good positions about 300 yards from the north fort, the strongest work, and began firing 8-inch shell, which were quickly and hotly returned by the enemy.

After a heavy cannonade had been maintained for more than an hour, at 7.45 a.m. Commodore Young hoisted the "close" pennant on board the 'Ferooz,' when that ship and the 'Assaye' gallantly took up positions within sixty yards of the earthworks, the other ships being in line astern. The 'Victoria,' Lieutenant Manners, being in advance of the other division, owing to her light draught of water, took up her station astern of the 'Assaye,' thus becoming the third ship in the line; she,

however, grounded 200 yards from the mouth of the Huffer Creek, and thus became exposed to a concentrated fire, receiving eighteen shots in her hull, whilst the rigging was much cut away. The 'Ajdaha,' 'Semiramis.' 'Falkland,' and 'Clive,' were soon in position, and a heavy fire was maintained on both sides with great spirit. All the ships anchored, except the 'Assaye,' which was unable to do so owing to her great length (280 feet), but Commander Adams manœuvred his ship with the seaman-like skill for which he was distinguished. It being ebb-tide, he steamed close to the 'Ferooz,' and then dropped till he could rake the Huffer face of the northern fort; then going ahead he repeated the manœuvre until the termination of the action, when he anchored off the fort The manner in which he worked his ship in a tide-way, and engaged the Persian batteries at pistol-shot range, excited the admiration of all beholders.* Equally inspiriting was the way in which the squadron was led into action by the gallant Commodore, who, in the heat of the bombardment, received in his face the blood and brains of a seaman killed at his side by a round shot, while Commander Rennie fought the 'Ferooz,' the leading ship, with the coolness and judgment that were expected of an officer of his character and experience.

The 'Semiramis,' 'Ajdaha,' and 'Victoria' were handled with the celerity and precision under fire, in a crowded stream, that might have been anticipated from the antecedents of the experienced officers who commanded them; while the beautiful spectacle presented by the sailing sloops-of-war, 'Clive' and 'Falkland,' as they simultaneously furled all sail and fired a broadside into the opposing batteries, drew forth expressions of admiration from the nautical spectators in the transports, and alike demonstrated the skill of Commanders Albany Grieve and Tronson, the smartness of the officers and crews, and the high class of practical seamanship that obtained in the Service.

About ten o'clock, the magazine in the north fort blew up with splendid effect, when deafening cheers rang from each ship, and the seamen worked the guns with renewed vigour. This explosion was quickly followed by three others, and from this time the enemy's fire slackened. At one o'clock, the formidable works having been completely silenced, the 'Berenice' —having General Havelock on board, and crowded with the Highlanders—and steam transports moved up, and landed the

* Colonel Barr wrote to Commander Adams —"The gallant way in which you took the 'Assaye' into action at Mohamra, and the determination with which, at pistol range, you engaged the northern fort, I have often spoken of with many others, who were, like myself, eye-witnesses of the affair, and I never heard but one opinion expressed, viz, that your handling of the 'Assaye' was most admirable, and the pluck with which you attacked and overthrew the batteries was heart-stirring to witness"

troops a mile above the northern fort, the seamen cheering as they passed, and the 'Ajdaha' covering the landing. The scene at this time is admirably described by Captain Hunt of the 78th Highlanders:—"The practice from the ships on the enemy's works was admirable, and the effects of the fire soon became apparent; the embrasures and carefully rivetted parapets rapidly losing their original shape, and the crash of the falling date trees around affording ample proof of the storm of shot. For about three hours the Persian artillerymen stood manfully to their guns; but their fire then slackening, the signal was seen flying for the infantry to move up and disembark. The 'Berenice' steamer, carrying the Highlanders, as well as a company of sappers, and General Havelock and the staff of the Second Division, led the column, her decks crowded to the uttermost, there being barely standing room for the men on board, and the bridge between her paddle-boxes quite as fully occupied by their officers. The passage of a ship under such circumstances, within 100 yards of heavily-armed batteries was an operation attended with great anxiety, which those alone who have been similarly situated can possibly understand. Some of the best troops in the world were helpless for the moment, crowded like cattle in a pen, and so massed that a single round shot must make fearful havoc. The most providential fortune attended the 'Berenice;' though struck several times in the hull, and with rigging cut, the decks escaped. Her commander, Lieutenant Chitty, Indian Navy, steered the ship himself; and, to avoid all chance of running ashore, and thereby delaying the troops, taking her on the battery side of the first frigate that approached (the 'Semiramis,') and between her and the 'Ferooz.' The crews of these vessels cheered loudly as every fresh freight of red-jackets came up, and while one broadside redoubled its fire to prevent attention to the masses passing, the seamen, jumping on the engaged guns, let the enemy hear, loud above the roar of the action, their wild welcome to their brethren of the shore."

The enemy, after being driven from their batteries by the overwhelming fire of the ships at such a short range, again returned to them, and, with admirable pertinacity, opened fire with jingalls and musketry from the batteries and some breastworks, which was replied to by the ships with grape and canister, fired right into the embrasures. Their fire being almost silenced, parties of seamen from the 'Semiramis,' 'Victoria,' 'Clive,' and 'Falkland,' stormed the southern forts, and, at the same time, a detachment from the 'Assaye' occupied, without opposition, the northern fort, her gallant and dashing first-lieutenant, the late Mr. Clarkson, hoisting the Union Jack, as he had done at Bushire. The troops, meanwhile, had been landed, and, advancing through the date groves and across the

plains, entered the entrenched camp of the enemy, who fled, taking with them five guns, while they left behind sixteen guns and one mortar, and the whole of their stores and ammunition; that so few guns were found in battery was due to the enemy throwing them into the river and creek. The scene at the forts was revolting in the extreme; dead and wounded horses, guns, carriages, powder-cases, all being mingled in hideous confusion, while dead and dying soldiers lay about the guns in groups, bedabbled with blood, and rent and torn by the grape-shot and shell. At the termination of the action, Sir James Outram, with his staff, and Captains Rennie and Kemball, repaired on board the 'Assaye,' where prayers were offered up to Almighty God in acknowledgment of the victory, by the Rev. G. P. Badger, of the General's staff.

The Persian Army, thus beaten and dispersed with a loss, according to their own confession, of three hundred killed, including their most gallant leader, Agha Jhan Khan, General of Division, amounted, says Sir James Outram, "to thirteen thousand men of all arms, with thirty guns," and their defeat was achieved by four steam-frigates, one steam-sloop, and two sloops-of-war, the troops embarked in the transports numbering four thousand eight hundred and eighty-six men, though, as General Havelock says in one of his letters, "the gentlemen in blue had it all to themselves, and left us naught to do."

The British loss was only ten killed and thirty wounded, of whom only one, Lieutenant Harries, of the 'Semiramis,' was an officer. That the casualties were so few, was owing to two circumstances; one, a "happy thought" of Commander Rennie's, that of placing round the bulwarks of the several vessels trusses of pressed hay, in which the musket-balls of the Persian matchlockmen lodged without injury to any one; thus three hundred bullets were found buried in the sides of the 'Ferooz,' and vast numbers were shaken out of the hay-trusses; the second was due to the fact that the elevation of the enemy's guns was altered, and their arrangements unsettled at the last moment, by the bold step of closing on the batteries, by which the loss of the ships, engaging under a point-blank fire, at a range varying between 60 and 300 yards, was greatly reduced.

The north battery mounted eighteen guns, and the south fort, on the opposite bank of the Karoon, also commanding the river, had eleven, while a small fort, between the north battery and the town of Mohamra, mounted eight or ten guns; the entrenchment connecting this work with the north fort, was crowded with men, who kept up a heavy fire throughout the action, and the havoc wrought in their ranks by the 8-inch shell, was plainly apparent in the broken arms and appointments and the patches of blood in all directions. Besides the

above, there were, says Captain Hunt, "several minor batteries of from two to four guns on either bank, and just outside the west face of the town, on the right bank, was a very carefully made and strong work for ten guns." These batteries were worked by six hundred regular artillerymen, exclusive of the other arms of the Service.

The following graphic account of the action at Mohamra, by Lieutenant A. Stiffe, appeared in the "Bombay Gazette" of the 2nd of June, 1857:—"The accounts published in the local papers of the naval battle at Mohamra seem to me in many respects so imperfect that I think a naval man's view of the affair, which does not yet seem to have been presented to the public, may be of sufficient interest for insertion in your paper, though at so late a period. In the first place, too much cannot be said in praise of Commodore Young's admirable plan of protecting the vessels by a breastwork of screwed hay-bales, which were quite bullet proof. This he alludes to very modestly in his despatch, which, by the way, is throughout a remarkable contrast to the bombastic style of the celebrated despatch from the last Commander-in-chief, off Bushire, and which is still fresh in all our memories. Of this arrangement the sole credit is, I believe, due to him, and without it the loss of life must have been tenfold what it was; indeed, I believe that the men could never have stood to their guns under the close fire of grape and musketry they were subjected to, as the steamers, excepting the 'Semiramis,' have no musket-proof bulwarks, but only single thin plank, scarcely breast high, the 'Assaye' only having hammock nettings, the proper barricade of a ship-of-war. The effect of numerous casualties on the *morale* of an untried ship's company would have seriously lessened our chances of success. One thing appears altogether to have escaped notice. At the rendezvous, forty or fifty miles from Mohamra, lay thirty-eight large ships and steamers, crowded together in a narrow and rapid river. The whole were taken in tow, each steamer towing two or three ships, some of them upwards of two thousand tons, in an incredibly short time, without the slightest confusion or accident, and proceeded up the river safely. It was a fine sight. The smoke of the steamers spread over the country like a pall. Horsemen could be seen galloping along the banks to bear the news to the Persians that the great English Fleet was on its way. About twenty miles below Karoon the Persians had constructed a redoubt, but this was found on our approach to have been abandoned. The only vessel late at the rendezvous was the 'Assaye,' which vessel had parted her hawsers, having two of the most unwieldy transports to tow, and she did not arrive till next morning. The mere presence of this ship (the 'Assaye') in the river shows great spirit in her officers, for the late Commodore and the General, both I believe,

declined the responsibility of ordering so large a vessel to proceed thither, and it was entirely on her Commander's own responsibility that she was taken over the bar. Who shall say what might have been the consequence of the absence of this vessel, with her powerful broadside, during the attack? To Lieutenant Sweny, of the surveying brig, which Government with praiseworthy liberality attached to the Expedition, who carefully buoyed the channel, the success of this experiment, for such it was, may be attributed. On the 24th of March, then, the whole fleet dropped anchor about two miles from the forts. The 'Assaye,' on her arrival, proceeded half a mile in advance to reconnoitre. The next day, while the troops and artillery were being embarked in the light steamers and boats and a mortar-raft was being prepared, the plan of attack was arranged on board the 'Ferooz,' and an eminently judicious one it proved At least, I can state there were no two opinions about it in the fleet, which is an exceedingly rare thing in naval matters It was by no means the case at the attack on Bushire, or rather there was only one opinion on that occasion also, viz., that, as far as depended on the Chief, it was shockingly mismanaged. The 'Semiramis' towing 'Clive,' the 'Ajdaha,' and 'Victoria' towing 'Falkland,' were to engage the forts from the opposite side of the river, at a range of 900 to 1,000 yards, to distract the enemy's fire; and as soon as the batteries were somewhat damaged, the 'Ferooz' and 'Assaye' were to run up close to the north fort and complete its demolition, the first division then coming also to close quarters. Had the squadron run at once under the batteries while yet intact, and the gunners cool and uncowed by the effect of the 8-inch shell, the leading ships must have suffered very severely, perhaps have even realised the prophecy of the captain of the French frigate 'Sybille' who had visited the place before, and was convinced we should lose three steamers at least. That night the mortar battery was towed up to its position, and was to commence at dawn. After sunset, on the 25th, the Persians brought down two field-pieces abreast of the 'Assaye,' and opened fire on her, which was effectually returned from that vessel The cannonade, which was neither heavy nor sustained, ceased in about an hour. No injury was done to the 'Assaye' At daylight, next morning, the 26th, while the steamers were weighing, the first boom from the mortar-raft, the existence of which was quite unsuspected by the enemy, announced the commencement of the struggle. This first shell was a lucky one, for a prisoner subsequently stated that it burst on the parapet of the north fort, wounding among others the Amir-o-panj, or brigadier. The Persians replied; and the mortar-men, although they were protected by a boat filled with hay, which was anchored in front of them, must have had a hot time of it

until the approach of the first division, which, in the order above mentioned, now steamed up to the attack. At about six o'clock they anchored in close order in line a-head, and opened a deliberate well-directed fire. The enemy's batteries opened along the whole line of defence, and with considerable effect on the hulls and rigging. The roar of the guns was tremendous, and the shells could be seen bursting in and among the defences in all directions. Many Arabs at first were seen sitting on the Turkish banks, coolly smoking, and watching the proceedings; but some Persian shot flying over the ships, and lodging in the bank close to them, soon sent them off. In half an hour the 'Ferooz,' followed by the 'Assaye,' slowly passed the south fort and opened a tremendous fire on the north fort. It was a beautiful sight. The 'Ferooz's' ensign staff, shot away, was hanging over the stern, and the white ensign from her main-mast head also came floating down, but others were quickly hoisted. The rattle of musketry was now joined to the roar of the guns, the enemy keeping up a well sustained fire from a long mud wall and the parapets of the forts, which was replied to by small armed parties of riflemen and infantry, who were stationed on board each vessel. The first division lost no time in joining the 'Ferooz' and 'Assaye,' the steamers forming in line ahead in the following order, two to three hundred yards from the forts:—'Ajdaha,' 'Ferooz,' 'Assaye,' 'Semiramis,' and 'Victoria,' the 'Clive' and 'Falkland' engaging the south fort; the latter ship, which had been somewhat prematurely cast off by the 'Victoria,' making all sail, while under fire, in splendid style The effects of the well directed fire at so short a range, were soon visible. The forts, whose parapets were twenty feet thick, were reduced to heaps of mud, and most of the guns buried in or choked with the ruins of their casemated embrasures. The signal for the small steamers and vessels with the Army to advance was now made, Captain Rennie pulling down through the fire to accelerate this movement. The way in which the vessels were brought up, crammed with troops, was beautiful. The forts were not yet entirely silenced; and a field-piece had been quietly brought down half a mile below the south fort to fire at them as they came up; but fortunately very little damage was done, owing to the fact that all these vessels were also barricaded with hay-bales. The 'Berenice,' which had fifteen hundred men on board, was struck repeatedly. Such of the merchant captains as possessed a piece of ordnance fired away at this field-piece, and most of them lay claim to the honour of dismounting it, although it seems to have been soon put up again, and was not silenced till the 'Falkland' had fired several broadsides into the date-trees where it was hidden. The fight was now over. Just on the approach of this second fleet, the first magazine exploded. The effect was electric—a

cheer ran along the whole line; several other explosions followed, and the Persian army could be seen from the mast-heads over the date-trees in full retreat. The 'Ferooz' and 'Ajdaha' were now to cover the disembarkation of the army, which took place about a mile to the northward of the Huffer creek This was effected in admirable order, the steamers lying alongside the banks, and disgorging their living freights without the intervention of boats. The army at once advanced through the date-groves to attack the enemy; but they had been forestalled, for the work was done and most effectually. As the General in his despatch to the Commodore most fairly observed, "nothing was left for the army to do but to take possession of the entrenched camp" The 'Semiramis' at this time had steamed into the Huffer Canal to silence a battery which still fired with one gun, and suffered some loss ere this was effected. A few devoted men still kept up a fire of musketry, but were eventually dislodged by storming parties. Of this part of the action I cannot give any details, having been at some distance. The total loss was five killed and eighteen (including one officer, Lieutenant Harries) wounded. The loss inflicted on the enemy was severe, both in men and *matériel* of war, but this is as nothing to the effect on the *morale* of their force. How totally it was disorganised was signally shown a few days afterwards at Ahwaz. For this was a defeat which even Persian ingenuity could not torture into a victory. The Persian forts had been constructed at their leisure; nothing had been omitted which could render them stronger with the means at their disposal The shell-pits dug all over the forts, point, I think unmistakably, to Russian supervision. Artillerymen were sent from Teheran to man the guns, and the Shazada had already commenced a despatch announcing our defeat. With all confidence they awaited our approach, believing the steamers would be instantly sunk by their fire. They stood to their guns well, and were very successful in burying them or throwing them into the river. Twenty-one guns, the number taken, was a small proportion I imagine of the force used against us."

The attack of earthworks, twenty feet thick, mounting over forty guns, and manned by regular artillerymen sent from Teheran, by a squadron of steamers and sailing ships, carrying in all thirty 8-inch guns and thirty-six 32-pounders, of which only one half were engaged owing to their being mounted on the broadside, was an act bordering on temerity, and was regarded as such by so competent an authority as the Captain of the 'Sybille,' who, after examining both the batteries and the means by which they were to be reduced, predicted a sanguinary repulse. Had a victory been achieved with the loss of half the ships, and a long "butcher's bill," the world would have

applauded the feat as worthy the countrymen of Nelson and Cochrane; but we maintain that still greater is the credit due to Commodore Young and his coadjutors in that, with so small a force, they achieved a signal victory with insignificant loss. The result speaks for the discipline and admirable gunnery of the ships' crews; and for this the officers of the Indian Navy, who trained their men, mostly recruited for three years from merchant ships in Bombay, are entitled to great commendation.

Commodore Young, writing from the 'Ferooz,' on the 27th of February, gives the following details of the action:—

"Having observed the mortars placed on the raft, constructed under the superintendence of Commander Rennie, of the 'Ferooz,' and anchored on the evening of the 25th inst in the channel to the westward of Dubber Island, had opened fire, the Indian Naval Squadron under my command got under weigh, and ran up the river until opposite the forts defending the channel leading to Mohamra, in the following order:—the 'Semiramis,' with the 'Clive' in tow, followed by the 'Ajdaha,' proceeded up the western channel to support the mortar battery; the 'Ferooz,' 'Assaye,' and 'Victoria,' the latter with the 'Falkland' in tow, remaining in reserve until the fire of the forts was deranged. This was soon accomplished, on which the vessels in reserve entered the eastern channel, the 'Ferooz' opening her fire on the south fort at less than point-blank range, as she passed to take up her position against the north fort, and sufficiently in advance to receive support from the 'Assaye,' immediately astern of her. The division of the ships in the western channel was then recalled, and joined in close attack; the 'Semiramis' and 'Victoria,' the latter with the 'Falkland' in tow, engaging the south fort, as well as the inland one on the north side. Besides the fire maintained on the forts, frequent discharges of shell and grape were made in the direction where it was supposed the enemy's entrenched camp was situated. So effective was the fire from the ships that, in less than three quarters of an hour from its commencement, the batteries were only able to reply from three or four guns. At this period (7.45 a.m.) of the engagement, the 'Ferooz,' flying my pennant, hoisted the rendezvous flag at her mast-head, which was repeated by the other vessels engaged, being the preconcerted signal for the troop-ships to advance. This movement on the part of the vessels in question not being made with such celerity as could be desired, Commander Rennie, of the 'Ferooz,' volunteered to proceed through the fire, to accelerate their advance, which was accomplished in excellent order, although at the time the fire from the batteries was far from being silenced. From between nine and ten

o'clock five heavy explosions, in different parts of the fortifications, indicated the overwhelming nature of the attack, and led me to suppose that the resistance hitherto offered could not much longer continue. I was therefore anxious to have the troops landed as expeditiously as a due regard to their security would allow, so that a combined and simultaneous movement by the naval and military forces might be made with the certainty of a successful issue, and with this view passed up the river, until close to Jaber's Fort, where the disembarkation was effected easily, and without interruption After the batteries had ceased firing artillery, a fire of musketry was opened from them, as well as from breastworks in their vicinity, and maintained with great spirit for some time, when storming parties were landed from the 'Semiramis,' 'Clive,' 'Victoria,' and 'Falkland' who drove before them the last of the enemy, and took possession of their works and guns. Considering the strength of the fortifications, both as regards position and construction, with a numerous garrison, and the large number of guns which could be brought to bear on the ships, in consequence of their closeness to the enemy's defences, which were likewise strengthened by breastworks occupied by large bodies of small-arm men, whose fire at times was annoying, I am thankful to say that the casualties sustained by the squadron during the engagement amounted only to five killed and eighteen wounded.

"Before concluding, I feel it to be the most pleasant part of my duty to bring to your notice the great gallantry and coolness displayed by every officer and seaman under my command during the operations so successfully carried out. The important services rendered by Commander Rennie, of the 'Ferooz,' are a further and honourable addition to an already well-established reputation. Commander Selby, to whose local knowledge I am much indebted, elicited my warmest admiration by the dashing manner in which he carried the 'Semiramis' into the channel leading to Mohamra, between the forts on either bank. To the excellent way in which Commander Grieve, of the 'Clive,' Acting-Commander Manners, of the 'Victoria,' and Lieutenant-commanding Tronson, of the 'Falkland,' and Worsley, of the 'Ajdaha,' handled their respective ships, and to the closeness and precision of their fire, much of the success of the day is to be attributed. Special commendation is due to Commander Adams, of the 'Assaye,' for the gallant and most efficient manner in which he seconded my attack on the northern forts. The conduct of Lieutenant Chitty, of the 'Berenice,' also calls for my approval, for conducting his vessel, under shelter of the ships of war, past the batteries, with about fourteen hundred troops and followers on

board Commander Nisbett,* Agent for Transports, by the assiduity with which he had my arrangements carried into effect, was of material assistance." Commodore Young then speaks approvingly of the zeal and intelligence displayed by Acting-Masters McLaurin, of the 'Napier;' Holland, of the 'Comet;' Fletcher, of the 'Planet;' Neal, of the 'Assyria;' Davies, of the 'Ethersey,' flat: and Darke, of the 'Hugh Lindsay.' Also last, but certainly not least, he eulogises his Flag-Lieutenant, Mr. Sweny, "who," he says, "besides buoying off the channel across the bar of the river, was invaluable to me in communicating orders to the ships of war and transports. His coolness during the action, when performing the office of flag-lieutenant, was conspicuous."

Colonel (now General Sir) Edward Lugard, C.B., Chief of the Staff, wrote to Commodore Young, "expressing in warm terms the appreciation of Sir James Outram of the great service rendered by the Indian Navy, in reducing the strong batteries which the enemy had erected on the left bank of the Euphrates to defend their position at Mohamra, and so gallantly and effectually performed by the armed steamers and sloops-of-war, 'Ferooz.' 'Semiramis.' 'Assaye,' 'Ajdaha,' 'Victoria,' 'Clive, and 'Falkland,' with their brave crews, commanded by Captains Rennie, Selby, Grieve, Manners, Adams, and Lieutenants Tronson and Worsley, that nothing was left for the army to do, after being conducted by the navy past the silenced batteries, 'than to land and take possession of the enemy's entrenched camp. The Lieutenant-General tenders to you, your officers and crew, his best thanks for your services and his hearty congratulations upon the successful issue of the undertaking; he further begs you will thank Lieutenant Chitty and Mr. Holland for the important services they rendered in the 'Berenice' and 'Comet,' and also the Masters commanding the several steamers and transport ships, for their zealous assistance throughout the Expedition."†

On receipt of the despatches of Sir James Outram detailing the bombardment and capture of Mohamra, the Governor-General in Council issued a notification, under date, "Fort William, 22nd of April, 1857," from which we extract the following passages:—"The engagement was on the side of the British arms a naval one, no land force, with the exception of one mortar battery, having taken an active share in it. The

* Commander Nisbett was appointed Chief Agent for Transports, in place of Commander Macdonald, who proceeded on shore sick

† The following is a list of the principal Ordnance stores abandoned by the enemy —Sixteen guns, one mortar, one hundred and thirty-two tents, 36,000 rounds of gun ammunition, 3,600 loose shot or shell, 14,400 lbs of powder, also 4,000 loose shot or shell were collected and brought in, while 144,000 lbs. of powder were destroyed by the explosion during the action.

manner in which the task was performed is most honourable to the Indian Navy.

"That the officers, seamen, artillerymen, marines, and others of the squadron did their duty with intrepidity and ardour is the smallest part of the praise which is owing to them. The plan of the naval attack, which was to be carried out in shoal and narrow waters, and in a rapid current, by steamers of heavy draught, some of them encumbered with vessels in tow, and the thoroughly successful execution of every part of it without miscarriage or confusion of any kind, in the face of strong defensive works at point-blank range, have given proof of a cool judgment, a well-ordered discipline, and a skilful management, of which Commodore Young and the officers and men under his command may well be proud.

"The cordial thanks of the Government of India are eminently due to Commodore Young and to those who shared that day's work with him; and the Governor-General in Council will have pleasure in expressing to the Hon. Court of Directors his hearty approbation of the conduct of all concerned. It will be his agreeable duty to bring to the especial notice of Her Majesty's Government and of the Hon Court of Directors, the meritorious services of those whom Commodore Young has named in his despatches of the 27th of March.

"The disembarkation of the troops above the forts took place under the able direction of Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., rapidly and in good order; but before the landing was effected success was already complete. The whole Persian army was in full retreat, leaving in our hands seventeen pieces of ordnance, their tents, baggage, stores of all kinds, and large magazines of ammunition and provisions. An accurate return of casualties has not yet been received These were confined to the squadron, and it is believed that the number does not exceed six killed and thirty wounded."

On the 28th of March, Commodore Young, his health having failed him, resigned the command of the squadron to Commander Rennie, and sailed for Bombay, whence he proceeded to England on sick-leave.

The 27th and 28th of March were employed in removing the guns, collecting the stores, and landing supplies for the troops; also in coaling and provisioning the armed steamers 'Comet,' 'Planet,' and 'Assyria,' which were to be employed in conveying the troops for an Expedition up the Karoon river to Ahwaz, as owing to the total absence of baggage cattle, this was the only available means of transport.* Sir James Outram

* At this time Lieutenant Pengelley, Indian Navy, Senior First Assistant to Major Curtis, Director of the Land Transport Corps of the Persian Expeditionary Force, was employed in collecting baggage-cattle. The following is the report of Major Curtis to the Quartermaster-General of the Army, of the 23rd

entrusted the chief command of this Expedition to Commander Reunie, the other officers associated with him being Captain

of December, 1857, detailing Lieutenant Pengelley's services from the date of his arrival at Bushire in the 'Semiramis' in January, 1857, to the 28th of October, when his duties ceased, and he was appointed Naval Assistant to the Military Auditor General at Bombay —

"I have the honour to request you to submit to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the accompanying original route of a detachment of this Corps, which proceeded from Bagdad to Marghil, *viâ* Hillah and Semowa, in July and August last, under the command of Lieutenant Pengelley, I N, then First Assistant Director of the Land Transport Corps, also Lieutenant Pengelley's letter to me, No 106, of the 30th of October, (the date on which he last did duty as an Assistant-Director) for the route was received a few days ago (A map of the country traversed is annexed to Lieutenant Pengelley's route.) In presenting this route to his Excellency, I trust I may be permitted at the same time to bring Lieutenant Pengelley's good services, whilst under my command, to the Commander-in-Chief's notice On the formation of the increased establishment of the Persian Expeditionary Force in January last, this officer of the Indian Navy was specially appointed to the Land Transport Corps, owing to his having had experience in a similar situation in the Turkish Contingent, and to his having served in Syria and Asia Minor Lieutenant Pengelley, immediately on his arrival at Bushire in the 'Semiramis,' in January, was sent into Turkish Arabia with very extensive powers, to control our several agencies there He supervised our departmental operations in the neighbourhood of Bussorah, Sook-es-Shuyuk, and afterwards at Bagdad, and then proceeding to Mosul, he undertook, and ably carried out an executive charge The peace with Persia found him making great preparations for an extension of our agencies throughout Turkish Koordistan and Asia Minor, and had we received the reinforcements from Bengal and Madras, which we then expected, and this extension was intended to meet the requirements of, I never doubted but the result of his exertions and local knowledge, would have proved satisfactory In July last I received orders when at Bagdad to send all the mules still remaining to Kurrachee, and my orders seemed to me to point out that the service should be performed with the least possible delay The mules were then out grazing The establishment had been reduced to a very few men, and it was difficult in a short period to obtain others, besides which the Turkish authorities chose to throw as many obstacles in our way as they could, and only consented to the men quitting the Turkish dominions for India, when the Political Agent pressed them with a remonstrance of the strongest nature Lieutenant Pengelley, however, by great exertion, was enabled to get the detachment ready to march in eight days, and after being detained several more by the Turks, he marched on the evening of the 18th, having received the order on the 6th The route mentioned is an account of that journey, it is written with becoming modesty, but one can understand that a single English officer marching with a large detachment of mules through so lawless a country as Turkish Arabia, where he had to provide for all his own wants, find guides, propitiate marauding Arab tribes, resist impositions and shameful exactions, at the same time play out a never-ending game with the governing powers and its peculating subordinates, must have shown great tact, ability, and perseverance to have brought his charge in safety to the port of embarkation The distance traversed seems to have been three hundred and forty-two miles, divided into sixteen marches, giving an average of twenty-one miles three furlongs per day, besides which there were detentions at Hillah, where Lieutenant Pengelley had to take up some forage that ought to have been ready for him, but was not, at the Amoo, in which rapid stream twenty-six mules were lost, and at Semowa, where he had to purchase forage, under delays and disadvantages arising from Turkish official peculations I consider that Lieutenant Pengelley has performed very essential services during the time he has belonged to the Transport Corps, and that they were greatly enhanced by his generous acceptance of any responsibility; also his unselfishness and his devotion at all times to public interests, of which I may instance as an example, his undertaking the difficult march from Bagdad to Marghil in a delicate state of health,

Kemball, Political Agent at Bagdad and Consul-General in Turkish Arabia, in political charge; Captain Hunt, 78th Highlanders, commanding the military detachment; Captain Wray, Deputy Quartermaster-General: Captain Malcolm Green, Military Secretary to Sir James Outram; Lieutenant Baigrie, Commissariat Department; and Lord Schomberg H. Kerr, attached to the Persian Mission

Sir James Outram's instructions to Commander Rennie were, "to steam up to Ahwaz, and act with discretion according to circumstances," and should the Persian Army, known to be there in considerable strength, make a determined stand, he was to return after making a reconnaissance. Commander Rennie, who had been specially selected to command the Expedition on account of his great reputation not only for dash, but for that which has been described as "the better part of valour," increased that reputation, and still further showed that had opportunity ever placed in his way a chance of making some great *coup* on a larger stage, he would have made the world ring with his name. He can scarcely be classed with those described by Shelley as,

"inheritors of unfulfilled renown,"

because in China and Burmah, and in the recent operations, he had already achieved a reputation. Of athletic frame, iron constitution, and courage of the description defined by Napoleon, as "two o'clock in the morning valour," those who knew him best also gave him credit for possessing that combination of qualities which is denominated "genius," when opportunity affords an arena for its display.

Commander Rennie's report to Sir James Outram is brief and meagre as to details, and as in the case of his despatch on the Expedition to Lamena, in Burmah, in conjunction with Captain Fytche, when he gave all the credit to that officer, so on this occasion he says, "it is to Captain Kemball who planned, and to Captain Hunt who executed, this bold stroke, that thanks are more especially due."

Ahwaz is situated on the left bank of the Karoon river at a distance of about one hundred miles from its junction with the Shatt-ul-Arab. Close to the town, which is surrounded by an old wall, and has about three thousand inhabitants, two ruinous bunds, or dams, are thrown across the river, through which the water rushes with great rapidity; these bunds, which are

which many would have made an excuse for avoiding it Should his Excellency take a favourable view of this officer's performance of his duties, I respectfully trust that he may be recommended to the favourable notice of the Right Honourable the Governor-in-Council, and that a communication of his merits whilst serving with the army may be made to that department of State to which he more particularly belongs."

situated one above and the other considerably below the town, are impassable for boats drawing more than a few feet of water, while the strength of the current renders the passage of any boat a matter of great difficulty The Karoon had been surveyed by Commander Selby some fifteen years before, and Captain Wray testifies, in his report to Colonel Lugard, to the perfect accuracy of the map drawn up by that officer. At Ahwaz the river is from 90 to 140 yards wide, with several low islands in the centre; as the Karoon bends at this point, the position is very strong, and a Persian Army of seven thousand men, with five or six guns and a swarm of Bukhtiaree horsemen, occupied a ridge a few hundred yards above the bank. To encounter this large force Commander Rennie had under his orders three hundred men from the 64th and 78th Regiments, three steamers, three gunboats, each carrying two 24-pounder howitzers, and three ships'-boats* with guns and European crews.

The following extracts from Captain Kemball's despatch to Sir James Outram, give details of the Expedition :—

"I have much satisfaction in announcing to you the complete success of the Expedition which left Mohamra about mid-day on the 29th ult., under the command of Captain (Acting Commodore) Rennie, Indian Navy, and of which the political direction was committed to my charge. After quitting Mohamra, the first traces we discovered of the enemy were at a point about thirty miles up the river, to which our attention was directed by the remains of fires, shreds of clothing, &c., indicating a recent bivouack. There we anchored for the night, a little before sunset. About two p.m., on the following day, we again fell upon the track of the enemy at Labaort-el-Humeyrah, where they appeared to have bivouacked in comparative order, and, having parked their guns, we were enabled to

* Nominal roll of officers and men engaged at Ahwaz :—Lieutenants Crockett, Carey, and Tozer, Naval Aides-de-Camp Armed steamer 'Comet'—Commander W. B Selby, I N , Acting Master Holland, Acting 1st Class Second-Master Salmon; Assistant-Surgeon W. Wood, M D ; twenty-one seamen and sixteen Natives Armed steamer 'Planet'—Acting Master Fletcher, in charge; Acting Master Keen, six Europeans, and thirteen Natives. Armed steamer 'Assyria,'—Acting Master Neale in charge, Acting 1st Class Second-Master Fivey, five Europeans, and twelve Natives No 6 gunboat—Lieutenant Edwards, Midshipman Burn, and sixteen seamen. No 5 gunboat—Mate Hewett, Midshipman D'Arcy, and fourteen seamen No 9 gunboat—Lieutenant Lakes, Midshipman Finnis, and fourteen seamen. 'Falkland's' cutter—Midshipman Law and eleven men 'Feroze's' cutter—Midshipman Booth and eleven men. 'Assaye's' cutter.—Midshipman Scamp and nine men Assistant-Surgeon Asher, of 'Feroze,' in medical charge of gunboats and cutters Mr Sims, 3rd Class gunner of 'Feroze,' temporarily attached to steamer 'Planet' Nominal roll of officers under the command of Captain G H Hunt, 78th Highlanders —H M.'s 64th Regiment, one hundred and fifty men, Captain Goode, Lieutenant Haldane, Ensign Pack, Assistant-Surgeon Lundy 78th Highlanders, one hundred and fifty men, Captain Hunt, Captain McAndrew, Lieutenants Cassidy, Finlay, and Barker.

determine their number to be five. In our further progress towards Ismailiyeh, where we came to an anchor at eight p.m., we, for the first time, entered into communication with the inhabitants of the country, from whom we learnt that the Persian Army had passed up the opposite bank on their way to Ahwaz two days before, and that, at Subaut, they buried Agha Jan Khan, killed at Mohamra. Leaving Ismailiyeh at five a.m. on the 31st of March, we reached Oomarra about three p.m., where we ascertained positively that the Persian Army had reached Ahwaz the previous morning. Time being of importance, the vessels resumed their progress towards Ahwaz, now distant only fifteen miles, at three a.m., on the 1st of April. At seven we first observed the enemy's cavalry vedettes (who retired at our approach) stretching along the right bank; and, having made good our advance to within two and a half miles of their position, we could clearly discern their battalions of infantry, with a large body of horse on the right flank, crowning a low range of hills of sandstone formation which trended westward in a direction at right angles to the river. Here, in the view of the Persian force, we overtook a boat carrying a disabled gun, and took possession. Some time was now occupied in reconnoitring the country, and, there being reason to believe either that Ahwaz had been totally abandoned, or was so weakly garrisoned as to be liable to a *coup-de-main*, an attack upon the town was speedily determined on.

"The details of the plan will doubtless be reported to you by the naval and military commanders; but I may be permitted to observe that its adoption fully justified the previous reputation of Captain Rennie for daring and intrepidity, while the judicious disposition of the small force under the command of Captain Hunt, of H.M.'s 78th Highlanders, insured its successful execution. The gunboats having taken up the position assigned to them under the shelter of an island within range of the enemy's camp, the troops landed, and were formed up in a manner to assume the appearance of fifteen hundred men rather than three hundred, to which number they were in fact limited, and, at the same time, Captain Rennie proceeded in person in the 'Comet' (Captain Selby commanding) to support the former, and, as far as possible, to cover the march of the latter. As we advanced, the last of the enemy's pickets were seen to retire on the main body. The battalions on the heights gradually disappeared, and, one hour later, when the occupation of the town had been effected, we descried the whole Persian Army, with their rear not twelve hundred yards distant from us, in full retreat on Dizful. Among the wheeled vehicles the private carriage of the Shazada was clearly discernible. I must not omit to mention that twice, as the troops proceeded, the enemy endeavoured

to bring a gun to bear on them, and, as often, the steady and accurate fire of the gunboats compelled him to relinquish the attempt.*

"On our approach to the town, a number of the inhabitants came out to meet us, with proffers of entire submission and devotion to the British Government. They conducted us to the different stores of grain and flour, and further delivered up to us two hundred and thirty sheep, some fifty mules, and one hundred and fifty new stand of arms in cases, and having the Tower mark. The sheep, arms, and mules, Captain Rennie caused to be shipped on board of the steamers, but the grain I distributed among the people and outside Arabs.

"Situated as they were in a position remarkably strong by nature, the precipitate retreat of the Persian Army before a mere handful of British troops, can only be explained by the panic inspired by the defeat at Mohamra, by their inability, from the want of boats, to effect the passage of the river, by the bold front assumed by the Expedition, and, finally, by the fact, which would have weighed probably with better troops than themselves ignorant of our deficiency in field guns, that the occupation of Ahwaz enabled us to turn their flank, and thus effectually to rake their position. The advantages accruing to us cannot, I think, be overrated. Already had they commenced to entrench themselves, and had made arrangements for the arrival of reinforcements, and for the supply of stores and provisions from Shuster and Dizful; as it is, the loss of their grain at Ahwaz, which in the interim would have maintained the Army for fifteen or twenty days, will not only occasion much loss and suffering on their retreat, but, by driving them to a distance, will destroy their political status in the country, and, for the present at least, deprive them of any control over the inhabitants."

The Expedition remained at Ahwaz† on the 2nd and 3rd of

* Captain Hunt, in his little work, especially refers, in terms of admiration, to the coolness and accuracy of fire of Mr G. B. Hewett, a very gallant young officer

† Special interest attaches to this expedition in the ancient province of Susiana, as being the scene of Alexander's march on his return from India. Sir Henry Rawlinson, in his "Memoir of a March from Zohab to Khusistan," (Vol IX of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society), in order to reconcile the conflicting statements of the ancient geographers, has assumed that the Karoon is the Eulœus, the river of Dizful, the Coprates, the Kirkhah, the Choaspes, and the united arms of the Karoon and Dizful rivers, the Pasitigris. The continual changes which have occurred in the course of the various rivers of Khuzistan, render it a well-nigh impossible task to identify these streams from the accounts given by Quintus Curtius and other historians of Alexander, of the entrance of

enters into a learned dissertation on this point, and assumes with Professor Long (Vol XII. of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society), "that the Shapur is

April, and, on the 4th, returned to Mohamra. "Thus closed," says Captain Hunt,"* "the operations of a most successful raid, adding another laurel to the gallant sailor who conducted it: and the little party, both blue and red jackets, and of all arms, associated on the service (especially on the 'Comet') separated with regret and will not readily forget the Expedition up the Karoon" Sir James Outram says, in his Report to Government, of the conduct of this Expedition:—"Your Excellency will learn how admirably my instructions have been carried out, and the complete success which has attended the energetic and judicious measures adopted by all concerned; indeed, it is impossible to calculate upon the advantages that must ensue from the successful result of this Expedition, in the effect it will have upon the Arab tribes, who, in crowds, witnessed the extraordinary scene of a large army of seven thousand infantry, with five or six guns, and a host of cavalry, precipitately retreating before a detachment of three hundred British infantry, three small river steamers, and three gunboats.

"I feel that I cannot sufficiently express to your Excellency the great obligation I am under to the several officers and men of the Expedition. Captain Rennie, Indian Navy, whose gallant conduct at the bombardment of Mohamra I so recently recorded, has again earned my highest praise and warmest thanks for the able manner in which he has conducted this Expedition. Captain Kemball, who, on this, as on every, occasion of difficulty and danger upon which I have required his services, has rendered me most valuable assistance, materially contributed to the success of the Expedition by his counsel and energy. Great praise is also due to Captain Hunt, 78th Highlanders, who so successfully carried out the military operations; to Captain Wray, Deputy Quartermaster-General, and Captain M. Green, my military secretary, for the part they so ably performed; and to all the officers and men employed in the Expedition I have to thank them all, and beg to recommend those specially named to your Excellency's notice"

On the day of the return from Ahwaz, news was received, to the great disappointment of the Expeditionary force, of the conclusion of peace at Paris, on the 4th of March. Sir James Outram immediately despatched the 'Comet' to Bagdad. where Mr. Murray, the British Minister, had taken up his residence, and. on the 39th of April, the 'Planet' also proceeded thither with despatches On the 9th of May, Sir James issued orders

the Euleus, and that the united waters of the Shapur, Karoon, and the river of Dizful, were also known by that name as well as by the name of Pasitigris"

* This gallant officer accompanied General Havelock to Calcutta on the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, and died of cholera at Monghyr in the following August.

breaking up the Field Force, and the greater portion of the army returned to India, Brigadier-General John Jacob, C.B., being left in command of the troops stationed at Bushire and Kharrack, until the terms of the conditions of peace had been carried into effect. Acting Commodore Rennie also remained in command of the Persian Gulf Squadron, which was temporarily maintained at a considerable strength. The ratifications of the treaty of peace with Persia, were exchanged at Bagdad on the 2nd of May, when the Governor-General directed that a royal salute should be fired from the ramparts of Fort William, as well as at every principal military station in India. Lord Canning issued a General Order from which we will extract the passages in which his Lordship enumerates the events of this brief, but admirably conducted, war, and expresses his acknowledgments to the officers and men of the Indian Navy engaged therein:—"The surrender of Bushire on the 10th of December, after a brief and ineffectual opposition; the operations against the Persian entrenched camp at Borazgoon: and the complete victory obtained over the Persian Army at Khooshab on the 8th of February, the bombardment and capture of Mohamra on the 26th of March, and the brilliant attack by a few hundred men, against Ahwaz, on the 1st of April, followed by the precipitate flight of the whole Persian Army serving in that quarter, have signally instanced the vigour, the enterprising spirit and the intrepidity with which the operations against Persia, both by sea and land, have been directed, and have earned for those who had a share in their execution, the cordial approbation and the thanks of the Government of India.

"The Indian Navy has taken a conspicuous part in the operations which have now been brought to a termination, and the Governor-General in Council must not omit to put on record the high sense which he entertains of its most valuable and important services. To Rear-Admiral Sir H Leeke, K.H., Royal Navy, the Governor-General in Council begs again to offer his sincere acknowledgments for the promptitude and energy with which he gave his assistance in landing the troops at Hallila Bay, and in attacking the fortifications at Bushire. To Captain Griffith Jenkins, Captain of the fleet; to Acting-Commander Adams of the 'Assaye'; and Lieutenant Clarkson of the same vessel; to Captain Young, Commanders Rennie and Macdonald, and Acting-Commander Foulerton, much praise is due for their gallantry on the same occasion. The Governor-General in Council, however, desires specially to record his admiration both of the skill and energy displayed by Acting Commodore Young, I.N. (upon whom the command of the Gulf Squadron devolved on the lamented death of Commodore Ethersey) in the conduct of the difficult naval operations

against Mohamra, and of the signal success with which they were crowned.

"The Governor-General in Council has further remarked, with the highest gratification, the distinguished conduct of Commander J. Rennie, who, since the departure of Captain Young, has most efficiently commanded the naval forces in the Persian Gulf In the enterprising advance upon Ahwaz, the signal success obtained was due, in a very large measure, to the judgment and resolute gallantry of this able officer. The acknowledgments of the Government are also due to Commander Selby, of the 'Semiramis:' Commander Grieve, of the 'Clive;' Acting-Commander Manners, of the 'Victoria;' and to Lieutenants-Commanding Tronson, of the 'Falkland,' and Worsley, of the 'Ajdaha,' who contributed largely to the success of the day; and the special thanks of the Government are claimed for Commander Adams, for the efficient manner in which he seconded the attack on the northern forts at Mohamra. Acting-Commodore Young has commended the conduct of Lieutenant Chitty, commanding the 'Berenice;' of Commander Nesbitt, agent for transports; and of Acting-Masters Commanding McLaurin, of the 'Napier;' Holland, of the 'Comet;' Fletcher, of the 'Planet;' Neale, of the 'Assyria;' Davies, of the 'Ethersey,' flat; and Darke, of the 'Hugh Lindsay,' for the effective aid which they respectively rendered in the attack on Mohamra; and the Governor-General in Council has great pleasure in acknowledging their good services.

"Finally, the Governor-General in Council wishes to offer his hearty thanks to all the officers and non-commissioned officers, of whatever designation, and to all the soldiers and sailors of the force, for the bravery, the endurance, and good conduct which they have displayed during the several operations in which they have been engaged It will afford the Governor-General in Council the highest gratification to recommend the arduous and successful services of the military and naval forces on the coasts, and in the interior of Persia, to the most favourable consideration of the Honourable Court of Directors and Her Majesty's Government."

On the 2nd of October, 1857, Bushire was evacuated, and, soon after, the troops stationed at the island of Kharrack also retired. On the 16th of October, the 'Ferooz,' under the command of Lieutenant Tronson, arrived at Bombay from Bushire, *viâ* Kurrachee, having on board Brigadier-General John Jacob, C.B., commanding the Field Force left at Bushire until the execution of the terms of the treaty concluded at Paris on the 4th of March, 1856, with his staff and some European and Native troops. In General Jacob's* General Order of the 18th

* This noble soldier and remarkable man, who, in many points of character, resembled Sir Charles Napier, died on the 6th of December, 1858, at Jacobabad

of August, 1857, issued at Bushire on the breaking up of the Field Force, he refers in the following terms to the services of the officers of the Indian Navy acting in co-operation with him:—"The Brigadier-General's deep acknowledgments and warm thanks are most worthily due to Captain Jones, of the Indian Navy, Political Resident of Bushire; to his Assistant, Captain Disbrowe, and to Captain Rigby, Superintendent of Police, &c. Under Captain Jones, in the town of Bushire, in their respective degrees, their services and ready and effective aid and support, have been, from first to last, of the greatest value, while the value of their services, however high in itself, has been enhanced by the cordial and obliging manner in which they have at all times been given. To Commodore Rennie, the head of the naval force, has fallen a most important, varied, and most laborious task in connection with the Persian Field Force, and the duties have been performed in a manner worthy of the high reputation of this distinguished officer. The Brigadier-General begs to offer to Commodore Rennie his warmest thanks and acknowledgments, and to express how highly he appreciates his services and those of his lieutenants, who, in their respective capacities, are worthy of the like commendation Among those officers, the Brigadier-General may particularly mention those whose exertions have especially come under his general notice:—Lieutenant Mason and Lieutenant Brazier; the duties of Lieutenant Mason, as harbour-master at Bushire, have been of the most laborious and troublesome nature. They have been admirably performed, and the services of this officer* have been most valuable to all departments of the Army."

The Governor-General, also, on the occasion of the evacuation of Bushire, published, on the 6th of November, a notification of thanks in which he says:—"Captain Felix Jones, of the Indian Navy, Political Resident, and Civil Commissioner of Bushire, has, together with the officers under his orders, earned the best thanks of the Governor in Council for the mode in which his charge has been administered. The various duties which have fallen to Commodore Rennie, Indian Navy, since the cessation of hostilities, have been scarcely less important than those previously discharged by him; and through the ability and zeal of himself and the officers under his command, they have been performed in a manner to call for the marked approbation of the Governor-General in Council."

in Scinde, the city he had created in the desert, and which was named after him. His name is chiefly known in England in connection with the rifle and conical ball he invented, and the famous horsemen he organized into a regiment of irregular cavalry; but in India he earned a great reputation as a brilliant soldier and administrator, one of the most remarkable of the school of soldier-statesmen of which Lawrence, Outram, Nicholson and Edwardes were such shining lights, men equally able with the sword and pen.

* This able young officer, it would appear, inherited some of the talent of his great-uncle, the mighty Nelson, after whom he was named.

As has invariably been the case when the question of honours came up for consideration, the services of the Indian Navy received inadequate recognition. Sir Henry Leeke was made first a C.B., and then a K.C.B., for the bombardment of Bushire, though he left the Gulf a few days after that event. Surely it was too great a reward for such a service, though we have seen it paralleled more recently in the Abyssinian War, when the Rear-Admiral in command was awarded a similar honour, though he never saw a shot fired. Nelson, we know, preferred a "K.B." to a baronetcy, as a reward for his memorable conduct as second in command to Sir John Jervis at St. Vincent, but then in his day, as now, baronetcies were conferred upon Lord Mayors *et hoc genus omne*, for entertaining royalty at civic banquets and similar "services." The Companionship of the Bath was conferred on Captains Griffith Jenkins and John W. Young* and, through the good offices of Lords Dalhousie and Panmure, upon Commander Rennie for Ahwaz and his general good service throughout the war. The latter officer retired from the Service of which he was so distinguished an ornament, on the 4th of March, 1858, when he was appointed Superintendent of the Bengal Marine in succession to Captain Rogers, I.N., who had received the appointment as a reward for his services in the China War of 1840-42. But other deserving officers of the Indian Navy received no recognition, conspicuous among whom was Acting-Commander Adams. It was an act bordering on temerity on the part of this officer, to take a ship of the length of the 'Assaye,' to Mohamra, and manœuvre her so high up a rapid stream, but it was worthy of his reputation in the Service, which was still further enhanced by the skill and gallantry he displayed on this memorable occasion. Acting-Commander Adams, however, received no reward, on the ground, as he was officially informed by the Secretary of State for India, "that his rank in the Indian Navy was only that of Lieutenant in the operations against Persia, when he had the good fortune to distinguish himself by his gallant conduct, and that the statutes of the Military Order of the Bath do not authorize the grant of the junior, or Third Class of its honorary distinction, upon any naval officer below the rank of commander" But the injustice of thus denying the C.B. to Acting-Commander Adams is obvious, when we find that the artillery officer in command of the mortar raft, and two military officers of the same relative

* The following is the Order:—

"War Office, February 24.

"The Queen has been graciously pleased to make and ordain a special statute of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath for the appointment of Captain Griffith Jenkins and Captain John Wellington Young, of the Indian Navy, to be extra members of the Military Division of the 3rd Class, or Companions of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath."

rank, received that distinction, viz., Captain Kemball,* whom no one will deny was well deserving the honour, and Captain

* Some notice of this now famous officer is not out of place here, as from the year 1842 up to the date of the abolition of the Indian Navy, he was brought into intimate relations with the officers of the Service, and his name has frequently appeared in the preceding pages Captain Arnold Burrowes Kemball was educated at Addiscombe, and entered the Bombay Artillery on the 11th of December, 1837 He saw service in the Afghan Campaign in 1839 at Ghuznee, and in 1842 was appointed Assistant Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, after ten years' service he became Political Resident at Bushire, and in 1855, was transferred to Bagdad as Consul-General and Political Agent in Turkish Arabia. He received the thanks of Sir James Outram and Acting-Commodore Rennie, for his services up the Karoon, and Lord Canning, in his notification of the 18th of June, 1857, thanked him for his services "afforded on every occasion of difficulty and danger, and especially in the brilliant expedition against Ahwaz" He remained thirteen years at Bagdad, showing himself a worthy successor of such men as Taylor, Rich, and Rawlinson In 1866 he was nominated a Knight of the Star of India, and in 1874 was promoted to General Officer's rank, antedated to March, 1868 Sir Arnold was elected to attend upon the Shah during that potentate's visit to England in 1873, and from April, 1875, he was employed on the Turco-Persian Boundary Commission until the summer of 1876, when he was sent as British Commissioner to the Turkish Army, and accompanied Abdul-Kerim through the Servian Campaign On the outbreak of war between Russia and Turkey he was despatched by the Foreign Office to the Turkish Army in Asia Minor as British Commissioner After the battle of Zaidakan he only escaped death or capture at the hands of the Cossacks, who chased him and Captain Norman for twenty-five miles, by the speed of his charger The 'Times' Correspondent with Mukhtar Pasha's Army, says of him —"The position occupied by Sir Arnold Kemball is one of great importance, requiring much tact and discretion, a thorough knowledge of Oriental character, coupled with a keen appreciation of military difficulties I doubt if there is another officer in Her Majesty's Army qualified to hold the post A soldier by training and profession, yet a diplomatist from a thirteen years' experience as Consul-General at Bagdad, Sir Arnold possesses all the qualifications for his present responsible appointment. He possesses a thorough knowledge of Persian, Arabic, and Turkish, and can converse or correspond with equal fluency in either of these languages, while from his intimate knowledge of the customs of the people, he is able to gain their confidence Sir Arnold is well content to sleep on the hill side, wrapped in a Turkish officer's coat, to share the greasy and unnutritious food found in Turkish camps, to stand by the side of Turkish troops under a fire that our younger soldiers of Abyssinia and Ashantee do not dream of It needs the constitution of a strong man to stand a ride of 259 miles in five consecutive days, with changes of temperature from snow-clad hills 9,000 feet above sea level to the dry and dusty plains of the Passin River. It needs a man with manly vigour to ride all day and write all night, it needs a General with something more than his country's reputation at heart to travel about, occupying the position Sir Arnold Kemball does occupy here, unattended by an Aide-de-Camp, often accompanied only by a single Mahomedan horse-keeper, trusting to luck for his food and to the cold hill-side for his bed By all this, by his simple unaffected manner, his unostentatious style of living, his warm sympathy for the Turkish soldiers, his severe condemnation of the conduct of many of their own officials, his indomitable energy and perseverance, his cheery spirits, and his gallant bearing on the field of battle, Sir Arnold has knitted to himself all with whom he has been thrown into contact, and while upholding in a pre-eminent degree the character of the British soldier, has never in the slightest degree given the Turkish officers reason to believe that his mission was to help them, or in any way to compromise the neutral position of our Government" This eulogium on Sir Arnold Kemball is not overdrawn, and we, retaining a pleasant memory of a pleasant Christmas passed under the roof of the Bagdad Residency in the year 1855, can vouch that to his other virtues he adds those of geniality and old-fashioned Indian hospitality.

Taylor, also of the Political Department, both of whom, on the 19th of January, 1858, were made brevet-majors, and received the C.B., as rewards for their services in Persia. Lieutenant Adams received his promotion to the substantive rank of Commander by the sudden death of Commander Albany Grieve, on the 17th of January, 1858, two days before Captain Kemball's promotion to brevet rank, and yet the officer who, immediately after the action at Mohamra, was publicly thanked by Commodore Young on the quarter-deck of the 'Assaye,' for having taken that ship within pistol-shot of the northern fort, the most formidable of all the Persian works, was denied the C.B., on the pretext that he was only a Lieutenant. We stigmatize this excuse as a *pretext*, because Lieutenant Vaughan, R.N., of the 'Shannon,' was gazetted a C.B for services performed during the Mutiny; true, Lieutenant Vaughan was first promoted to the rank of Commander, but because the Indian Navy was a seniority Service, and officers could not receive promotion for gallantry, was this disadvantage actually to be used against them as a bar to the honours of the Bath? Why did not the Authorities, following their own precedent in the case of Captains Kemball and Taylor, confer the Order on Lieutenant Adams on his promotion? These officers actually obtained their commissions as captains in February, 1851, whereas Lieutenant Adams was seven years their senior, his commission, ranking him with a captain in the Army, bearing date the 23rd of February, 1844. But what can be said for the system which actually denied the honours of the Bath to the Commander of the 'Assaye,' and conferred it on the officer commanding the Cavalry Brigade at Bushire, who arrived there after its capture, and never saw a shot fired!

To mark, as it were, the slight as applying generally to the Service, the C.B. was also denied to Commander Felix Jones, Chief Political Authority in the Persian Gulf, whose rank and services alike qualified him for the distinction. What does the gallant Commander of the Expedition himself say on these points? Writing to the Adjutant-General of the Bombay Army, under date the 11th of January, 1859, Sir James Outram says:—"I also beg to bring to his Excellency's notice, that two most deserving officers of the Indian Navy have obtained no reward, whose services I hope he will agree with me in considering well worthy of recognition, Captain Felix Jones, Resident at Bushire, and Commander G. N. Adams, who commanded the 'Assaye' at Mohamra."* The distribution of honours in

* Colonel (now General the Right Hon Sir Edward) Lugard, wrote as follows before Commodore Young received the honour of which no shuffling or pretexts could deprive him —"As on all such occasions, there are, I regret to say, many names of most deserving officers omitted, and I would gladly and willingly divide my share amongst them. John Young and Adams, I N, ought to have

this method is farcical, and the excuses for the denial of justice not very creditable to those concerned, for whereas Lieutenant Adams is informed that no officer under the rank of Commander is eligible for the Bath, Commander Campbell, after the Burmese War, is denied the Order on the grounds that his rank renders him ineligible! Commander Adams, as we have seen in a preceding chapter, has, since that day, added to the obligations under which he has placed the Government by his prompt and judicious conduct at Zanzibar in 1859, on the occasion of the defeat and capture of the present Sultan, Seyyid Burghash, when in rebellion against his brother, but though he again received the thanks of the Bombay Government, the Ministry have never gratified the gallant old sailor by some honorary distinction, but have left him and Captains Campbell and Jones, to live on with the rankling feeling that they have been slighted because they belonged to a Service, which, though confessedly it did its duty under all circumstances, unhappily had no influence.

Scarcely was the Persian War over, than this country found itself involved in a life and death struggle for the retention of India, while all the world looked on with breathless interest. A considerable portion of the Service found a fresh field for distinction in the dramatic scenes of the Indian Mutiny.

been C B 's and I shall get Outram to write about it" Outram, we see, did "write about it," but without effect so far as Adams was concerned Of the Service Sir Edward Lugard writes to us under date the 16th of April, 1877 — "Many gallant members of the Indian Navy I felt proud to call my friends."

CHAPTER VIII.

1857—1858.

The 'Auckland' in China—The True Story of the Occupation of Perim by Lieutenant Templer in the 'Mahi'—The 'Lady Canning' at the Outbreak at Juddah—Appointment of Captain G G Wellesley, C B, R N, in succession to Sir Henry Leeke—Conclusion of the Records of the Bombay Marine Battalion.

BEFORE commencing a narrative of the services rendered by the Indian Navy during that great crisis of our rule in India, the Sepoy Mutiny, we will detail other events of importance in the history of the Service of a prior date.

In 1856, Rear-Admiral Sir Michael Seymour, commanding in Chinese Waters, having made a requisition for the services of a ship of the Indian Navy, the 'Auckland' was selected for that duty. On the 31st of July, Commander H. A. Drought was transferred from the 'Ferooz'—in the command of which he was succeeded by Commander J. Rennie—to the 'Auckland,' and, although he only received the notice that his ship was required for active service on Saturday evening, he sailed on the following Tuesday for Singapore. The following were the officers of the 'Auckland':—Lieutenants Davies and Hunter; Acting-Lieutenants De Belin and Philbrick; Purser Williams; Assistant-Surgeon Barnett; Midshipmen Lowis, Du Boulay, Parker, Beddome, and Brownlow. Her crew were a fine body of men, and for marines she was supplied with a detachment of the Bombay European Artillery. Under the orders of Captain Sir William Hoste, the Senior Naval Officer on the Straits Station, the principal duty of the 'Auckland' consisted in keeping down piracy, cruising about the coasts of Borneo, and affording protection to the British Settlement of Labuan. Sarawak, the seat of government of Rajah Sir James Brooke's little kingdom, was visited during one of these cruises, and a salute from the 'Auckland's' 68-pounders thundered forth in honour of the Rajah. Sir James was absent from his capital at the time, and, having the key of the powder magazine in his pocket, the salute could not be returned, a circumstance which gave rise to considerable merriment on the return of the Rajah, who hasteneh back to show his visitors the courtesy and hospitality for

which he was celebrated. The 'Auckland' was also present at Bankok during the ratification of the treaty between Her Majesty and the King of Siam.

In December, 1856, soon after the outbreak of hostilities with China, the 'Auckland' was ordered to Hong Kong to re-inforce the squadron under the immediate command of Rear-Admiral Sir Michael Seymour. Her first service on this station was against piratical and Mandarin junks, assisted by the 'Eaglet,' a small hired steamer, commanded by Mr. Ellis, Master, R.N., when the 'Auckland' destroyed five heavily-armed junks at Lantao, mounting sixty-four guns, and burnt and destroyed two batteries mounting thirty guns. One battery was blown up by a shell fired by Commander Drought, who waited until he could train the pivot-gun by a flash from the battery, it being too dark to take proper aim. In this affair one seaman was killed, and Lieutenant De Belin was severely scorched by the blowing up of a junk, the Chinese having laid a train which exploded as the party under his command boarded.

For this service the following letter was addressed to Commander Drought by the Commander-in-chief, dated, "H.M.S. 'Calcutta,' at Hong Kong, 17th February, 1857.—I have read with much pleasure your letter of yesterday's date, reporting your proceedings in cruising after piratical and Mandarin junks, between the 13th and 16th instant, which resulted in the destruction of five heavily-armed junks at Lantao, and of a battery mounting thirty guns.

"I have to express to you my entire approval of your conduct and that of your officers and ship's company on this occasion, which I shall not fail to bring to the notice of his Lordship the Governor-General of India."

Thanks were also given to Commander Drought, his officers and men, by the Court of Directors, and by the Lords of the Admiralty through the Bombay Government.

The 'Auckland' soon after engaged a fleet of eighty Mandarin junks, at Second Bar Creek in the Canton River, which came down in line of battle to attack her, and, after a smart action, she sunk many of them, when the remainder beat a retreat. The 'Auckland,' also, assisted in the capture of eight Chinese vessels and seventy-two prisoners, and took and burnt a piratical junk at Chung-Chow Island. On the 1st of April, 1857, during her last cruise upon this station, a Mandarin junk was observed in the Bay of Toong Chung. The 'Auckland' came to an anchor off the Bay, and all the boats were manned and armed and despatched to cut her out, under the command of the First-Lieutenant, Mr. Davies, an officer remarkable in the Service for his gallantry and great personal strength. When about ten yards from the junk, a battery on the beach, which, up to that time, had reserved its fire, opened upon the ad-

vancing boats with grape and canister. Lieutenant Davies immediately ordered the second cutter and gig, under command of Lieutenant Philbrick, to take possession of the junk, whilst he proceeded with the launch and first cutter to storm the battery. The Chinese stood well to their guns while the storming party was wading on shore, wounding Mr. Purser Williams (a volunteer) and three seamen. A volley of musketry, however, and an impetuous charge, drove the Chinese from their guns, and the party took possession of the battery and held it until the junk was observed to be under way, when they embarked in the boats and assisted to tow her out. During this time three other batteries kept up a heavy fire on the junk and the two boats towing her, which was returned with the junk's guns and with small arms. Mr. Lowis, Midshipman, received a severe wound in one leg by a musket-ball whilst gallantly turning the junk's guns on the shore batteries, and two seamen were wounded. One Mandarin, a very corpulent man, was observed encouraging his men by words and example, when a round shot struck him and tore him into fragments. The Chinese were remarkably well armed. Several spent shot struck the boats as they were returning to the ship, and one struck an oar out of a seaman's hand while in the act of pulling.

The Commander-in-chief expressed to Commander Drought his sense of the service rendered on this occasion, in the following terms, under date, "H.M.S. 'Calcutta,' at Hong Kong, 3rd of April, 1857:—I have read with much pleasure your letter of proceedings, dated the 1st instant, reporting the capture of a Mandarin war junk in Toong-Chung Bay.

"In conveying my thanks for this service, I have to request you will express to Lieutenant Davies and the officers and men employed in the boats, my marked approval of their gallant conduct, which I shall not fail to bring to the notice of his Lordship the Governor-General of India."

H.M.S. 'Inflexible' having arrived from England to take the place of the 'Auckland,' the latter vessel left Hong Kong on the 6th of April, 1857, to resume her station in the Straits of Singapore. It was found necessary to leave behind, in the hospital ship, Mr. Lowis, the gallant young officer severely wounded in the leg in the action in Toong-Chung Bay, as it was found that amputation of the limb would be necessary.

The following complimentary letter was addressed to Commander Drought by Sir Michael Seymour,* on the 3rd of April, on the 'Auckland' quitting the China station:—"As the arrival of H.M.'s steam-sloop 'Inflexible,' and the daily ex-

* *Writing to us on the 19th of April, 1877, Sir Michael Seymour says:—"I well remember the good services of the 'Auckland' and her zealous and gallant captain in 1857."*

pected arrival of further reinforcements, enable me to dispense with the services of the 'Auckland,' I enclose you an order to return to Singapore, where your presence appears to be much required.

"Before leaving, I have to express my sincere thanks for the valuable assistance you have rendered since you have been under my command, which I shall bring to the notice of his Lordship, the Governor-General of India, as well as the Commander-in-chief of the Indian Navy, and I beg you will convey to your officers and ship's company my high sense of their gallantry and good conduct."

At Singapore, Lieutenant Davies exchanged with Lieutenant Carew into the 'Zenobia,' commanded by Lieutenant Batt, and proceeded in her to Madras and Bombay, whence, on the 18th of May, the 'Zenobia' sailed for Calcutta.

The stay of the 'Auckland' at Singapore proved to be brief. The outbreak of the Indian Mutiny necessitated the recall of all the steam vessels of the Indian Navy at out-stations, and, in May, the 'Auckland' proceeded with despatches from Lord Elgin to Lord Canning at Calcutta, where every officer that could possibly be spared and all her European seamen, saving those absolutely necessary to steer the vessel while employed transporting troops, were sent to Barrackpore to assist in maintaining order.

During the year 1856 an addition was made to the Indian Navy, in the 'Coromandel,' a steam troop-ship, of 1,026 tons, which left England on the 5th of August, 1856, in command of Captain Campbell The 'Coromandel' arrived at Madras on the 2nd of December, 1856, and was employed carrying troops between that Presidency, Rangoon, and Calcutta, until October, 1857, when the ship was docked at Calcutta. In April, 1857, a steamer of 527 tons and 160 horse-power, christened the 'Lady Canning,' was launched at Bombay dockyard, and, soon after, proceeded up the Persian Gulf, under the command of Lieutenant Peevor. In this year, also, two troop-ships were purchased into the Service, the 'Dalhousie,' of 1,022 tons, and the 'Prince Arthur,' 1,246 tons.

In March, 1857, Captain (now Admiral) George Greville Wellesley, C.B., R.N., a nephew of the great Duke of Wellington, was appointed Commodore and Commander-in-chief of the Indian Navy, for the usual term of five years. Commodore Wellesley arrived at Bombay on the 7th of July, when he assumed charge of the Service from Sir Henry Leeke. Sir Henry was inferior in his public capacity to either his predecessor, Commodore Lushington, or his successor, Commodore Wellesley. It was many years since he had commanded a ship at sea, and his service afloat had been uneventful; he was neither distinguished as a sailor or administrator, and, for the rest, was an amiable,

kind-hearted gentleman, not more unfitted for his post than most men possessing these virtues as their chief recommendations to high command. Though weak, he was not unpopular in the Service, but we are not aware that any one regretted his departure, save those bound to him by acts of personal kindness.

In 1856 the Home Government issued orders for the reoccupation of the island of Perim, and for the construction of a lighthouse on the most commanding point, so that vessels should be able to pass the Straits at any hour of the day or night. As a military position, it was considered that the island could never be of any real importance, chiefly from the want of water, while its guns could only command the northern channel of one and a half miles, the strait on the African side of the island having a breadth of eleven miles, so that a fleet could, by hugging that shore, avoid the fire of ordnance of the heaviest calibre From the year 1795, when a British force under Colonel Murray evacuated Perim,* after an occupation of a few months, up to the year 1857, the island never occupied the attention of the Indian or any other Government. In conse-

* In an early chapter we have spoken of the temporary occupation of Perim by pirates, who, after having, with much labour, dug through the solid rock to a depth of fifteen fathoms, in a fruitless search for water, abandoned their design and removed to Mary's Island, on the east coast of Madagascar In 1738, after the French bombarded Mocha, on account of some outrages which had been perpetrated by the Dowla, or Viceroy of the Imaum of Sanaa, on a French merchant vessel at that port, they landed on the island The next to occupy Perim were the British, who, in April, 1799, sent a small squadron with a detachment of three hundred men, under the command of Colonel (afterwards General Sir) John Murray, who had been appointed British Commissioner to execute this Service, and on the 3rd of May, the island of Perim was formally taken possession of on behalf of the East India Company No opposition of any sort was made to our occupation of Perim, and during the short time the garrison remained there, they were regularly supplied with provisions from Mocha, the chief maritime town of the Imaum of Sanaa From that period till the 1st of September following, the troops continued in possession of Perim, but, finding that the island yielded no fresh water, and that the Straits could not be commanded by batteries on the shore, Colonel Murray proceeded to Aden, and, in the following March, returned to Bombay The first European to visit Perim was Albuquerque, who is said to have landed here in 1513, on his return from the Red Sea, and having erected a high cross on an eminence, he called the island Santa Cruz

Arrian, who flourished about A D 140, in his "Periplus Maris Erythræi," or circumnavigation of the Erythræan Sea, as the Indian Ocean was called, styles Perim the island of Diodorus It would seem that the merchant vessels of the Roman Empire navigated the Red Sea, Indian Ocean, and Persian Gulf, which were all known as the Erythræan Sea, and proceeded as far south as Madagascar, and east as the Malabar Coast, of which Arrian gives an account He also describes the shores of Asia from the mouth of the Indus to the river Karoon, took place, Great and

conquest of Persia, the meeting between the Macedonian King and his Admiral, Nearchus—the islands of Oarakhta (Kishm) and Pylora (Polior), and other places, to the city of Susa in Susiana (Khuzistan), where Alexander effected a junction with his adventurous admiral.

quence, however, of the increasing steam-navigation of the Red Sea, the attention of the Bombay authorities had frequently been directed by officers of the Indian Navy and shipmasters to the desirability of erecting a lighthouse on the island, so as to render safer the passage of the Straits, as, owing to the slight elevation of its shores, ships oftentimes could not distinguish it at night, and the currents were an additional source of inconvenience. These considerations and others of a political character of still greater urgency, brought to the attention of the Government by the vigilant and sagacious Political Resident at Aden, at length induced the authorities to give the necessary orders for its reoccupation, and, as the sequel will show, none too soon to avoid its occupation by the French, which would have caused serious complications, as our neighbours were guided at that time by the restless policy of Napoleon III. An American ship brought the news to Aden that a French brig-of-war, called the 'Narcisse,' was coming from Zanzibar for the express purpose of taking possession of the island of Perim, and when that ship made her appearance at Aden, the story received such confirmation, that Brigadier Coghlan acted with a decision and a happy judgment worthy of all praise

The Brigadier had repeatedly brought to the notice of the Bombay Government how desirable it was to prevent the possibility of the occupation of Perim by any Power which might, in the event of hostilities, imperil our Eastern possessions. The wisdom and foresight of this advice has been placed beyond cavil, since the opening of the Suez Canal has made the Red Sea the great highway of the East, and Perim, in the Straits of Babelmandel, the key to its waters; moreover, with the modern development of cannon, it is impossible to place a limit to the power of artillery, and the commodious harbour will easily shelter a squadron of ironclads.

Early in January, 1857, Brigadier Coghlan directed Lieutenant C B. Templer, commanding the 'Mahi,' to proceed with all despatch to take possession of the island of Perim, but not to fire a salute or go through any formalities beyond hoisting the British flag, so that it might clearly be understood that we merely *reoccupied* the island. Fifty sappers under Lieutenant (now Colonel) J. M. Greig, of the Bombay Engineers, and a party of artillerymen, under Lieutenant Billamore, of the Bombay Artillery, followed in baghalahs, for the purpose of erecting the necessary buildings and permanently occupying the island.

In response to a request we recently addressed to him, Sir William Coghlan has given the following narrative of the circumstances attending the reoccupation of Perim; and this authoritative statement will dissipate, once for all, the oftentimes

dramatic, and wholly imaginary, incidents with which the plain, unvarnished tale is embellished, as we ourselves have often seen in works of travel. Sir William writes:—"Our final occupation of Perim would take us back to 1799, a period to which your question does not refer. You mean the re-occupation in January, 1857, that term being employed diplomatically as giving some colour to our proceeding. In reality we had no legal claim to the island either in 1799 or in 1857; we occupied and re-occupied. Now with regard to my share in the second occupation, I am familiar with some of the stories which are current as to its mode, and I have several times, when an unusually extavagant one has come before me, half resolved to spoil it by stating the facts, for I chafed under the imputation of the clever trick with which I was credited, but this good resolution was never carried out, and my alleged smartness continues as the stock-story related on board every steamer that passes the Straits, with divers variations according to the imagination of the narrator. Now, as I shall show, there was no trick at all in the proceeding, which was one of prompt and (I may say it) of intelligent action, and nothing more.

"Under the title of 'Political Resident and Commandant,' I administered the government at Aden from 1854-63. During the years 1855-56, the French were remarkably busy in the Red Sea; they had their vessels of war poking about every hole and corner of its southern end, and outside as well as inside the Straits, in search of a suitable spot for a settlement. They tried the Camarans first, afterwards the village of Obokh* and various other places I do not now remember. Of course it was my duty to keep a watchful eye on their proceedings, and to report them to Government. I was anxious about Perim. It would have been a great mortification to the British Government to have had the French flag flying there. Hence I addressed the Government at Bombay in urgent terms. I have no copy of my letter, but a private letter of Lord Elphinstone's to me, dated Bombay, the 3rd of October, 1856, says:—'Your report about Perim is also a most interesting one, and I have sent it home by this mail to the Secret Committee, with a very strong recommendation that we may be allowed to occupy the island, which, in the event of the ship canal being made through the Isthmus of Suez, must become a place of very great importance' There you have the origin of the re-occupation (as we termed it). On the 17th of December, 1856, Lord Elphinstone wrote me a confidential letter, enclosing the Secret Committee's despatch in reply, directing the occupation, which was accomplished, I think, on the 12th of January, 1857, by Lieutenant Templer, in the 'Mahi.'

* The French have purchased Obokh, in Lat. 11° 58′ N Long. 43° 14′ E., two leagues west from Ras-al Beer, which is forty miles due south from Perim.

"But during this interval (the 3rd of October, 1856, and the 12th of January, 1857) I was made uneasy by a report, from reliable sources, that a certain French brig-of-war was preparing to start from Reunion, for the purpose of taking possession of Perim! And sure enough on the 10th or 11th of January, 1857, that vessel arrived at Aden, *just as Templer was about to leave for the island*, under the instructions which I had already issued to him on the authority of the Government at Bombay and the despatch of the Secret Committee. Instantly I packed him off, and the thing was done. The French captain made no communication to me as to Perim; all he said was that he was going to the Red Sea, and had put into Aden to repair some damage he had sustained in a gale off Guardafui. But for this accident, he would probably have passed Aden and got to Perim before Templer got there in the 'Mahi!' The 'Nisus' was a heavy brig of eighteen guns (sailing only). She had sprung her bowsprit and foremast, and required some iron forgings, which could not be made on board. I cheerfully gave all the assistance asked for. I went off to the vessel and arranged that my arsenal should forge the iron bands according to model, and I had the satisfaction of seeing the Frenchman dismantle his wounded spars for the necessary repairs.

"There you have, very briefly, the bare facts, with none of the fun of the various stories which have sprung out of them. The dinner to the French Captain and officers *may* have been given, though I have no particular recollection of it, but it is likely they did dine with me; and as to the champagne, that also is likely, as I always kept a good brand. But there is no foundation for the story, that I first intoxicated my guest, and then 'pumped' him, and sent off at dead of night to forestall him! In reality, Perim was not named betwixt us. I had accomplished my object, and was satisfied, and the Frenchman was too late. In due time the little garrison was located, the requisite buildings erected, provisions supplied, and a light-house built. Perfidious Albion got roundly abused for a time, till her perfidy was obliterated by some other occurrence, and Perim remains a British possession. The Royal Navy had nothing whatever to do with the matter. Captain Pullen, in the 'Cyclops,' visited the harbour and surveyed it, after we had occupied it and settled ourselves; he made a passing reference to the survey which the officers of the Indian Navy had already completed, which was the survey made by Lieutenant Lamb, of the 'Elphinstone,' at my request."

During the year 1858, the 'Mahi,'* now commanded by

* The 'Mahi' on one occasion sailed into Aden harbour with three baghalahs as prizes, all being larger than herself On another occasion Lieutenant Nixon, having received notice that a party of slaves was confined in a fort on the African coast, off which he was cruising, despatched the writer, who was the

the late Lieutenant J. G. Nixon, and the 'Lady Canning,' under the late Lieutenant E. Peevor, were very successful in checking the slave trade in the Red Sea and Arabian Gulf.

Two troop-ships, built in England, the 'Prince Arthur,' of 1,246 tons, and 'Dalhousie,' of 1,022 tons, were added to the Service in the year 1858, and two gunboats, of 300 tons, and sixty horse-power, and carrying three guns, were launched at Bombay, and named the 'Clyde' and 'Hugh Rose.' There was also a large fifty-gun frigate on the stocks, but it was never added to the Service.

Encouraged by the Indian Mutiny, a sanguinary outbreak of Mohammedan fanaticism took place at Jiddah On the night of the 7th of June, 1858, some Christians swam on board H.M.S. 'Cyclops,' which, fortunately, happened to be lying in the harbour, bringing the intelligence that the inhabitants of the town, in the absence of Namick Pasha, the Governor, who had

senior executive officer,(*a*) with Mr Midshipman Dodd,(*b*) and two boats' crews of armed seamen, for the purpose of seizing them A rapid march of two or three miles, over the desert under a tropical sun, brought the party to the fort, and the surprise was so complete that the slave-dealers had not time to remove their helpless prey A shot or two were fired on the advancing party from a 6-pounder, planted in the open, which was captured, the Arabs retreating into the fort, after a parley, the iron-studded door was thrown open, and a search being made, over thirty young female slaves were found and marched down to the beach, and taken on board the 'Mahi' The career of the little schooner was abruptly brought to a close a few months later in this wise She was chasing a large suspicious baghalah, to overtake which, as evening was closing in, a press of sail was carried, while every now and then the 'Mahi' was yawed to fire a shot from her pivot 32-pounder But, proverbially, "a stern chase is a long chase," and the Arab craft, which was doubtless full of slaves, held on her course at all hazards It was now almost dark, and the order was given to take a double reef in the fore-topsail,(*c*) but just as the men were laying out on the topsail-yard, a sharp crack was heard, and the foremast swayed aft It was the bowsprit which had gone short off by the "gammoning," and was now alongside the ship with all the rigging, the next moment the fore and maintop-masts carried away, and the foremast was sprung in two places To lay down from aloft was the work of a few moments on the part of the foretop-men, who slung themselves down the backstays without loss of life, but the chase escaped, and we were left "*re infectâ*," and almost a wreck, with what sailors call "a dirty night" coming on The 'Mahi' made the best of her way to Berbera Creek, then a solitary anchorage, where we jury-rigged her and fished her foremast, and then sailed for Aden, whence she proceeded to Bombay We relate these incidents in the career of "a Company's Cruiser," not for their importance, for, either by the officers of the Service or the public, if they ever knew anything about them, they were never considered worthy the briefest paragraph in the Bombay papers, but simply as showing the ordinary nature of the duties fulfilled by the Indian Navy without record or thanks from Government or any public body

(*a*) The brigs 'Euphrates' and 'Tigris,' and schooners 'Mahi' and 'Constance,' were officered by a lieutenant in command and three midshipmen, who kept all the watches and performed the duties of lieutenants in larger ships. These four small craft thus formed not only admirable schools for practical seamanship, but taught young officers habits of command and self-reliance

(*b*) Mr Midshipman Dodd, a pr[illegible] young officer, died a few months later of cholera

(*c*) The 'Mahi' was [illegible] to square-rigged and fore-and-aft-rigged on the mainmast

proceeded to Mecca with the greater portion of the troops, were massacring the English and French consuls and the Christians generally. At daylight Captain Pullen sent in the boats of the 'Cyclops,' but, at the request of the Lieutenant-Governor, they returned without landing. On the return of Namick Pasha, the surviving Christians, twenty-four in number, including the heroic daughter of the French Consul, who had killed her father's murderer with her own hand, were sent on board the 'Cyclops,' upon which the seamen and marines were landed, and rehoisted the British and French flags. Captain Pullen then proceeded to Suez, and, having received instructions from the Admiralty, and authority from the Emperor Napoleon to act for the French Government, returned to Jiddah, where he arrived on the 23rd of July. Here he found the 'Lady Canning,' Lieutenant Peevor, who had brought the Morocco Princes on a pilgrimage to Mecca, it being the Kourban Bairam, or Feast of the Sacrifice. Captain Pullen demanded, on the part of England and France, the immediate punishment of the authors and perpetrators of the late massacre, and granted a period of thirty-six hours for the purpose, failing which he expressed his intention to open fire on the town. Meanwhile, the 'Cyclops' and 'Lady Canning' enforced a strict blockade of the port, for which purpose they took up their stations at a point about a mile distant, commanding the town, whence the guns could sweep the channels leading into the harbour.

Early in the morning of the 25th of July, the time of grace —extended to forty hours—having expired, hostilities were commenced, the two ships opening fire with shot and shell from their 68 and 32-pounders. During the course of the day the armed boats of the 'Cyclops' and 'Lady Canning' proceeded to burn and sink fifteen native craft, when it was found that almost all of them, though seemingly inoffensive trading vessels, were armed with guns. The bombardment was resumed at intervals during the 25th and 26th, and had the effect of driving all the inhabitants outside the walls. Altogether some hundreds of shot and shell and rockets were thrown into Jiddah, and, during the night, the boats of the ships approached nearer the town, and discharged some more of these latter missiles, which, it was afterwards ascertained, struck intense terror into the hearts of the people. It was thought that an attempt might be made to carry the ships by boarding during the night, as there was a large body of troops on shore, and many boats and native craft lying under the protection of the batteries, and, accordingly, strict watch was kept by guard-boats, but the Turkish Govey of slaves deficient in enterprise, and no attempt was made to a' cruising, despatcive. On the afternoon of the 26th, a secretary me on board from

Mecca, and said that the murderers, sixteen in number, were in confinement, but could not be executed until the sanction of the Sultan was received from Constantinople Captain Pullen, however, demanded their immediate decapitation, but on the intercession of Namick Pasha, who had arrived from Mecca, and proceeded on board the 'Cyclops,' extended the time for renewing the bombardment to the 5th of August, in order to spare the pilgrims, who were crowding into Jiddah, on their return from Mecca, for the purpose of embarkation for their respective destinations. Eventually the town was saved from destruction by the arrival, on the 2nd of August, of five hundred Egyptian troops, under Ismail Pasha, who brought the Imperial firman conferring upon him the necessary powers. Accordingly, the murderers were executed, the English and French flags were saluted, and an indemnity was paid to the relatives of the victims. Shortly after satisfaction had been obtained, the 'Assaye,' Commander Adams, arrived at Jiddah, for the purpose of protecting British interests, and remained there until relieved by H.M.'s ships 'Chesapeake' and 'Pelorus,' when she proceeded to Aden, towing the merchant ship 'Eranee,' presumably the cause of the massacre.

We will now continue the sketch of the history of the Bombay Marine Battalion until it became, after the abolition of the Indian Navy, the 21st Regiment Bombay Native Infantry, resuming it from the point where we had left off,* after the destruction of the detachment left at Kishm in Captain Thompson's ill-fated Expedition in 1820, and the signal revenge taken on the Beni-Boo-Ali tribe of Arabs in the following year, in which Expedition the remnant of the detachment also participated.

The first notice of any importance relating to the Battalion, is the following extract from Government Orders:—

"Bombay Castle, 24th of March, 1823.

"The Honourable the Governor is pleased to augment the strength of the 1st, or Marine, Battalion, 11th Regiment Native Infantry, to one thousand privates, and to direct that the 2nd Battalion 12th Regiment, cease to be a Marine Battalion. His Excellency the Commander-in-chief is requested to take the necessary steps for transferring two hundred Sepoys of the

* In pursuance of this instruction appears the following extract from the General Orders, by the Commander-in-chief, dated Bombay, Friday, 28th of March, 1823 —

"The officer commanding in the Southern Concan will be pleased to cause the Orders of Government of the 24th inst[illegible] to be explained to the 2nd Battalion 12th Regiment Native Infantry on parade coming, two hundred Sepoys, Mussulmans and Purwarées, are to be square-rigged forward, [illegible]eer into the 1st Battalion

2nd Battalion 12th Regiment, who may be well calculated for duties on board cruisers and boats, to the 1st Battalion of the 11th Regiment."*

In the following year we find the accompanying references to the Marine Battalion. Extract from General Orders of the 7th of June, 1824. "In conformity with the General Order by the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council at Fort William, dated the 6th of May, 1824, and published to the Army of this Presidency on the 31st of May, the Honourable the Governor in Council is pleased to notify that the Regiments of European and Native Infantry are, from this date, divided into two, numbered as regiments, and finally separated as follows:—11th Regiment Native Infantry to form 21st, or Marine, Regiment Native Infantry and 22nd Regiment Native Infantry.

"The Hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to direct that as a temporary arrangement until the pleasure of the Hon. Court of Directors be known, the second extra Battalion be tranferred to the Line, under the designation of the 21st Regiment of Native Infantry. The entire number of European officers of the 21st, or Marine, Regiment, being removed to that corps, the present 21st Regiment will, until further orders, be termed the Marine Battalion of Native Infantry, and be commanded by a major or captain, with an adjutant, interpreter, and quartermaster.

"The Governor in Council is further pleased to authorize the 21st Regiment of Native Infantry being placed in regard to strength of establishment, and in every other respect, on the same footing as the other regiments of the Line."

Three years later appears the following extract from General Orders of the 26th of February. 1827:—"The Hon. the Governor in Council has received with great satisfaction, testimonials of the highly meritorious services of a detachment of the Marine Battalion, while employed in the late war in the Burmese territory."

The detachment so honourably noticed, served on board the Hon. Company's brig-of-war 'Vestal,' Lieutenant Guy, which was employed during the whole of the war in the Burmese Empire, under the immediate command of Commodore Hayes, who, in writing of their gallantry and good conduct, under date the 2nd of October, 1826, says of the Marine Battalion:—"The corps in question is one of the oldest in India, and has seen more arduous and more foreign service than any Native

11th Regiment Native Infantry, or that number may be completed by a draft made in such a manner as will be most advantageous to both Battalions."

* See Vol. I., p. 380.

Regiment in the Company's Army. I have personally been acquainted with its merits and patient endurance for a period of more than forty years' duration."

The honourable testimony borne by Commodore Hayes was forwarded by the Supreme Government, with their approval, through Major-General Wilson, Commanding the Presidency Division, to the Adjutant-General of the Bombay Army, accompanied by the following letter from that officer, dated the 26th of December, 1826:—"I derive very considerable satisfaction in transmitting to you for the purpose of being laid before his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, the accompanying documents, setting forth in such honourable terms the bravery, military feeling, regularity of conduct, and useful services of a detachment of the Marine Battalion, belonging to this establishment, and employed during the Burmese War. Accustomed as I have been during the long period of my residence in this country, to witness the willingness with which the men of the Marine Battalion have always proceeded on any public service required of them, while the genuine proofs they have given of their fidelity and undaunted courage on so many occasions, have been received by Government with admiration, I naturally feel a peculiar interest in the corps, and therefore beg leave to solicit the favourable consideration of his Excellency the Commander-in-chief and Government toward the parties now concerned."

The following details of the Marine Battalion, served throughout the Burmese War:—'Teignmouth,' one jemadar, one havildar, one naique, one lance-naique, two drummers and fifers, and twenty-two privates. 'Thetis,' one colour havildar, one naique, and twenty privates. 'Prince of Wales,' one havildar, one naique, and sixteen privates. 'Mercury,' one havildar, one lance-naique, and eighteen privates. 'Ernaad' (employed as a transport), one havildar, one naique, and twelve privates. The men composing these detachments were, we learn from published records, "from three to four years absent from their head-quarters, and they all rejoined with the most honourable testimonials from their several commanding officers. Of the details, three men were killed in action, several were wounded, and ten died on service (most of the latter from severe wounds and fatigue).

In July, 1831, medals were received from the Adjutant-General of the Army, for distribution to the whole of the survivors of these detachments, and, with the exception of the detail on board the 'Ernaad,' which was not employed as a fighting-ship, they all received, by an order of the Supreme Government, additional batta of one quarter rupee per diem, from the date of their first reaching Burmah up to the period of

their finally quitting the coast. A good proportion of the men, whose services are here recorded, were subsequently selected for promotion by the commandant of the Battalion.

In conformity with instructions from the Supreme Government, a complete company was sent in December, 1834, to Socotra, under the command of Captain Baily, of the 5th Regiment Native Infantry, to protect a depôt of coals; the detachment suffered so much from sickness that, in June, 1835, it was relieved, with the exception of about sixteen men, who were considered well enough to remain. This relief, under the command of Captain Corsellis, of the 18th Regiment Native Infantry, suffered much loss, and casualties continued to take place until a change was made in the site of the cantonments from the low land to the hills, a guard only being left over the stores on the coast. The force was finally withdrawn in November, 1835.

On the 28th of May, 1838, a detachment, of the following strength, proceeded to the Island of Kharrack, forming a portion of the field force under Colonel Sheriff;—One subahdar, two jemadars, eight havildars, five drummers and fifers, and one hundred and twenty-three rank and file. In September, 1839, a detachment, consisting of one havildar, two naiques, two drummers and fifers, and twenty privates, serving on board the 'Coote' and 'Mahi,' took part in the capture of Aden. In June, 1840, the party, left at the Island of Kharrack, returned to Bombay in the ship 'Lord Castlereagh,' which was wrecked at the mouth of the harbour, and one jemadar, three havildars, three drummers and fifers, and thirteen privates were drowned.

In 1843, the detachments in the 'Satellite' and 'Planet,' were engaged with the enemy during the attack on the Hyderabad Residency, prior to the Battle of Meanee; and the detachments on board the 'Comet,' 'Nimrod,' and 'Meteor,' were present, with the officers and crews, under the command of Captain A. H. Nott, I.N., in the defence of the entrenched camp during the Battle of Dubba, near Hyderabad.

In 1845, agreeably to instructions from Army head-quarters and by a Garrison Order, dated 29th of October in that year, a subahdar-major of the Marine Battalion was invested with the order of "British India," on which occcasion the whole of the troops in garrison paraded at five o'clock in review order.

A detachment, consisting of two native officers, seventeen non-commissioned officers, and ninety-five privates, proceeded on service to the head-quarters of the Indus flotilla at Kotree in Scinde, on the 10th and 11th of January, 1846. Detachments of the Marine Battalion, consisting of ten non-commissioned

officers and ninety-six privates, served on board the steamers of the flotilla during the Punjaub campaign of 1848 and 1849. Also detachments participated in the operations of the second Burmese War, on board the 'Ferooz,' 'Moozuffer,' 'Berenice,' 'Zenobia,' 'Medusa,' and 'Sesostris,' and in the Persian War, in the 'Ferooz,' 'Semiramis,' 'Assaye,' 'Ajdaha,' 'Punjaub,' 'Victoria,' 'Berenice,' 'Clive,' and 'Falkland.'

The detachments of the Marine Battalion serving in the Company's ships in the First and Second Burmese Wars, the Scinde War, the Punjaub Campaign, and the Persian War, received the medals awarded to the rest of the troops and seamen engaged.*

* Since the abolition of the Indian Navy the only service seen by the Marine Battalion (now the 21st Native Infantry) was during the Abyssinian War, when a detachment of one hundred men was employed, but it was not actively engaged with the enemy.

CHAPTER IX.

1848—1863.

Surveys undertaken from the Death of Sir Robert Oliver to the Abolition of the Service —Lieutenant Selby on the West Coast of India; Surveys in the Gulf of Cambay and on the Kattywar Coast by Lieutenants Grieve, Constable and Taylor; of the Punjaub Rivers by Lieutenants Grounds and Stroyan, of the Malacca Straits and Inland Waters of Pegu by Lieutenant Ward—Flying Survey of the Irrawaddy River by Commander Rennie and Lieutenant Heathcote—Current Charts by Lieutenants Taylor and Heathcote—Survey of the Persian Gulf by Lieutenant Constable, assisted by Acting-Lieutenant Stiffe—Surveys of Commander Felix Jones in Mesopotamia—Lieutenant Carew and the Persian Gulf Telegraph Line—Surveys in Mesopotamia by Commander Selby and Lieutenants Collingwood and Bewsher—Lieutenant Taylor's Survey of the Malabar Coast—Lieutenant Dawes' Journey into Central Arabia, in company with Colonel Pelly—Services of Officers of the late Indian Navy during the Abyssinian War—Lieutenant Taylor's Memorandum on Marine Surveys, and his Appointment as Superintendent of Marine Surveys in India.

THE surveying work of the Indian Navy, between the years 1849-57, embracing the period of the administrations of Commodore Lushington and Sir Henry Leeke, contrasts favourably with the preceding decade, during which Sir Robert Oliver was at the head of the Service, when, owing to the peculiar views held by that officer, surveys were decried as useless, and their prosecution deemed a waste of public time and money.

In October, 1850, Commodore Lushington proceeded, in the cutter 'Margaret,' to the Gulf of Cambay, a new survey of which was in contemplation, with a view chiefly of determining what alterations may have occurred in the currents, tides, and soundings since the survey of the Gulf, commenced by Commander R. Ethersey in 1837. In 1848-50, Lieutenant Selby, in the 'Taptee,' and the tenders 'Maldiva' and 'Cardiva,' with Lieutenant A. D. Taylor, Assistant-Surveyor, and Mates M. A. Sweny, R. W. Whish, G. O'Brien Carew, and C. Forster, surveyed portions of the Laccadive Archipelago and Angria's Bank, made a chronometric survey of the Bombay Bank of soundings, a work of considerable labour, surveyed the entire approach to Bombay Harbour, and connected the North Canara with the Guzerat coast, including the tail of the Malacca

Banks.* On the 4th of November, 1850, Lieutenant Selby was appointed to the command of the old 'Palinurus,' Lieutenant C. Y. Ward being Assistant-Surveyor, with Mates Stroyan, and Sweny, and Midshipman E. R. May, accompanied by the cutter 'Nerbudda,' commanded by Midshipman C. Forster, and trigonometrically surveyed the coast from Cape Comorin to Beypore, also portions of the Laccadive Islands, and the Sesostris Bank. He constructed a map of a constant circular current prevailing between the Malabar coast and the Laccadives, the non-publication of which, as appears in a letter from him to the Commander-in-chief of the Indian Navy, dated the 13th of October, 1855, caused the loss of one of the steamers of the Peninsular and Oriental Company.

The peculiar dangers to which marine surveyors are liable may be gathered from the following incident, which occurred early in the year 1850. Mr. Midshipman Sharp, of the 'Taptee,' then commanded by Lieutenant Selby, was absent, on a fine calm day, in the jolly-boat, which was moored as a point for the triangulation, within sight of the brig, when suddenly she disappeared. The 'Taptee' was off the Malabar coast, and, although every search was made for the jolly-boat by the other boats of the brig and by about a hundred canoes which were despatched in all directions, no vestige of boat, crew or officer was ever found. The only hypothesis that appears probable is that they were attacked by some of the "black fish," a species of whale, which have been known to chase boats, but the mystery was never unravelled On the 1st of October, 1850, Lieutenant Taylor was appointed Surveyor, in command of the pattamar, 'Pownah,' with Lieutenant Whish as Assistant-Surveyor, and Messrs. Barker, Stiffe, and Macaulay, Midshipmen; and in that vessel, with the 'Maldiva,' cutter, as tender, he surveyed the Gulf of Cutch and coast of Kattywar.† Taylor's survey, which was admirable, like all that officer's work, was on four sheets, of the scale of one inch to a mile, which was reduced to one sheet by Whish and Stiffe. In 1851, Lieutenant Rennie was engaged in the 'Euphrates,' with Lieutenant Constable as his assistant, surveying on the North Concan coast.

Some idea of the frequent changes in the officering of ships, which formed one of the chief obstacles to their efficiency, may be gathered from the following postings of Lieutenant Constable, who during his career was chiefly employed in surveying duties, where changes necessarily were not so frequent. In August, 1851, he was in temporary charge of the new steam-

* See Markham's "Indian Surveys," and Vol XII of the "Journal of the Bombay Geographical Society," where the results of the Survey are given

† See Taylor's "General Description and sailing Directions for the Coast of Kattywar," published at Bombay in 1855.

frigate 'Zenobia,' which had not yet been commissioned, but, on the 1st of September, when his successor, Commander C. D Campbell, took command of the receiving-ship 'Hastings,' on the death of Captain Hawkins, Lieutenant Constable was placed in charge of the 'Euphrates.' Again, on the 18th of September, he temporarily resumed command of the 'Zenobia,' only, on the 8th of October, to surrender her finally to Commander Ball (who remained in her until his death in the following year), and return to the command of the 'Euphrates,' which at this time was converted from a 10-gun brig-of-war into a surveying vessel, in which capacity she was employed until the abolition of the Service. Lieutenant Constable was engaged in the 'Margaret,' cutter, sounding off Bombay and surveying Choul Harbour, and, a little later, Commodore Lushington—who, as we have mentioned, had proceeded, in October, 1850, to the Gulf of Cambay, to ascertain what changes had occurred since Commander Ethersey's survey—sent him in the 'Nerbudda,' tender of the 'Euphrates,' to the Gulf of Cambay, to report as to what measures were advisable to render the navigation more easy, as the Gulf had been silting up since Ethersey's time, which made it difficult for native trading vessels to find the right channel. Lieutenant Constable, having completed his investigations, made his report; and, upon his return, learnt that, by an Order dated the 10th of December, 1851, the 'Euphrates' had, during his absence, found a new captain in Lieutenant Rennie, an officer who had served his apprenticeship in hydrography under Sanders and Haines, and was not less eminent as a surveyor than as a seaman and officer. Finally, on the 9th of January, 1852, the 'Euphrates' sailed for Surat with these two officers as Surveyor and Assistant-Surveyor, the tender 'Cardiva' being in company, under Lieutenant W. H. Carpendale. The 'Euphrates' was employed surveying from the mouth of the Taptee to Danoo, and she returned to Bombay on the 12th of May following; the examinations were most minute and laborious, and fertile in results of importance On the promotion of Lieutenant Rennie to Commander, and his appointment to the 'Zenobia,' from the 1st of September, 1852, Lieutenant Constable assumed command of the 'Euphrates,' and applied for Mr Midshipman Stiffe as his Assistant-Surveyor. Though there was no precedent of an officer of so junior a rank holding such an appointment, with the extra batta of 175 rupees a month, the request was granted; and it is certain that, notwithstanding his age and small experience, no better selection could have been made than that of this talented officer, whose scientific and other acquirements—as astronomer, linguist, artist, and surveyor—place him on a level with the most able and accomplished hydrographers produced by this or any other Service.

The 'Euphrates' sailed on the 23rd of October, and prosecuted the survey of the coast from Vomani Point, the north-west extreme of the Kattywar coast, to Porebunder,* and returned to Bombay on the 4th March, 1853. Though this survey was executed with great accuracy and minuteness, Lieutenant Constable found himself now superseded by Commander Albany Grieve, who had arrived from Europe, and sailed in the 'Euphrates' as Assistant-Surveyor under that officer, when the survey of the remaining portion of the Kattywar coast, from Porebunder to Diu, was completed. This supercession affords an example of the evils of a strictly seniority service, for the work just completed by Lieutenant Constable was so admirable that the Court of Directors, in a despatch to the Bombay Government, dated the 30th of May, 1854, expressed their thanks to that officer Finally, on Commander Grieve being ordered to survey the maze of creeks and channels in the delta of the Indus,† Lieutenant Constable resumed command of the 'Euphrates,' with Mr. Stiffe as Assistant-Surveyor.

In October, 1850, the Bombay Government received instructions to despatch, with as little delay as possible, a naval officer of experience to join the Governor-General at Lahore, and accompany him as far as Peshawur, for the purpose of inspecting the whole of the rivers on the North-West frontier, with a view to their navigation as far as practicable. Lieutenant Grounds was selected for this duty, and, says the "Bombay Times," of the 25th of October, "a better selection could not, we believe, well have been made; the officer just named, besides being a man of sound sense, ability, and attainments, is an excellent surveyor, and has had much experience in inland navigation on the Tigris and Euphrates."

By a General Order of the Supreme Government, dated Simla, the 16th of October, 1851, the Governor-General notified that "additional vessels having been provided, a regular communication by Government steam-vessels has been established between Kalabagh and Mooltan. A survey of the Upper Indus and of the River Jhelum has been for some time

* The chart was drawn on the scale of one inch to the mile, and it is only within the last year or two that Government have had this survey lithographed in three sheets

† Lieutenant Stiffe has recently been employed on a resurvey of the mouths of the Indus, and his chart and report are now in the hands of the Admiralty. The survey was made in order to see what changes had occurred in the banks and channels It may be mentioned as explanatory of the frequent resurveys of the Delta of the Indus, and other places mentioned in these pages, that the rapid changes which occur where sandbanks and channels are subjected to the action of rivers, are almost incredible. For instance, Lieutenant Stiffe reports that the old main mouth of the Indus, as laid down by Captains Carless and Selby in their surveys, is now unnavigable, and that now employed for navigation is some miles distant Captain Carless also mentioned, when the transport 'Hannah' was wrecked in this locality about 1840, that his ship, the 'Palinurus,' had anchored on the same spot in five fathoms of water.

in progress, and the Governor-General has every reason to expect that in the course of the ensuing year, the regular communication with Kalabagh may be extended to Jhelum and Kalabagh on the Indus." By Government Orders, Lieutenant Grounds was appointed Surveyor of the Punjaub Rivers, from the 12th of September, 1853, with Lieutenant Stroyan as his Assistant.

Meanwhile, the Indian Navy had done good service by its surveys on the Bengal side.

In 1840, on the retirement of Captain Lloyd, the office of Marine Surveyor in Bengal was abolished; but his assistant, Commander W. Fell, was employed, says Markham, from 1841 to 1848, on board the brig 'Krishna,' in "completing detached surveys on the Coromandel coast, along the Pegu and Martaban shores, and on the north coast of Sumatra.* In 1851, he was engaged in compiling a chart, in three sheets, of the whole of the Coromandel coast from Pulicat to Bimlipitam." In March of the following year, Commander Fell proceeded to Europe on sick leave, when he was succeeded in the command of the 'Krishna' by Lieutenant C. Y. Ward, who, in the energy with which he prosecuted the work, showed himself a worthy successor of Ross, Lloyd, and Fell. The following list of the surveys executed by him, between the years 1851-1859, is furnished by Lieutenant Ward, at our request:—"Malacca Strait, from Pulo Penang to Strait of Singapore; Preparis Channel, Rangoon River; Bassein River; Sittang River and inland waters of Pegu; Mutlah River."

The surveys conducted by Lieutenant Ward during the Burmese War, were of essential service. Early in February, 1853, the 'Krishna' and 'Spy,'† under his command, had com-

* In the Geographical Department of the India Office, there are printed sailing directions by Commander Fell for the coast of Pegu and Gulf of Martaban, dated the 4th of March, 1852, and MS sailing directions for the north coast of Sumatra, from Acheen Head to Diamond Point

† The following anecdote affords an illustration of the dangers and disadvantages under which the survey of Burmese waters, was conducted during the period of our hostilities with the King of Ava. A party under Lieutenant Ward, in the schooner 'Spy,' was engaged surveying on the Irrawaddy, and, when off a place called Chingiao, the schooner's boats, three in number, under the charge of European officers, were engaged in placing flags and taking angles on both sides of the river Mr Lay was on the right bank, having placed his flag close to his boat, and Mr Shepherd was on the opposite bank of the river, the schooner having dropped 300 or 400 yards below the boats While thus engaged, two Burmese came down to the water's edge close to Mr Lay's boat, and one of them handed him a paper similar to one before shown on board the schooner, on the 22nd of October, 1852, when she was surveying at Pantanno, which stated that the bearer, a good man and a Christian, was persecuted by the Burmese, and obliged to live in the jungle Mr Lay handed the man back his paper, and he immediately disappeared, when a volley of musketry was fired into the boat, wounding Mr. Lay severely in the head, and a Malay close to him received six gunshot wounds in different parts of the body, the boat's crew, all being Malays, immediately jumped into the water, leaving their officer to fight it out Mr Lay, though severely wounded, returned the fire, killing one man and wounding two

pleted the survey of the entrance into the Irrawaddy by the Baragne river; and the report they brought was that "a good channel for ships up to 700 tons' burden exists at all seasons, with not less than three and a half fathoms." The 'Spy' discovered during the survey a fine channel into the Irrawaddy by the China-Buckeer branch, with some fifteen or twenty fathoms of water. Mention has already been made of the survey, during the Burmese War, of the Sittang River by Lieutenant Hellard, of the 'Ferooz,' with the boats of that ship. In February, 1854, Lieutenant Ward arrived at Tonghoo, having accomplished a more detailed and systematic examination of the Sittang River; but, strange to say, this survey was never published, though he was more fortunate with his other labours, and his "Sailing Directions for the Straits of Malacca" appeared in "Horsburgh's Directory."

Lieutenant (now retired Commander) Ward ranks among the first of the race of surviving Indian Navy surveyors. As one of those who assisted the late Captain Sanders in his survey of the south-east coast of Arabia—a band which included Lieutenants Constable, Fell, James, and Whish—he was employed to compile the "Pilot of the Gulf of Aden, including the South-East coast of Arabia," which was published by the Admiralty in 1863.

In the beginning of 1855, a year and a half after the termination of the Burmese War, the King of Ava sent a complimentary mission to Lord Dalhousie, which was conveyed to Calcutta in the 'Zenobia' In the following summer the Governor-General returned the compliment by the despatch, to the Burmese capital, of an Embassy consisting of the following officers:—Captain Phayre,* Commissioner of Pegu, as Envoy; Captain H. Yule,† Bengal Engineers; Dr. John Forsyth, Superintending-surgeon in Pegu; Major Grant Allan, of the Quartermaster General's Department and Special Deputy Commissioner on the Frontier; Commander J. Rennie, commanding the 'Zenobia,' to survey the Irrawaddy and report upon its navigation, assisted by Lieutenant J. A. Heathcote and Mr Midshipman W. H. Ogilvy, of the Indian Navy; and Mr. Oldham, Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India and President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Captain Willis, 84th Regiment, commanded the escort, consisting of the Light Company of the 84th Regiment, and a native officer and fifteen men of the 8th Irregular

mortally Mr Shepherd, seeing that Mr. Lay was attacked, pulled across to his assistance, and was also fired at from both banks of the river, but without injury. Lieutenant Ward, thereupon, thought it prudent, for the present, to give up surveying the river trigonometrically, as the native boats' crews would not stand by their officers.

* Now Major-General Sir Arthur Phayre, K C S I, C B, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Mauritius

† Now Colonel Yule, C B., Member of the Council of India.

Cavalry. Besides the other officers of the escort, there were attached to the Mission, Captain Tripe, of the Madras Army, an accomplished photographer; Mr. C. Grant, artist; and Mr. R. Edwards, interpreter. The Mission, which was to make presents to, and negotiate a treaty with, the King of Ava, embarked on board the 'Sutlej' and 'Panlang,' flats, in tow of the steamers 'Bentinck' and 'Nerbudda,' and quitted Rangoon on the 1st of August, 1855. Some stay was made at Prome, Thayet-myo, and Meaday, and crossing the frontier six miles to the north on the 11th, they proceeded to Pagan-myo, where they arrived on the 20th. Captain Yule, the secretary and historian of the Mission, visited the ruins of ancient Pagan, of which he gives a detailed account, and acknowledges the great assistance he received from Lieutenant Heathcote and Mr. Oldham in acquiring the necessary information. After visiting Old Ava, the Mission arrived at the capital. Amarapoora, on the 1st of September, and, on the 13th, was received in great state by the King, the procession on the river consisting of the escort of seventy-five soldiers of the 84th, in the steamer's boats, the officers of the Mission in other boats, and the Governor-General's letter, under Commander Rennie's charge, in the 'Zenobia's' pinnace, with the Company's Jack flying at the bow, and flanked by the gigs of the 'Nerbudda' and 'Bentinck,' with the 'Zenobia's' gig astern. On landing, the Mission, accompanied by the cavalry escort and the high Burmese officials, with seamen of the 'Zenobia' carrying the Union Jack and two gold umbrellas, proceeded in great state to the palace, where they conformed to the native custom—now happily abrogated—of advancing, without their shoes, to the foot of the throne of the "Golden-footed" monarch and "Lord of the White Elephant." On the 21st of October, Major Phayre had a private interview with the King; and, on the 22nd, the Mission took its departure, on the return to British territory, and reached Rangoon on the 30th. During the passage of the Mission, Commander Rennie and Lieutenant Heathcote surveyed the course of the Irrawaddy, from the frontier to Amarapoora, and a large chart was constructed from their observations. The geographical positions of all places on the Irrawaddy, were fixed, and a sketch-survey was forwarded to Calcutta, and afterwards lithographed for use in navigation. A memoir to accompany this survey was also printed, and some forty copies were struck off.

Lieutenant Heathcote,* in a paper which appears in Vol. V.

* This distinguished and lamented officer, to whom the writer of these pages desires here to record his acknowledgments for the services always placed at his disposal, notwithstanding his heavy professional duties as manager of a Salvage Company, died on the 3rd of January, 1877, deeply regretted by his relatives, friends, and old brother officers.

of the "Journal of the Royal United Service Institution,"* and was read by Admiral Collinson at a meeting of the Institution, on the 22nd of February, 1861, gives the following account of the manner in which this running survey was made:—"On the British frontier, where it abuts on the Irrawaddy, two boundary pillars are erected; their relative position and distance from each other has been well ascertained, and the river within this boundary has been well surveyed. It was the duty of the surveyors of the Mission to produce as accurate a survey of the river to the north of this boundary, within the territories of the King of Burmah, as the time occupied in the passage of the Mission allowed them. The principle laid down for the execution of this duty was a combination of the three elements of time, speed, and transit bearings; the result being checked and confirmed by astronomical observations. The surveyors were well provided with instruments, and five chronometers were placed in a cabin of the largest flat, upon a stand purposely erected to avoid vibration or the effects of concussions, and to give every facility for winding and comparison. At each end of the roof of the flat, which was about fifteen feet above the water, and about 120 feet long, standards were set up to give a line of sight at right angles to the keel of the vessel. These were used to ascertain the rate of progress, by noting the interval between the passing by the two sets of standards of any fixed object on the bank when the vessel's course was perfectly straight† A good prismatic compass was set upon the roof of the flat, and, starting from a given point, and noting time and speed, the transit-bearing of every point or object, especially those on the bank, with every other that was worth remark, was accurately noted. Objects in the interior were observed in the same way, and these observations, both backwards and forwards, were made as numerous as possible, so as to act as a check one against another. Time of arrival, and speed, at every point or object before observed, was again noted, the course being principally along either one bank or the other, to avoid the extreme strength of the mid-current. The eventual plotting of the chart was throughout kept constantly in view, and the connection between all the various objects carefully preserved. To avoid the errors to which observations of the

* In No 40, Vol X of this Journal, also appears a paper by this officer, entitled, "Collisions at Sea, and their Remedy by an Improved System of Lights"

† This method of computing speed was also adopted by Lieutenants Chippendall, R E, and Watson, R E, during their survey of the course of the Nile between Khartoum and Rigaf, while employed under Colonel Gordon's orders, between the 1st of October and the 29th of November, 1874 Lieutenant Watson describes the method in detail, as though it were a novel one. (See "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," vol. xlvi, pp 412-416)

speed, as tested by the standards, were liable from any accidental deviation from the vessel's straight course, these observations were taken very frequently, and their results were very satisfactory, as the vessels steered as steadily as could be desired, the flat being towed alongside the steamer. The speed of the vessels over the ground, the progress being against the stream, averaged eighty or ninety yards per minute, in exceptional cases ranging so low as thirty-five to forty, and so high as one hundred and sixty. The rate through the water was found in the ordinary way. A Burmese was at hand to give information as to the names of the villages, &c., and as every point could not be named (nor, if so, would it have been convenient to use their names), each point or other object was denoted by the degree of the prismatic compass by which it first came under observation. The vessels were always moored to the bank shortly after sunset. Then came observations of stars, with the artificial horizon for latitude and longitude; and as our stay at the principal places *en route* generally extended to a day, very frequent opportunities were found for ascertaining the rates of the chronometers Chronometer measurements were thus obtained under circumstances peculiarly favourable, and they were again checked on the return passage of the vessels. This survey does not pretend to mathematical precision; it is merely a sketch-survey, rapidly taken under peculiar circumstances. Perhaps the astronomical observations are its most valuable results; nevertheless, the sketch itself will be found to possess such a degree of accuracy as can ordinarily be obtained when the opportunities for surveying are no greater than those afforded by the passage up an almost unknown river for the first time in a steam vessel. At Amarapoora a trigonometrical survey of the water-approaches to the capital was obtained, as also a section of the river at a favourable point, and the discharge of water at the prevailing season."

Between the years 1856-62, Lieutenant Heathcote was engaged upon the surveys of the Bay of Bengal. In the former year he made a survey of the western entrance of the Hooghly from Kaokali to the Pilot Station at the Sand Heads. "It was undertaken," says Markham, "because the Gaspar Channel, that commonly used, was becoming dangerous, owing to accumulations of sand, and threatening to obstruct the traffic to Calcutta. This survey, which required very great exactness, was performed in the surveying vessels, 'Krishna' and 'Spy,' and the chart was drawn on a large scale, showing the depth of water to feet. It was accompanied by a report upon all the channels of the Hooghly, comparing their present form with that which they showed upon the last surveys, and showing the amount of accumulation that had taken place. The work was connected with the stations of the Great Trigo-

nometrical Survey." In 1861, Lieutenant Heathcote was employed by the Admiralty to compile a chart of the Bay of Bengal, showing the winds and currents during the south-west monsoon, worked out from a large number of logs of old Indiamen; and the chart was sent to the India Office, and appears, together with the accompanying memoir, in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society" for 1862 This was a pendant to Lieutenant Taylor's chart of the currents of the Arabian Sea during the same season, compiled from a comparison of upwards of a hundred logs of vessels of the Indian Navy, which was highly commended by Commodore Lushington, and was published, with a memoir, in 1853. Lieutenant Fergusson, draughtsman at Bombay in succession to Captain Montriou, "also prepared three sets of charts, each set containing a chart for every month in the year, showing the winds and currents of the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, and Indian and China Seas, which were published in 1856" In 1858, Lieutenant M. A. Sweny, assisted by Lieutenant H. Jackson, continued the survey of the Coromandel Coast, from Point Calimere to Pulicat,* and the chart and memoir were sent in to Government in November, 1860, when, with the exception of the coast about the mouths of the Mahanuddy, which was executed in 1869-70, the work was completed which Captain Fell had done so much to further, when, in 1851, he compiled the chart, in three sheets, of the Coromandel Coast from Pulicat to Bimlipatam.

An important episode in the history of Indian Navy Surveys, is that relating to the labours of Lieutenant (now Captain) C. G. Constable,† and his assistant, Lieutenant Stiffe, in the Persian Gulf. From 1851 to 1856, the former officer had been

* See Captain Constable's Memorandum of the 3rd of March, 1862

† Lieutenant Constable entered the Service in 1839, and from 1844, when the surveys were recommenced, had been continuously employed in this duty He assisted Captain Sanders in the years 1844-45 in his survey of the south-east coast of Arabia, and in the latter part of 1849 and early in the following year, while on furlough, proceeded to Egypt, where he drew a map for Sir James Outram, who was at that time employed on secret service for the Government, compiling a memoir on the resources, defences, and military capabilities of that country For his work, which was voluntarily undertaken, and without remuneration, he received the thanks of the Supreme Government and of the Government of Bombay, besides being honoured with the friendship and esteem of that great man, Sir James Outram, who wrote as follows regarding him to Commodore Lushington —"Baroda, August 15th, 1850 My dear Commodore, I have been directed by Government to convey its thanks to Lieutenant Constable for the valuable aid he gave me in Egypt in surveying and mapping A very valuable specimen of his handiwork being lodged with the Government, which I wish you could see, to satisfy you as to his superior qualifications as a surveyor, for I think I am bound to bring Constable's kind assistance to me to your notice, as well as to that of the Government, in the hope that you may feel inclined to advance so valuable an officer in the branch of the Service which he is so peculiarly calculated for. In this hope I take the liberty to bring Lieutenant Constable's Egyptian services to your notice, and I shall be glad indeed, if by doing so, I

employed surveying on the west coast of India, either as assistant to Commander Rennie in 1852, and Commander Grieve in 1853, or as surveyor in command. Under instructions from Sir Henry Leeke, dated the 24th of March, 1856, to "complete the deep sea soundings from Angria's bank to Cape Comorin," including an area of about 16,800 square miles, Lieutenant Constable was employed on this work, when, on the 11th of November, he was attached to the Persian Expeditionary force as Surveyor, in the 'Euphrates,' with Lieutenant Sweny as his assistant. No fitter person could have been found, either in the Service or out of it, as for many years he had turned his attention to the hydrography of the Persian Gulf, and his knowledge of every creek and inlet was so profound as to have passed into a proverb among his brother officers. What more immediately drew the notice of the Government to him, was a paper he read before the Bombay Geographical Society, on the 21st of February, 1856, (published in their "Transactions," vol. xii. p. 98) entitled "Memoir relating to the Hydrography of the Persian Gulf and the knowledge we possess of that sea," in which he pointed out the numerous errors in the surveys of 1821-28, made by Captains Guy and Brucks,* which had come to his knowledge during his service in the Gulf.

On the capture of Bushire he was engaged making a minute survey of the town, harbour, and neighbouring country, as, on account of the jealousy all Easterns have of Europeans "writing down their land," as they call it, it was necessary to complete the survey while the town was in our occupation. In order to secure this, he and his officers had to work throughout the hot season; but they completed the task in time, though not without suffering considerably in health. Lieutenant Sweny was detached to buoy off the bar and channel of the Shatt-ul-Arab, for the passage of the fleet to bombard Mohamra, and thus enabled the ships-of-war, steamers, and transports, to ascend its waters without any casualties, which owing to the paucity of Arab pilots, could not otherwise have been accom-

can interest you in his favour Very sincerely yours, Signed—J OUTRAM" On his return from Egypt, Lieutenant Constable had applied to Commodore Lushington for employment on the Survey, but had been informed that there was no vacancy. Colonel Outram's letter, however, acted as the "open sesame," and a place was speedily found for Lieutenant Constable in the 'Euphrates,' as already mentioned. From this date until the abolition of the Service, he was always employed in the Survey Department

* It may be mentioned that many years before this, Lieutenant Constable had brought to the notice of Government the errors in the old Persian Gulf charts, which he had examined and tested Thus we find that on the 9th of December, 1851, Commodore Lushington wrote to him acknowledging the receipt of "a most useful and interesting report on the hydrography of the Persian Gulf, pointing out in a clear and intelligible manner the errors in the present charts" But he adds there was no vessel available for surveying duties, though when the Gulf survey could be undertaken, no one had greater claims for the command owing "to his long application and extensive knowledge of the Gulf."

plished. On the conclusion of the war, Lieutenant Constable was ordered to correct* the survey of the Gulf, which occu-

* Lieutenant Constable's instructions were briefly comprised in the following paragraph of a despatch, dated the 24th of June, 1857, from the Court of Directors to the Government of Bombay "It is very important that as soon as the demands of the Service will admit of it, one of the Indian Navy vessels should be employed in making a circuit of the Persian Gulf, for the purpose of determining correctly the latitudes and longitudes of the principal points" "In accordance with these instructions," says Captain Constable, in an official memorandum of his proceedings, "certain positions round the Gulf were carefully determined, at such short distances apart as would admit of the interjacent coast-line being completed from the existing charts without material error, a vessel being thereby enabled to shape her course from one point to another with certainty The new chart thus constructed, is a correct skeleton of the islands, and of the principal points and towns around the Gulf, with as much of the detail of coast-line (in the vicinity of the positions fixed) correctly triangulated as the time admitted, the remainder of the coast-line being adapted from the old charts The latitudes and longitudes were mostly astronomically determined by reflecting instruments of the best class, and with the exception of a few observations, at shoals not dry, out of sight of land, they were exclusively made with the artificial horizon The latitudes were determined by observations of the pole star, and by circum-meridional altitudes of stars, and, when the altitude was not too great, of the sun Care was taken to obviate any errors in the usual tables of refraction, by observing stars on both sides of the zenith, and, to compensate possible errors of construction, by using at the most important stations, three different instruments, viz, a reflecting circle, and two sextants With the exception of some minor points, the observations at each station were numerous and varied The details of these observations, as well as those for meridian distances, were given in a register, which was forwarded with the chart to Government The longitudes were determined chronometrically by means of seven chronometers The observations for time were altitudes of the sun all taken before noon, as near the same time and under the same circumstances as practicable, and also, by the same observer, with the same instrument, viz, a Troughton's reflecting circle, so that inaccuracies arising from index error, inaccurate graduation, &c, were practically compensated The general system pursued was to start from some well-determined rating station, taking observations at several, not too distant, circumjacent points, and return, without delay, to the starting-point, to obtain a mean rate for the interval, which was not to exceed ten or twelve days, the rating stations being connected with the fundamental positions by at least two independent measurements It was found possible, gradually, during the course of the chronometric observations between Kais (Kenn), Kishm, and Limeh, to connect these and the intermediate stations, also trigonometrically, thereby checking the observations Numerous minor points, and all the principal hills and land-marks, were fixed trigonometrically from the astronomical positions The variation of the compass, which is westerly, and had much decreased since the former survey, was everywhere carefully determined by azimuths observed on shore with a 7-inch Everest theodolite No information being given on the old charts as the heights of mountains, islands, &c, much attention was bestowed on their accurate determination, elevations being observed by the 7-inch theodolite, and heights above mean level of the sea computed During the surveying vessel's progress from one station to another, a great many soundings were taken to fill up gaps, and also test those exhibited on the old charts The nature of the bottom was likewise everywhere noted, as it had been rarely recorded by former surveyors"

In a letter addressed to Commodore Jenkins, commanding the Persian Gulf Squadron, dated the 27th of April, 1858, Lieutenant Constable gives the following details of the work up to that date —

"I arrived at Bushire from Bombay on the 25th of December, 1856, and was immediately sent up a narrow creek, where the vessel was stationed two miles inland of Bushire, as a floating battery for the protection of the left flank of the British camp, and was detained there until the 25th of April following During

pied him from April, 1857, to March, 1860, during which period he had the invaluable assistance of Lieutenant A. W. Stiffe, who, at his request, was appointed Assistant-Surveyor, his other officers being Midshipmen T. M. Lambarde and H. Hewer.

this period the vessel was also ready for action, but the boats were continually away, sounding and buoying the harbour to facilitate the landing of the army stores and troops My assistant, Lieutenant Sweny, was despatched to the mouth of the Euphrates, which he sounded and buoyed previous to the entrance of the fleet of men-of-war and transports which went up to Mohamra The creeks in the vicinity of the brig were surveyed also at this time As soon as the vessel was released from this position, the survey of Bushire Harbour and roads was commenced, and this was completed by the 5th of September In the meantime the brig was sent away with despatches to Mohamra, which took nearly a month The strong north-west winds fill the air with dust for days together at that season (June and July), so much so, that often when lying at anchor in company with thirty and forty ships crowded together in this anchorage, only three or four nearest to us could be seen The extreme heat of the weather, and, moreover, the paucity of officers—for besides Lieutenant Stiffe, the Assistant-Surveyor, there are but two midshipmen—will sufficiently account for the time occupied We sailed for Kharrack on the 15th, having been detained until then by our carpenter's services being required to fit up arm-racks in the transports We had just commenced a trigonometrical survey of Kharrack too, had erected the necessary station marks, and were engaged measuring the base line, when I received orders from Commander Remme to break off and return to Bushire, from whence I was to sail and ascertain the latitude and longitude of all points, &c, around the Gulf It is to be regretted, that although Kharrack has been twice in the possession of the British, our Government are still without a Marine Survey of it and the neighbouring island of Congo with its outlying reefs The Persian Government is so jealous, that to survey those islands, whilst in their hands, is out of the question We left Bushire on our cruise for fixing the positions on the 27th of September, and returned last Friday, having been absent nearly seven months. We have taken observations of two points of the Coast of Arabia, one sixty-seven miles north-west of El Kateef, the other at Cape Mussendom, and fixed the position of Biddulph's Islands, which lie on the Arabian side of the Gulf, with the above exceptions, our attention has been devoted to the Persian shore, considering it the wisest course to proceed systematically and finish one side at a time The Persian coast, from Bushire down to the entrance of the Gulf, is nearly done, it remaining only to take observations at three or four more points Our maxim is, 'Let what is done be well done.' As we sail from place to place, soundings are regularly taken and registered, so that from all I have mentioned, you will perceive that a large amount of data towards forming an entire new chart of the Gulf is in my hands, which it will require leisure to compile and reduce into uniform scale. At the towns where we have taken observations, the Sheikhs have treated us with the utmost kindness, giving us a room in their house, with carpets and pillows to sleep on, and food has been cooked for us Never has any objection been made to our surveying operations, but every facility afforded A natural curiosity has brought a hundred people around the instruments, but they never cause the least annoyance, they are too well-behaved for that When requested to sit quiet, because their moving caused the mercury in the artificial horizon to vibrate, they do so, and do not move until they are told they may do so The duty over, we permit them to look through the telescopes, &c, then old men and children are equally delighted. On two occasions our boats have been swamped in the surf on the beach, the crew were insufficient to move them, but the Arabs hastened to their assistance and hauled the boats up, and saved everything belonging to them. One party I was able to reward with some money, but in the other instance, the accident occurring in front of the town of Congoon, the Sheikh was present and would not allow his subjects to receive a coin He said that they had only done their duty, and the English always assisted the Arabs when their boats are in distress."

Geological specimens were collected from various parts along the shores and islands, and presented to the Secretary of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Dr. Carter, a distinguished naturalist and formerly assistant-surgeon of the 'Palinurus,' during the survey of the south-east coast of Arabia, conducted by Commander Sanders, which enabled him to draw up a valuable paper, which appears in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal To ensure perfect accuracy in the identification of places by their Arabic names, Lieutenant Constable made a practice of proceeding on shore at every town and village on the coast, calling upon the Sheikh, or headman, from whom he would request information; these chiefs, more familiar with the use of the sword than of the pen, would invariably call in their meerza, or secretary, who, with "cullumdaun" at waist, transcribed in a book the Arabic name, or names, of the places under his lord's domination. Lieutenant Constable, on his arrival at Bushire, then solicited the assistance of that accomplished Arabic and Persian scholar, Captain Felix Jones, the Political Resident, who translated the Arabic into its English equivalent.

In this thorough method was the examination of the Persian Gulf, and the identification of its sites, conducted by Lieutenant Constable and his talented assistant, Lieutenant Stiffe,* both of whom recognised the justice of the maxim enunciated by Admiral Beechey, in his address at the Anniversary meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, in May, 1856:—"A rapid reconnaissance of a coast might have been tolerated half a century ago, but such a survey cannot now be accepted."

On the 22nd of June, 1858, Lieutenant Constable returned to Bombay in the 'Euphrates,' and again proceeded to the Persian Gulf in the 'Marie,' schooner, of 167 tons. On the completion of the survey, in March, 1860, Lieutenant (now Commander) Constable finally returned to Bombay, when he completed the new chart, which was published by the Admiralty in 1862, and so excellent was the workmanship, that Admiral Washington sent it to the International Exhibition of that year as a good specimen of English chart drawing† On his return to England, Commander Constable was employed writing the "Persian Gulf Pilot," a work filled with information which he had been collecting for twenty years, and which was published by the Admiralty in 1864.

* Since the abolition of the Service, Lieutenant Stiffe has held the post of Director at Kurrachee of the Government Persian Gulf telegraph line

† Lieutenant Constable would appear to have inherited his talent as a draughtsman, from his father, John Constable, B A, the distinguished English landscape painter His assistant in the early part of the survey, Lieutenant Sweney, also, doubtless, owed some of his eminence as a practical seaman to the teachings of his father, who served as lieutenant in the 'Colossus,' seventy-four guns, at the Battle of Trafalgar.

In 1860, Lieutenant Whish, in the 'Mahi,' made a partial survey of a channel inside the great shoal called Yarron, off Bahrein, of which island he wrote a memoir, which appears in Vol. XV. of the "Journal of the Bombay Geographical Society;" and, in 1870, an accomplished surveyor—Mr. Girdlestone, formerly midshipman of the Indian Navy—of the Topographical Survey Department, completed the survey of the reefs and channels between Bahrein and El Kateef on the mainland *

In the latter part of 1856, Lieutenant C. Forster, a talented and popular officer, who died in the year 1876, completed single-handed, in the 'Nerbudda,' cutter, in a remarkably brief space of time, all the deep sea soundings from the Bombay Bank, to seaward of what Commander Montriou and Lieutenant Taylor had done, as far as Cape Comorin.

A prominent name in these pages, has been that of Commander Felix Jones, who, during the Persian War, in critical circumstances, filled the post of Political Resident at Bushire, with credit to himself and advantage to the Government. We have detailed his services to hydrography and geographical research up to May, 1847, when he returned to Mesopotamia, from Bombay, as Surveyor.† From that date to the spring of 1853 he was assiduously engaged in adding to our limited geographical knowledge of those regions, and extending our intercourse with the tribes of Arabs who roam over them. The ancient cities of Nineveh and Babylon, with the surrounding districts, and the system of canals—which formerly converted this wilderness into a smiling garden, affording grain to a vast population—were surveyed in these Expeditions, as well as numerous additions made to the knowledge of the modern topography of Turkish Arabia. Captain Jones' various maps and plans were published by Government and the learned Societies,‡ and for them and his numerous contributions of natural history specimens, as well as for the energy he displayed in the prosecution of his public duties, he repeatedly received the thanks of the Home and Indian Governments.

His expedition in 1844, in conjunction with Sir Henry Raw-

* Mr. Midshipman Girdlestone, after the abolition of the Indian Navy, was employed up to 1868 in the Topographical Survey Department as Assistant-Surveyor, and, from that date to 1875, as Deputy-Superintendent in charge of the Khandeish Survey, on a salary of £1,400 a year He writes to us —"In 1870-71, I was lent for a year to the Bombay Government, to fit out and start the survey of the reefs between Bahrein and El Kateef, and was in command of the 'Constance' Having put the whole thing into proper shape, I returned to my own department in 1871" This young officer had graduated in the Survey Department under Lieutenant Williams at Sedasheghur in 1861

† Under date the 6th of February, 1852, the Surveyor of Mesopotamia was allowed, in addition to his pay, 150 rupees a month, and by order of the 31st of May, 1859, his assistant was allowed four rupees a day batta

‡ The memoirs and maps will be found in the "Bombay Selections," No. 43 (new series), and most of the memoirs also appear in the "Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society."

linson, for the purpose of collecting information respecting the boundary between Persia and Turkey, and his ascent of the Tigris from Bagdad to Samarrah, in the 'Nitocris,' in 1846, of which an account appears in Vol. XVIII. of the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," were followed by a journey he undertook, two years later, to determine the course of the ancient Nehrwan Canal, of which he published a minute account, accompanied by a map and an interesting historical disquisition on this remarkable relic of the Sassanian dynasty. "In April and September, 1850," says Markham, "Captain Jones surveyed the old bed of the Tigris, discovered the site of the ancient Opis, and made researches in the vicinity of the Median wall and Physcus of Xenophon. In 1852 he made a trigonometrical survey of the country between the Tigris and the Upper Zab, including the ruins of Nineveh, fixing positions by meridian altitudes of the sun and stars, with chronometric differences for longitude. The results of this work are recorded in the beautiful maps of 'Assyrian Vestiges,' in four sheets, and in a valuable memoir." Commander Jones also compiled a Memoir on the province of Bagdad, the city having been surveyed and mapped on a large scale by Mr. Midshipman Collingwood,* under Captain Jones' orders, during his absence on other duties. In 1853, after twenty-five years' continous service, he was compelled to quit Turkish Arabia on sick leave for twelve months, and traversed Asia Minor to Constantinople, whence he proceeded to London

Captain Jones brought to England with him a map of Babylonia, in three sheets, with a detailed memoir of the country from Museyb, north of Hillah, down to the north-wes end of the Sea of Nejf. As an instance of the carelessness with which such valuable records were treated in the India Office, it may be noted that these maps were lost in that department

While in London, Captain Jones received notice that the threatening condition of affairs in the East, where Persia exhibited hostile intentions towards Turkey and England, required his presence in Mesopotamia. Foregoing his leave, he returned to Bagdad *viâ* Asia Minor, and, on the 1st of March, 1855, was appointed Acting Political Agent and Consul-General in Turkish Arabia, and nominated Agent to the Director-General of Land Transport in the Crimea, in which capacity his services

* Mr Collingwood writes to us —"The survey of the city of Bagdad was completed entirely by myself, and under very unpleasant restrictions, as it was to be done unawares The Turkish Government were not to know anything about it, consequently Captain Jones could not move in the matter He went away on some other duty, and I was left to survey the town as best I could, and under such difficulties that at times I had to note bearings and paces all over my white shirt, where best I could get the pencil at the time, and as you may imagine, had many narrow escapes of detection, and had to resort to all kinds of subterfuges, to lull suspicion."

elicited official commendation. In October, 1855, he succeeded Captain Kemball as Political Agent in the Persian Gulf, and, two months later, when war with Persia was imminent, furnished his Government with plans and itineraries for the invasion of a country very little known to the Quartermaster-General's Department of our Army. For these he received an autograph letter from Lord Canning, conveying the "cordial thanks" of his lordship for the "forethought" he had displayed, and for the "clear and instructive manner in which he had conveyed to Government full and complete information." On the outbreak of war, twelve months later, Captain Jones was named Political Agent to the Persian Expeditionary Force, and his services in this capacity were of a high order, and elicited the eulogiums of Sir James Outram. But, as would appear from the result, the fact of his being an officer of the Indian Navy must have acted as a bar to his receiving the honours freely awarded to other military and civil officers; for the gallant Commander of the Expedition, who had notified to Government his meritorious services, remarked on the omission of his name from the list of those honoured with the Bath, that he had not received that "recognition of his war services," which was "undoubtedly his due."

During the Indian Mutiny, Captain Jones again earned the repeated approval of the Indian and Home Governments, for the energy and success with which, in that crisis, he held in check the disposition of Persia and of the Arab maritime tribes of the Gulf, to intrigue against British supremacy and prestige in the East, and, while actively engaged against some of the more refractory of the Arab chiefs, the exposure brought on fever, which ultimately necessitated his quitting his post on twenty months' sick leave. In August, 1862, within two months of his arrival in England, his experience was sought in aid of the project for extending telegraphic intercourse with India, *viâ* the Persian Gulf, by the Indo-European line, in the promotion of which he had always taken great interest. Captain Jones possessed all the requirements for contributing to the success of such an enterprise. Proficient in the Arabic and Persian languages, personally intimate with the chiefs and people, familiar with every locality of the Gulf and Mesopotamia, an accomplished draughtsman and land and marine surveyor, and the chief British political authority in the Persian Gulf, no man possessed equal claims to initiate the project of telegraphic communication. He, accordingly, decided to forego his leave for the purpose of preceding the Engineers, Colonel Stewart and Sir Charles Bright, in order to conciliate the Arab tribes, who viewed with jealousy any attempt to dispossess them of their property in the soil at, and about, the stations marked out for the telegraph. By the end of February, 1863,

Captain Jones was at Bombay, where he offered his services to the Governor, who, however, expressed himself as unable to avail himself of them, as, by an old regulation, officers must retire from civil employ on completion of thirty-five years' service, and he had already sent to Bushire, Colonel Pelly, the acting Political Agent at Zanzibar, a man of great and acknowledged ability. Thus Captain Jones' Indian career was brought to a close, and the Government did not even concede to him a public notification of approval for his long and meritorious services extending over a period of thirty-five years.*

The Expedition for laying the marine portion of the Indo-European telegraph,† a Government line, consisted of a squadron of steamers and ships,‡ all the former being under

* Eventually, Captain Jones was awarded compensation equivalent to nine months of his salary as Political Resident, but this was barely sufficient to cover his expenses in proceeding to India and back with his family, and the loss sustained by the forced sale of the furniture and stock of a large Indian Residency. Captain Jones has devoted the last years of his life to the service of a Government which, had he been a Military man or a Civilian, would have recognised his services by the bestowal of some honorary distinction, and has recently completed a map of Mesopotamia, in which his unrivalled knowledge of that country, and his beautiful draughtsmanship are displayed

† In 1863, the Turkish Government constructed a telegraph line which, leaving the European system at Constantinople, traverses Asia Minor, and passes through Mosul to Bagdad In 1864 a line, on iron standards, was erected by the Indian Government from Bagdad to Fâo, near Bussorah, which was subsequently transferred to the officials of the Porte Before the despatch of the Expedition from Bombay, a land-line, 240 miles in length, had been erected along the coast from Guadur to Kurrachee by the Government of India. The wire from Bagdad to Fâo, passing through a country where the Turks have little or no authority, was considered to be the most unsafe portion of the line, and a supplementary line was constructed by British officers, at the expense of the Persian Government, from the cable station at Bushire to Teheran, and thence to Bagdad This line remained the principal one for telegraphic communication with India, until the spring of 1870, when a line was opened between London and Teheran, and the submarine cable between Suez and Bombay was also opened on the 6th of March, 1870, that laid in 1859 having failed a few days after completion. An alternative cable to that of 1864 has also been laid from Bushire to Cape Jask, whence it is continued by land wire to Guadur

‡ The following were the steamers and officers of the late Indian Navy, employed in the laying of this cable:—'Coromandel,' (headquarter ship) Lieutenant G O'Brien Carew, commanding 'Zenobia' (towing the 'Kirkham,' with half the first section of the cable, 180 miles) the late Lieutenant T C R. Carpendale commanding, first officer, Mr C King, late Midshipman, I N. 'Semiramis,' (towing the 'Marian Moore,' with the second section of the cable, 180 miles) Lieutenant W. T. Crockett, commanding, first officer, Lieutenant G. Leishman 'Dalhousie' (store-ship), Lieutenant H. Morland, commanding. 'Victoria' (pilot ship) Lieutenant W. P. Arnot, commanding, first officer, Lieutenant E Dawes 'Amberwitch' (telegraph ship) Lieutenant A W Stiffe, commanding, first officer, Mr. T B Tolputt (late acting-master, I.N, and Sub-Lieutenant Anglo-Chinese Navy). 'Clyde,' (for landing the shore end of the cable), Mr. David White (late Acting-Master, I N., and Lieutenant Royal Naval Reserve), commanding The sailing ships were the 'Marian Moore' and 'Kirkham,' with the first section of the cable, that between Guadur, on the Mekran coast, and Cape Mussendom, 360 miles; and the 'Tweed,' 'Assaye,' and 'Cospatrick,' with the second section, that between Cape Mussendom and Bushire, 400 miles, and the third section between Bushire and Fâo, on the Shatt-ul-Arab, near Bussorah The first to leave Bombay was the 'Victoria,' having on board Lieutenants St. John and Pearson, R.E., and

the command of officers of the late Indian Navy who had taken service in the newly-constituted Bombay Marine. The steamers also formerly belonged to the Service, with the exception of the 'Amber-witch,' which had been purchased at Liverpool for Government by Lieutenant Stiffe, and fitted out in London, under the supervision of that scientific officer, with every essential for a telegraph ship, and has since been permanently stationed on the line Among the sailing ships employed in the Expedition, were the 'Punjaub' (re-christened the 'Tweed') and the 'Assaye,' so closely identified, like the steamers 'Semiramis,' 'Zenobia,' and 'Victoria,' with some glorious passages in the history of the old Service. Both these beautiful vessels had been converted into sailing ships, and nothing afloat could equal them for speed; but, unfortunately, the 'Assaye' was lost on the Irish coast on her voyage home from the Gulf.

The Expedition sailed from Bombay on the 21st of January, 1864, with the exception of the 'Amberwitch' and the sailing ships 'Tweed,' 'Assaye,' and 'Cospatrick,' which had not yet arrived from England with the Persian Gulf section of the line, the naval conduct of the squadron being under Lieutenant Carew of the 'Coromandel,' which, as the head-quarter ship, conveyed the Director-General, Colonel Patrick Stewart, of the Bengal Engineers, a man of commanding talent, Sir Charles Bright, the engineer in charge, and the staff. The shore end of the cable was first laid at Guadur Bay, on the Mekran coast, and thence taken to Ras Mussendom and Bushire, where repeating stations were established. The cable, which was paid out by the sailing vessels, towed by the steamers, was landed at Fâo, near Bussorah, on the Shatt-ul-Arab, whence it was brought into communication with the Persian line to Bagdad, Mosul, and Constantinople On the 14th of April, the principal officers of the Expedition proceeded to Bagdad in the 'Comet,' commanded by the late Lieutenant Bewsher, I.N, and in May, the work of laying the cable being complete, the Expedition returned to Bombay, when Lieutenant Carew, and the other commanding

stores for the Persian land-line, which sailed on the 27th of December, and embarking Colonel Desborough at Muscat, landed him at Elphinstone's Inlet, near Cape Mussendom, the island at the end of which was afterwards used as a station, the 'Clyde' being stationed there for its protection A strange circumstance occurred as the 'Dalhousie' was nearing Koee Mubarrek, at the entrance of the Gulf, at night time, all the compasses commenced swinging, and some actually revolving, which continued for some hours, the steadiest being a compass Lieutenant Morland had on his watch-chain Besides the officers of the late Indian Navy,, mentioned above as being employed in the Gulf at this time, Mr. Midshipman E Nicholson was employed on shore on the Mekran coast, and Lieutenant Warner (who recently died at Bagdad) commanded the schooner 'Georgiana,' which was employed under the order of Colonel Pelly, the Political Resident at Bushire.

officers, received the thanks of Colonel Stewart and Sir Charles Bright.*

In 1855, on Captain Jones' appointment to the Residency of Bushire, he was succeeded as Surveyor of Mesopotamia by Commander Selby, who had already rendered good service in connection with the survey of Mesopotamia in 1840-41, when he examined the Karoon and Dizful rivers. On the 1st of September, 1853, he had commissioned the 'Palinurus' as Surveyor; but, in the following year, was transferred to the command of the steam frigate 'Ajdaha,' and, in 1855, hoisted his pennant on board the river-steamer 'Comet,' employed in protecting British interests on the Tigris, as Surveyor of Mesopotamia, for which he was well qualified, by reason of his familiarity with the country, as one of the survivors of the old Euphrates Expedition.†

In Lieutenant Collingwood and Acting-Lieutenant Bewsher, Commander Selby had able assistants, who made, says Markham, "a trigonometrical survey of the region west of the Euphrates, including the Sea of Nejf, which is fed by that

* Colonel Stewart wrote to Lieutenant Carew —"I may say of the performance of your duties, whether as senior naval officer with the Expedition, or as commander of one of the steamers most actively employed, that nothing could be more satisfactory, or results more completely successful" Sir Charles Bright wrote —"The fact that with nine steamers and five sailing vessels engaged in laying the Persian Gulf telegraph cable, we have had no hitch, accident, or delay of any kind in carrying out the work in the various sections of the line, is of itself sufficient testimony of the efficiency with which the service has been performed by yourself and the other officers of the Bombay Marine appointed to the work"

† Strange tales could Selby and his coadjutors tell of adventure among the turbulent and lawless tribes of Bedouins who range over these classic lands, their hand against every man, and regarding only the behest of him who can show himself their master Notable among these adventures was one in June, 1841, of which Lieutenant Selby was the hero While his steamer, the 'Assyria,' was taking in wood at one of the stations on the banks of the Tigris, a party of Madan (or Marsh) Arabs, taking a fancy to a favourite dog of his, detained it, upon which he proceeded on shore with half a dozen men to demand its restitution After some high words were bandied about regarding the dog, this *teterrima causa belli*, the Bedouin robbers treacherously opened fire, upon which Selby, finding that his party were in a trap and himself being wounded, ordered them to fall back to the steamer They obeyed, and he was last seen beaten down on his knee, and fighting desperately with a sword broken at the hilt, against a horde of savage foes We knew him well—for only recently he has "gone over to the majority"—and he was not one given to speaking of his personal achievements, though there was no need in this case, as he bore to the grave many scars of this desperate encounter, as well as some slugs which were embedded in his skull, and could only have been extracted at the cost of his life He lay on the field all that day and the following night, and at length, when his men ventured on shore to give their gallant leader Christian burial, he was found to be yet breathing. Joyfully they carried him on board, and at length he rallied, but it required a furlough to his native land to restore him to health, and his iron constitution never quite recovered the shock Commander Selby died on the 24th of May, 1876, to the extreme regret of his brother officers, and lies buried at the Higher Cemetery, Exeter He descended to the tomb without reward or recognition of any sort from the State, beyond the numerous Orders of Government recording thanks for his services

river, and embracing the classic sites of Meshed Ali, Birs Nimrood, Kerbela, Kufa, and Babylon, and the portion of Mesopotamia from Samarrah, on the Euphrates, to a point ten miles above Bagdad, on the Tigris. The former portion was completed and sent home in 1861, with an elaborate memoir by Captain Selby. But both maps and memoirs were lost through some unaccountable carelessness. The original maps and field books have, however, been procured from Bagdad, and the maps have been redrawn by Lieutenant Collingwood, and are to be engraved. Lieutenant Collingwood* also surveyed and drew maps of the Shatt-ul-Arab from Bussorah to Marghill, and of the course of the Hindiyeh Canal, near Meshed Hoossein. It is feared that this valuable work is also irretrievably lost. Captain Selby and Lieutenant Collingwood, while tracing the old bed of the Euphrates with great care, and surveying the Bahr-el-Nejf, were exposed to much harassing work amongst the marshes. They also sent in accurate plans of the irruptions from the Tigris, and showed that before long, if no efficient steps were taken to check the evil, that river would be as unnavigable as the Euphrates now is. The latter portion of the survey from above Bagdad to Tel Ibrahim, and from Tel Ibrahim to Samarrah on the Euphrates, was commenced in October, 1862. In the end of that year Captain Selby retired, and Lieutenant Bewsher, who then took charge of the work that had thus been begun, completed it in 1865. The maps (seven in number) have been engraved in two sheets, and Bewsher's memoir† contains an interesting account of the ancient canals, which can still be traced, and some details respecting the humbler modern system of irrigation. The ability and learning shown in this memoir are proofs that Lieutenant Bewsher would have been a worthy successor of the earlier surveyors; but he died of diseases contracted during the service, and the Government abruptly put a stop to the survey, leaving it incomplete, and with much work still to be done."

Lieutenant Collingwood also surveyed the city of Bussorah, which, owing to the jealousy of the Turkish authorities, he was compelled to effect by stealth, in the same manner as at Bagdad. He also surveyed the country between the Tigris and Euphrates, from Hillah to the ruins of Niffer, on the borders of

* Lieutenant Collingwood, on Commander Selby proceeding to England, was appointed to the command of the 'Comet,' and to be Surveyor of Mesopotamia, from the 20th of April, 1861, until the 3rd of April in the following year, when Captain Selby resumed his duties, from which he finally retired at the end of the year. The former officer, since the abolition of the Service, entered the India Office, where his talents and business capacity have rendered him a valued Government servant.

† On the part of Mesopotamia contained between Sheriat-el-Beytha, on the Tigris, and Tel Ibrahim.—("Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," vol. xxxvii., p. 160.)

the Hindeyeh marshes, tracing down the old bed of the Tigris as far as Kut-el-Amara; this he found distinctly marked, from the mass of ruins on each bank, like a range of hills, fully justifying the old Arab proverb, that "a cat could jump from house-top to house-top all the way from Bussorah to Bagdad." Lieutenant Collingwood writes to us:—"Captain Selby and myself surveyed a tract of the marshes of the Tigris to see if the Hudd was capable of navigation into the heart of the district, inhabited by the Albu Ma'homed,* a wild race of men,

* Of the tribes who inhabit Mesopotamia, the principal are the Anizeh, the Shammar, the Thuffan, and the Khuzail, of which the two former roam the Great Desert from Syria southwards to about the parallel of 31° N Lat, the two latter, south of that parallel, and on both sides of the River Euphrates There are also the large tribes of the Montefik, Albu Mahomed, and Beni-Lam, but they are fellah or cultivating tribes, and cannot be classed with the Bedouin above-named, whose life is purely pastoral, and whose occupation is plunder. These tribes, like the Persians, belong to the Shiah sect of Islam, whose principal places of pilgrimage are Kadumein, about four miles from Bagdad, and Meshed Ali, on the shores of the Bahr-i-Nejf, an inland sea supplied by the waters of the Euphrates Meshed Ali is beautifully situated on the cliffs which form the eastern shore of the sea of Nejf "Ages ago," says Captain Selby, "and before the waters of the Euphrates and Tigris had brought down from the mountains of Armenia the deposit which now forms the delta of the two rivers, the Persian Gulf must have extended up to the Bahr-i-Nejf at least, and now, when with narrowed limits it does not attain to within one hundred and sixty miles of this spot, the cliffs still remain, imperishable monuments of the wonderful geographical changes continually at work in our globe Having, on a former occasion, examined the stream by which the Bahr-i-Nejf is fed from the Euphrates, I determined, when the time arrived for the survey of the sea itself, to ascend it by the Shat Arabian, the channel through which its waters again return to the parent stream Hiring a small boat of about ten tons at Bussorah, to enable us to pass the marshes, in which during the autumn eighteen inches of water only could be found, I ascended the Euphrates to about the parallel of Wurka, and there entered the embouchure, I may call it, of the waters of the sea of Nejf For two days we had entirely left the haunts of man, and were tracking upward through as desolate a country as can be imagined. The left bank of the river a dense jungle, the haunt only of the lion, the hyena, and the wild boar, the right a trackless waste, the view bounded by the wonderful wave of sand that, creeping onwards imperceptibly from the west, and at an angle of 60° with the horizon, and having a height of about forty feet, is gradually wresting from man for ever such fertile plains west of the Euphrates as still are left" Commander Selby examined the country inhabited by the Albu Mahomed, situated in the delta formed by the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates at Koorna, where tradition places the Garden of Eden. The Albu Mahomed are Madan (or Marsh) Arabs, their whole wealth consisting in the milk of their immense herds of buffalo, which is made into ghee, a kind of clarified butter, and exported in great quantities to India and adjacent countries, and they also cultivate a little rice and wheat on the few spots of dry land in the marshes they inhabit. "To the Turkish Government," says Captain Selby, "the country of the Albu Mahomed was a *terra incognita*, for so great is the hatred borne, I may say, by all the Arab tribes to the Turk, that to examine the country scientifically was never contemplated by them. I had always a great desire to do so, and as I had ingratiated myself in many ways with them, and had landed and visited Faasil, then Sheikh, I accepted an opportunity which offered, and, accompanied by a kind friend and brother officer, my assistant, Lieutenant Collingwood, left the banks of the Tigris, and, pursuing one of the numerous canals which are cut from the river for irrigation, arrived at the head-quarters of one whose very name was a terror to the whole country The grace which marks the reception of a stranger by a Bedouin Sheikh was entirely wanting here, and I could not but feel the truth of the saying of the Arab tribes in refer-

among whom we were in daily dread of assassination, but by dint of determination at last, and with revolvers in our hands, we took by force some native boats to convey us back to the 'Comet.' The report had gone forth on board the steamer of our dangerous position, and Holland was on the point of sending a force to rescue us, when we returned."

The important task of continuing the revision of that portion of McCluer's old survey of the west coast south of Bombay, which had been begun by Montriou and Selby, on the appointment of the latter as surveyor of Mesopotamia, was entrusted to the able hands of Lieutenant A. Dundas Taylor, who, on the 1st of September, 1853, was appointed to the command of the pattamar, 'Pownah,' as surveyor, with Lieutenant Sweny as his assistant. In this old craft, and, subsequently, in the pattamar, 'Bheemah,' assisted by Mr. Sweny and Midshipmen May, Bewsher, Williams, Lewis, Du Boulay, and Beddome, he performed as admirable work, between the years 1853-59, as any surveyor of his time. The survey, which was executed on a "trigonometrical basis, with bases measured on shore, is

ence to the Albu Mahomed—'Ungus min Khanazir' ('lower than the pigs') I found Faasil encamped on the bank of a large stream, the head-quarters of the tribe, and here was his harem, a square enclosure about one hundred yards each way, on which were one hundred huts, that being the number of his wives and slaves, while his own hall of audience, built outside, was the largest I ever saw, and though constructed entirely of reeds and matting, was thirty yards long and six wide My companion and myself found that we were the objects of continued suspicion and mistrust, and to such an extent were we watched that all we could do in the way of mapping the part of the country where we were, was done by placing a base line and obtaining angles and bearings by a prismatic compass Nothing would have justified me in embroiling our Government with a Turkish tribe, and as an occurrence took place, which convinced me of the great distrust they entertained, and as to survey was impossible, I rejoined the steamer I commanded where I had left her in the river some eight miles distant The occurrence to which I refer was this —Faasil came to my tent one morning, as was his wont, and asked me to come and walk a little with him We struck away from the encampment, and presently came to a grave Faasil clutched me by the arm, and looking steadily at me, said, 'Kaptan, what is that?' I at once detected the drift of his inquiry, so returning his fixed look, I answered, 'That, Faasil, is a grave, where honest men sleep peacefully, and where rogues are unquiet' 'It is well answered,' he said, turned and walked back to the encampment without another word passing between us Among the providential escapes I have had in my varied and wandering life, I have ever regarded this as the most signal A faltering word, and probably the knife of the savage would have been deep in my breast" Captain Selby says of this truculent savage —"I give one example of his stern justice A woman was going to her hut with some milk, when two men accosted her 'Oh, woman give us of the milk' She declined, they took it from her and drank She complained to Faasil He sent for the men. 'This woman says you have taken milk from her' 'No, wullah, Sheikh, it is a lie' 'Answer, woman, carefully, did they take and drink it?' 'They did' 'Rip them open, said Faasil, 'and see' It was done, and sufficient traces of the milk found to establish the truth of the woman's story. 'It is well, woman,' said Faasil, 'that you have told the truth, or I would have killed you and your whole family?'" Of his end Lieutenant Collingwood writes —"Shortly after our escape, Faasil was slain by his own people, it was believed under the impression that he was a traitor, and had brought us there or at least had countenanced us in spying out the fat of the land."

included in six sheets of the coasts of the South Concan, Canara, and Malabar." In 1857, Lieutenant Taylor surveyed the harbour at Carwar, the anchorages at Beypoor and Cochin, and, on the east coast, the Bay of Coringa, which had been surveyed by Lieutenant Warren in 1805, and Commander Fell in 1846. The Madras Government presented him with a sum of 2,000 rupees, and thanked him, as they did also Lieutenant E. R. May, who had been employed for some years on detached survey duty under their orders.

On his return to England Lieutenant Taylor prepared for the Admiralty his "West Coast of Hindostan Pilot, including the Gulf of Manaar, the Maldivh and Lakadivh Islands," which was published by the Admiralty in 1866 But his *magnum opus* in this important branch of literature, was his "India Directory," or sailing directions for the whole of the Indian Ocean, with observations, and charts of the winds, passages, and currents, published by the Messrs Allen in 1874. This valuable and exhaustive work, for which the author only modestly lays claim that it is "founded" on the "India Directory" of the late Captain Horsburgh, is, in point of fact, almost an original work, and the writer of these pages, who assisted him in an humble way in its preparation, can endorse Mr. Markham's testimony that "there is no man living who is so intimately acquainted with the anchorages on the Indian coast, from the mouths of the Indus to those of the Godavery, or who so completely understands their capabilities for improvement"

On Lieutenant Taylor's return to England Lieutenant Williams continued, in the 'Euphrates,' the examination of the small portion of the Malabar coast not yet surveyed. Having completed this, he arrived at Bombay on the 11th of May, 1860, and, on the 15th of September, again proceeded to examine a portion of the coast of Ceylon. The 'Euphrates' returned to Bombay on the 4th of February, 1861, and, later in the year, was employed, with the 'Falkland,' Commander Fraser, in the examination of Sedasheghur as a cotton port during the monsoon. In September, 1860, Lieutenant C. Forster continued, in the steamer 'Assyria,' the survey of the rivers of the Punjaub, on which Commander Grounds and Lieutenant Stroyan had been engaged ten or twelve years before. During this year (1860) Lieutenant Whish made a complete survey of Bombay harbour, on several sheets, on a large scale, which has since been reduced and published by the Admiralty. He then proceeded to the Punjaub, and was engaged, with Lieutenant Forster, in the survey of the rivers in that province until his return to Bombay on the 11th of November, 1861. On the 3rd of February following, he commissioned the 'Euphrates,' with Lieutenant Williams as assistant-surveyor, but the

abolition of the Service put an end to their labours, and those of the staunch little vessel, which for thirty-four years—first as a ten-gun brig-of-war, and then as a surveying vessel—had done so much in furthering the interests of India and of science.

In the years 1859-60, Mr. Midshipman W. Marshall, of the 'Clyde,' gunboat, then stationed at the Andaman Islands, surveyed, unassisted, Port Blair, Middle Straits, and the Cocos Islands. The chart of the former has been published by the Admiralty, and the two latter were lithographed in India. Owing to the savage character of the Andamaners, the surveys were executed in boats fully manned and armed, with outposts stationed in the jungle to prevent surprises "Mr. Marshall discovered," says Markham, "by several chronometric measurements taken between Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, that the Andaman Islands were placed eleven miles too far to the westward on the charts, and that the great Coco Island was placed six miles too far to the westward of Port Blair." After passing his examination for lieutenant, this energetic young officer,* assisted Lieutenant Whish in the new survey of Bombay harbour, and then joined Lieutenant Williams, as assistant-surveyor, in the examination of Back Bay

In connection with the surveys of the Indian Navy, we should not omit the record of an important duty performed, after the abolition of the Service, by Lieutenant Edwin Dawes, an accomplished draughtsman and surveyor, who had been engaged in the 'Euphrates' in the survey of Sedasheghur, under Lieutenant R. Williams, in 1861.

When, in 1865, a mission was undertaken by Colonel Pelly,† Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, to Riadh, in Central Arabia, the capital of the Wahabee Ameer, Lieutenant Dawes, then commanding the 'Berenice,' was attached to it and rendered important services. The 'Berenice,' having Colonel Pelly on board, left Bushire in January, 1865, and steamed across the Gulf to Koweit. Colonel Pelly had intended to leave for the interior immediately, but by advice of Sheikh Yoosuf-bin Bidr, the horse merchant, at whose house the party stayed, he determined to send a messenger to inform the Wahabee Ameer of Nejd, Fysul-bin-Saood, of his intended visit. A very short letter from Fysul, which was neither warm nor pressing, came in due course, and, after spending some days in making preparations and collecting camels, the party, consisting of Colonel Pelly, Assistant-Surgeon Colville, the

* Since the abolition of the Service, Mr Marshall has been engaged in the survey and valuation, on an enormous scale, of railways, gas and water-works, docks, and other large properties for the purposes of parochial assessment, he having valued (as we have been informed) this class of property in nearly a thousand parishes in England and Wales

† Now Sir Lewis Pelley, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.

Residency Surgeon, and Lieutenant Dawes, finally left Koweit, on the evening of the 17th of February Assistant-Surgeon Colville was instructed to make geological and botanical notes, and Lieutenant Dawes was appointed geographer, in which capacity his talents as a scientific observer and excellent artist, would find congenial employment. They were both specially directed by Colonel Pelly to use the utmost caution, considering the extreme danger of travelling among such bigoted Mahomedans. The natives of the party consisted of a Mosuli as Arabic interpreter, named George Lucas, who passed himself off as a Mahomedan, and called himself Abdulla; two sowars from the north-west of India, who acted as orderlies; a chuprassie from Calcutta, two Persian servants, and a Portuguese cook, besides Arab camel men—in all about thirty-three people. All the party wore the Arab "kuffieh" and "abba," though, of course, the Arab followers knew their leaders were English officers The only tent was a small "rowtie," and they took a limited amount of preserved provisions, without which they could scarcely have got on. Their guide was a Shybeh, a most useful man, belonging to that singular tribe of people, whose origin is unknown, but who are the only human beings who can live on the Central Arabian desert in the hot weather. The party was also accompanied by Aali, a Sheikh of the Sebaa tribe, who agreed to assist them with his clansmen in the desert, but proved of no use, and, having nearly involved them in a skirmish with a tribe with whom he had a blood feud, finally disappeared at Riadh, after having done his best to get them into trouble with the Wahabee Ameer, by giving a mendacious account of their doings in the desert.

Colonel Pelly made the excuse of the Ramadhan fast to go past their actual destination at Riadh, in order to visit Sedoos, where there is a column of which they had heard much at Koweit This was their furthest western point. On the 4th of March the party passed through El Ayahah, the ruins of the town where Abd-ul-Wahab, the founder of the Wahabee sect, was born. On the following day they passed Dereeyah, marching through the earthworks thrown up by the Egyptian army, under Ibrahim Pasha, which defeated the Wahabees, captured their towns, and, for a time, broke their power. The party rode into Riadh in uniform, and remained there four days. During the latter part of their stay, matters looked very ominous for their safety, and, under Colonel Pelly's directions, Lieutenant Dawes' sketches were burnt, as in the event of matters coming to the worst, the party would have been compromised by their detection. The English officers were well received by the Ameer personally, but, being blind and very infirm, he was much in the hands of Mahboob, the Wuzeer, and

others of the household, who distrusted the British Mission, Mahboob being specially irate with Lieutenant Dawes, whose uniform he recognised as belonging to the Service which had bombarded the Joasmi forts on the Arab coast more than forty years before. The Mission left on the evening of the 8th of March, and were not a little relieved to find themselves once more in the desert. Lieutenant Dawes had sunstroke on the journey to Riadh, and suffered much during the return march, from fever. Eventually, after passing through the Nafood, or dangerous shifting sandy hillocks, where formerly an entire Egyptian army perished, they arrived on the 17th of March at Hofoof, a beautifully fertile part of the district of El Hara, the party suffering greatly from want of water. On the evening of the 19th of March they arrived at Ojier, opposite Bahrein, where they found the 'Berenice' waiting for them.

Lieutenant Dawes' observations, except those for longitude, were all taken at night, on the housetop at Riadh, the artificial horizon having been prepared after dark, and sights were usually taken when the people were at evening prayers; or, if accident prevented that, after the whole camp was quietly asleep. The chronometer, carefully rated at Koweit, was by John Poole, of Fenchurch Street, and, after being carried nine hundred miles on a camel, was found to be only 4¼′ in error, on the return to Bushire. A map was prepared by Mr. Weller, cartographer to the Royal Geographical Society, from Colonel Pelly's journal, and the principal points were fixed by observations of the heavenly bodies, taken by Lieutenant Dawes, for which he was favourably recommended to Government by Colonel Pelly. This was the first, and only, occasion on which officers have visited Riadh in the character of Englishmen, or in uniform, and, indeed, they were the only European visitors to that town, with the exception of Mr. Palgrave, who travelled as a Syrian doctor.

Early in the following year the 'Berenice' was burnt at sea, Lieutenant Dawes and his ship's company escaping only with their lives in the boats. When hostilities with King Theodore of Abyssinia were decided upon by the British Government, a pioneer Expedition was despatched from Bombay, on the 15th of September, 1867, which included some officers of the Service. It consisted of several staff officers and some troops,* under the

* This pioneer force consisted of forty troopers of the 3rd Light Cavalry, one hundred men of the 21st Native Infantry (Marine Battalion) and fifty Sappers and Miners. The officers, all of whom embarked at Bombay, were Colonels Merewether, Phayre, and Wilkins, R.E.; Majors Baigrie and Mignon; Captains Goodfellow, R.E., and Pottinger; Lieutenants Jopp, R.E., and Mortimer, and Surgeons Lumsden and Martin. The men of the 21st, and twelve horses, embarked in the 'Euphrates,' and the sowars of the 3rd and one hundred and fifty-four mules and fifty horses, in the 'Coromandel.'

command of Colonel W. Merewether, which were embarked in the 'Coromandel,' Lieutenant G. B. Hewett, (an officer who had been favourably mentioned for his services in the Persian War, particularly at Ahwaz, where he attracted the notice of Captain Hunt of the 78th Highlanders, who mentions him in his work.) and the steamer, 'Euphrates,' Captain Dunn, with Lieutenant E. Dawes as transport officer. Besides these officers, the following, formerly in the late Indian Navy, were employed in connection with the Abyssinian Expedition:—Lieutenant T. C. R Carpendale, in command of the 'Dalhousie;' Lieutenant W. P. Arnot, in command of the 'Ferooz,'* with Mr. C. King (late midshipman, I N.) as first officer; Acting-Master T. B. Tolputt, in command of the 'Earl Canning;' and Lieutenant W. Grant (lent by the Peninsular and Oriental Company, with whom he had taken service) employed for harbour duty in Annesley Bay. These ships and others, forming a great portion of the enormous fleet of two hundred sail, conveying the Bombay contingent of troops under the Commander-in-chief, Sir Robert Napier, were despatched under the direction of the Superintendent of the Bombay Marine, Captain J. W. Young, C.B., late of the Indian Navy, assisted by Lieutenant Morland and other officers of the Service †

At Colonel Merewether's‡ request, Lieutenants Hewett and Dawes made a rough chart of the place selected for landing the troops Lieutenant Dawes assisted in disembarking the reconnoitring force and also the advanced brigade of the army under Sir Robert Napier, and officiated as harbour-master until the arrival of Staff-Commander May, R.N, who was appointed by the Admiralty. On the breaking up of the reconnoitring party, Lieutenants Hewett and Dawes, in common with the other officers, received the special thanks of Colonel Merewether. After being relieved by Commander May, Lieutenant Dawes was placed in charge of about 1,700 natives, collected from various parts of the Arab, Persian, and African coasts, who were partly employed on shore and partly in about one hundred and sixty native vessels. His duties were to assist the Engineer, Artillery, Commissariat, and Medical Departments, and to provide all the stone which was collected, to the amount of some thousands of tons, for the purpose of constructing piers, building up the fore-shore, and

* The 'Ferooz' conveyed Sir Robert Napier to Suez on the successful completion of the Expedition

† Between the months of April and August in this year, another officer of the Service, Lieutenant Carew, had been employed in the 'Dalhousie,' on the Abyssinian coast, under the orders of Colonel Merewether, in connection with the preparations for the relief of the prisoners in the hands of King Theodore

‡ Now Sir William L. Merewether, K C.S.I, C B., Member of the Council of India.

forming an island in deep water, on which the condensers were raised. Several officers of the Royal Navy attempted to utilize natives, but, owing to want of tact and knowledge of native languages and customs, were unable to control them; and, at length, Captain Tryon, Senior Transport Officer, was glad to leave their management in his hands. By his energy and business capacity he was able to save Government a large sum of money, in using his natives for ballasting a number of ships detained in the bay under heavy demurrage. Lieutenants Hewett and Dawes were recommended by the Lords of the Admiralty to the Supreme Government of India, for meritorious services, and the latter was also favourably mentioned to the Bombay Government by General Sir E. L Russell, under whose orders he served at Annesley Bay Lieutenant Dawes assisted in the embarkation of the troops, and was the last officer to quit Zoula,* which, on his departure, was immediately taken possession of by Egyptian troops, who not only maltreated the natives on shore in order to extract their hard-earned money from them, but actually had a small steamer cruising outside the bay to pick up the native vessels for the same purpose Lieutenant Dawes left Abyssinia for Bombay in broken health from excessive and unremitting labour; and, for some inexplicable reason, Government rewarded him for his arduous labour on the burning strand of Annesley Bay, by refusing him the batta allowed to all officers serving afloat, which so disgusted him that he resigned the Service.†

* The neighbouring port of Massowah had been in possession of the Turks for more than two hundred years It was latterly administered for them by Mehemet Ali, and about 1864 was ceded to the present Pasha of Egypt The occupation of Zoula was an act of usurpation, of which this ruler has given many instances, though the gallant resistance of the Abyssinians under King John has taught him that there is a limit to their patience

† Lieutenant Dawes writes to us —"Hewett was one of the reconnoitring Committee, with the reconnoitring Force under Sir W Merewether It consisted I think of Colonel Merewether, Commanding, Major Goodfellow, R E, Surgeon Lumsden, Colonel R Phayre, Quartermaster-General, Major R. Mignon, Commissariat, and Lieutenant Hewett, I N These I think composed the Committee, though there were twice as many officers with the reconnoitring Expedition When the Expedition was first planned, Morland of our Service, was appointed Principal Transport Officer of the Expedition, and I was to have been his First Assistant, his pay was to have been Rs 1,500 a month I believe, and, as far as I know, the appointment was actually made I left Bombay, believing he would follow to take supreme charge of the Transport Department, but, shortly after arriving, I heard that Captain Tryon, R N, had been appointed Senior Transport Officer, and I became Harbour-Master When Commander May, R N, relieved me, I was made Bunder-Master, Morland looking after the Transport Department in Bombay. My duties were multifarious, and the work grew into a Department with about five European and twelve native inspectors and 'Muccaduma,' a muster of about five hundred natives on shore, and about twelve hundred afloat in a fleet of one hundred and eighty native vessels I never knew the exact number of hands afloat, as the nacodas were paid in a lump, and provided crews themselves Besides these, I had a good staff of pearl-divers, who constructed the pier-head, and were splendid fellows. My Department assisted the Engineer, Commissariat, Quartermaster-

When we regard the good work done by Messrs. Marshall, Dawes, Girdlestone, Chapman, and other young officers, it will not be gainsaid that they had in them the stuff from which are made surveyors and explorers of the type of McCluer, Ross, Moresby, Wood, and others of a later generation, whose names figure in these pages, and it is certain that, had not the Service been abolished, they would have rivalled the achievements of those officers, and maintained the reputation of the Indian Navy as an *alma mater* of scientific talent.

In 1861, the charts, with the copper-plates, original drawings, and sailing directions, were transferred from the India Office to the Admiralty, and, on the 30th of August, in this year, a despatch from the Marine Department of the India Office to the Government of India, announced that "the surveys then incomplete should be furnished by the Indian Navy, and all future surveys and charts would proceed from the Royal Navy at Imperial expense."*

We will close this final notice of the hydrographic labours of the officers of the Indian Navy, by a few observations on the general system adopted in the Service for carrying on, and registering the results of, the surveys, and the successive steps by which their control was, at length, placed under an officer of the late Indian Navy.

In his "Memorandum on the Marine Surveys of India," submitted to the Indian Government, on the 10th of March, 1871, Commander A. Dundas Taylor says:—"There was no Marine Surveyor-General to give a systematic organization to the work, or to know the merits of the surveyors and the time they should be allowed for each particular duty. It was a common practice for each new Commodore to stop the surveys begun under his predecessor. Thus Captain Moresby was drawn off

General, and Medical Departments, with labour afloat and ashore, besides the continual work of providing stone for piers and for the fore-shore, and landing stores of all descriptions Mine was the most economically worked of all the Departments, as I had no interpreters or staff of clerks, all my office and pay work being done by one clerk and myself You may imagine it was not very light, as when I paid up the men's arrears on board the 'Sir John Lawrence,' after the rest of the Expedition had left the Bay, I paid away I believe Rs 225,000, a good deal of which went, I fear, into the pockets of the Egyptian officials, who seized the place as our forces left, for they looted my men dreadfully, and I of course had no power to stop them It would I have no doubt been much better for me if the original arrangement with Morland as Principal Transport officer had been adhered to, as it was, the Royal Navy got the *kudos*, besides a substantial addition to their pay, and I never even got the batta which the rest of the Bombay Marine received Between two stools, naval and military, I came rather to grief, though Captain Tryon behaved very kindly in recommending me to the Admiralty, and Lord Napier also, in trying to get the batta allowed subsequently, but without avail"

* See Report of Mr. Trelawney Saunders, Assistant Geographer to the India Office, dated January, 1871 The number of charts and plans handed over to the Admiralty was two hundred and sixty-four, of which fifty-four were of value, the remainder being obsolete.

the survey of Chagos and Seychelles' groups; Powell and Ethersey from the Gulf of Manaar and Coast of Ceylon; Haines from the Arabian Coast; Carless and Barker from the African Coast, the latter leaving a portion at the very entrance to the Red Sea, which has remained unsurveyed for upwards of thirty years. I was more recently recalled from the Gulf of Cutch, on the accession to office of Sir Henry Leeke; the result was that a part of the entrance of that Gulf still remains unexamined. Under such management it is only natural to find the work too often disjointed and incomplete.* The want of a permanent central office in India for the regulation of marine surveys, and for the deposit, reproduction, and publication of the charts, was another defect of the old system, and has caused the loss or suppression of many valuable documents, including Captain McCluer's original charts of the Malabar Coast on a large scale; those also of the Red Sea, and others. From the same defect, each of the Indian Navy officers engaged on detached duty under the Governments of Bengal and Madras, handed in their work to the Presidency under which they were serving, and seldom forwarded copies of their work to the head-quarters at Bombay. Many of the originals are not now forthcoming, nor are copies of some to be found."†

All this mismanagement and loss of manuscript surveys, made at great cost, might have been obviated by the adoption of the system which had always been in existence as regards land surveys, namely, the placing of the Department under a

* Regarding the faulty conditions under which the officers of the Service continued to work even up to the last, Lieutenant Taylor stated before the Bombay Geographical Society (vol. xv, 1860) that "in no one instance were the surveyors supplied with means of carrying on simultaneously all the inquiries which one naturally expects from a scientific survey, when, at a trifling expense, such inquiries should have been pursued" Again, in an official memorandum addressed to the Hydrographer, Captain Washington, R N, at the close of the Indian Surveys in 1862, it is also recorded "that no steamer had ever been fitted out for the Indian Surveys, and that the actual vessels on the Bombay side were ill-adapted for the service The supply of instruments (October, 1860) was very deficient both in quantity and quality. The chronometers were not of the best class, being mostly old No sextants fitted for accurate shore observations, and no pocket chronometers or watches, were to be had"

† The following are some of the surveys made by officers of the Indian Navy, but never published.—1. Large scale plan of Masireh Island and Straits, by Sanders and Grieve, 1846 2 Plan of Makullah, by Haines, 1835 3 Large scale plans of Khor Jeramah, Bunder Kheiran, and Bunder Jezzar, by Lieutenant Grieve, 1848-9 4 Plan of the Deimaniyeh group, by Commander Constable and Lieutenant Stiffe, 1858 5 Chart of Soonmianee and Kurrachee Bays, by Captain Carless, 1838. 6 Plans of Porebunder and Verawool Roads, by Lieutenants Constable and Stiffe, 1853 7 Beyt Harbour, corrections to 1859, by Lieutenant Taylor. 8 Captain Selby's Chronometric Measurements between Mimcoy and the Malabar Coast, and chart of the currents of that part of the sea. 9. Chart of Hooringottah River, by Lieutenant Sweny 10 Mouths of the Indus from Hajamri to Waree, by Captain Selby and Lieutenants Taylor and Stroyan. 11. Charts of Sittang and Irrawaddy Rivers, by Lieutenant Ward. 12. Shatt-ul-Arab, made by Captain Felix Jones and Lieutenant Collingwood.

Marine Surveyor-General. Commander Taylor and other officers had repeatedly urged the adoption of this course on the Government, but in vain.

When, in 1861, the Indian Survey Department was placed under the Hydrographer of the Admiralty, in Whitehall, the late Admiral Washington, who was already overburdened with work, "confessed his inability to see how this new plan could be carried out." And the foresight displayed by Admiral Washington, was borne out by the event; for we find that, in 1870, after nearly ten years of Admiralty management, at the request of the Viceroy of India, a civil engineer, Mr. Robertson,* was sent out to advise him on the ports of India, with a view to their improvement, although at this time the Government had at their command in England such unsurpassed marine surveyors as Constable, Taylor, Ward, Sweny, and others fully capable, from their familiarity with the coasts and the incidents of Indian navigation, to advise them on these points. "It is," says Taylor, "for the scientific mariner to point out the wants of his own service, and for the engineer to supply them. But the maritime affairs of India have no representative either in the Council or in the Administration in India, and thus questions relating to them are referred to landsmen alone" He continues: "I search the Admiralty catalogues of charts in vain to find any really new charts of India for the last ten years.† . . . . . They who rashly undertook to succeed 'the pioneers of navigation in the Eastern Seas,' have certainly not rendered a good account of their ten years' stewardship, much less have

* Mr. Robertson was appointed in September, 1870 During 1870-71, he examined the Madras anchorages on both sides of the peninsula, and in 1871-72, he was engaged on the Bengal and Bombay coasts, and also investigated the schemes for a ship canal between India and Ceylon, when he reported in favour of the late Sir William Denison's recommendation of a canal across the island of Rameswar, as opposed to the grander, but more expensive scheme of constructing one across the promontory of Ramnad, as urged by Sir James Elphinstone, M P, and Commander Taylor Mr Robertson's examination was not very complete, as he did not visit the ports of Zyghur, Vizladroog and Carwar, being three of the eight principal harbours of Western India, and also Kolachel, a port on the Travancore coast near Cape Comorin

† We find by the Annual Report on India of 1869-70, that a survey of the rivers and creeks in Orissa, and another of the Chittagong coast, had been undertaken, but the former were consequent on the Orissa famine, and the latter was one of those recommended by Captain Constable and his coadjutors, in their memorandum of the 3rd of March, 1862, addressed to the Hydrographer of the Admiralty "I may be pardoned," says Commander Taylor, "for saying that very little might have been expected from those who, having had Ceylon as a Crown colony for half a century, are not yet able to show us an accurate chart of the east coast of that island The west coast of Ceylon was surveyed by vessels of the Indian Navy, paid out of the revenues of India Thus, we find the admirable new edition (1870) of 'Sailing Directions for the Indian Ocean,' by Mr. A G Findlay, F R G S, obliged to confess that 'we have no good account of the east coast of Ceylon, but the discovery of two shoals, and the possible existence of others, make it desirable that it should be avoided, or approached with caution' And this is the fact, notwithstanding the existence of the splendid harbour and great British naval station at Trincomalee on that east coast."

they given to India such an extension of hydrographic knowledge as she was entitled to expect." He then proposes his remedy, which is the common sense one of "the establishment of an Indian Hydrographic Office at Calcutta, under an experienced hydrographer, who, as a practical surveyor and seaman, can bring a knowledge of the shores and harbours of India to bear upon his duties." He adds: "Fortunately the information acquired in the service of the late Indian Navy, is still to be had, and no other branch of the public service possesses equal qualifications." Commander Taylor then submitted a list of the surveys requiring immediate attention, and of the lights that should be placed on the four thousand miles of coast of British India, there being only fifty at that date. In a valuable "Memorandum on the State of the Coast Survey in India in 1862," drawn up in that year by Captain Constable, in conjunction with Commanders Taylor and Ward, and Lieutenants Sweny and Stiffe, for the information of Admiral Washington, the Hydrographic Department had already been informed of the surveys, twenty-two in number, that remained to be completed.

Assisted by these papers, by Mr. Markham's valuable review of the surveys accomplished by the old Bombay Marine and Indian Navy, by a paper on "Indian Nautical Surveys," from the pen of Mr Trelawney Saunders, Assistant-Geographer at the India Office, the Indian Government were able to come to a decision. Commander Taylor's paper on the "Harbours of India,"* dated August, 1870, read before the British Association at the meeting at Liverpool, in that year, his "Memorandum," already referred to, and his experience, well-known ability as a scientific observer, and familiarity with the whole subject, pointed him out as the most suitable person to organize and conduct the new Indian Marine Survey.† He was appointed

* Commander Taylor also prepared for Dr Forbes Watson a list of Indian ports and harbours, of which as many as six hundred and fifty-six are enumerated and described Of these the three principal ones are Kurrachee, Bombay, and Carwar (or Sedasheghur), where, at Bell Cove, a century ago, the Company's ships used to careen Other five ports which might be made serviceable, are Poshetra and Seria at the entrance of the Gulf of Cutch, Zyghur, or Spastri River, Vizadroog and Cochin

† Commander Taylor describes as follows the steps preceding his appointment as Surveyor —"In the early part of 1871, the Secretary of State, in a despatch forwarding Mr Markham's Memoir, &c, brought this important subject to notice, and requested the earliest and serious attention of the Government of India, asking, at the same time, for opinions and suggestions as to the measures to be adopted for providing some efficient substitute for the establishments formerly maintained for the survey of the Indian seas The Government of India, before giving any decided answer, suggested that I should be sent out to India to assist in devising suitable measures to remedy the inconveniences pointed out This proposal was approved of by Her Majesty's Secretary of State, and I arrived in Calcutta in December, 1873 Under the direction of the Government, I prepared a review of all existing charts, or materials for charts, in India or in England, of the coast from Pakchan Estuary to Sonmiani Bay, as also of the islands in

Superintendent on the 27th of July, 1874, and thus, at length, the reform for which he had long battled, was inaugurated under the auspices of an officer of the Service which had, for a century, carried out the surveys of Eastern seas. In December of that year, Commander Taylor proceeded to Bombay, accompanied by Staff-Commander Ellis, R.N., and immediately operations were commenced by an examination of the Laccadive Islands and Kolachel in Travancore. The former was conducted by Staff-Commander Ellis in the 'Clyde' gunboat; and the latter by Mr. Morris Chapman, formerly a midshipman in the Indian Navy, in the 'Constance,' schooner, both vessels, it is scarcely necessary to say, having formerly belonged to the Service. Commander Taylor, having started the survey from Bombay, proceeded to Calcutta, where he was joined by three Navigating Lieutenants, and two Navigating Sub-Lieutenants of the Royal Navy, selected by the Admiralty at the request of the India Office, and by Mr. R. C. Carrington, of the Hydrographic Department, as draughtsman. Commander Taylor's

the Bay of Bengal, and the Laccadives and Maldives; also, a scheme to supplement and perfect existing charts, both by working up materials, not then utilised, and by new surveys, and fully detailing for each the method in and the agency by, which it should be carried out, and its probable cost After full inquiry and consultation with the Marine authorities and others interested in the coasting trade and approaches to our coasts and harbours, I submitted a report of the measures which, in my judgment, were required This report was substantially adopted by the Government of India, which accepted the responsibility of completing and maintaining the charts of the Indian Coast, from Pakchan Estuary, at the southern extremity of Tenasserim to Sonmiani Bay, on the western limits of the Sind coast, of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, the Mergui Archipelago and the Laccadives It was also proposed that I should return to England *viâ* Bombay, that I might be available to furnish the Secretary of State with any further details which might be necessary, in order to finally arrange for the manner in which the services of officers of the Royal Navy might be secured During my stay at Bombay, where I was detained nearly three weeks, as member of a Committee under the presidentship of Colonel Alexander Fraser, R E, C B, to report upon the Hydraulic Lift at Hog Island, I made it my duty to bring the question of missing original charts before many of the officers who had formerly served in local situations connected with the Dockyard and the Observatory, where the Indian Navy Draughtsman's Office was located The result was that a great number of valuable documents were found at the time, a few of which I took to England, and deposited at the India Office, amongst, them were original maps of Mesopotamia, which Captain Felix Jones, I N, found of use in the compilation of his new great map of Arabia But after securing these, from information received at the Store-keeper's Office, I reported to the Government of India a contemplated wholesale destruction of some three thousand old charts because of their being dust-stained, torn, and insect-eaten, my suggestion was (and fortunately it came in time to be carried out) that these charts should be sent to Calcutta to await my return This proved a real treasure-trove, many invaluable original charts were preserved from destruction, and now are carefully stored at Calcutta and catalogued Three or four originals, on a large scale, of portions of Captain Moresby's Survey of the Red Sea were discovered, and copies of which have been forwarded to the Hydrographer The proposal of the Government of India for the resumption of Marine Surveys, together with the scheme submitted based on my report, preceded me to England, and was there sanctioned by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council, in a despatch dated the 16th of July, 1874, and I was appointed Superintendent of Marine Surveys on the 27th of July of the same year"

subsequent operations are detailed in his official report,* and we may predict, from what we know of the gallant and talented officer, that the Government of India will have no cause to grudge the modest annual expenditure of two lacs of rupees, to which Commander Taylor is limited.

The hydrographic services of the officers of the Indian Navy, both of the last and present century, have ever been warmly acknowledged by successive heads of the Admiralty Hydrographic Department, especially by Admirals Washington and Richards. The latter gallant officer, in a letter dated the 21st of March, 1877, writes to us in high terms of his "knowledge, personal and otherwise, of the many eminent men of the Indian Navy who have contributed to our hydrographical labours;" and the present Hydrographer, Captain F. J. Evans, C B., F R S., says, in a communication, under date the 31st of March, "I am well acquainted with, and thoroughly appreciate their unsurpassed labours in the field of hydrography."† Such generous language will be welcome to the survivors of the band of Marine Surveyors produced by the late Indian Navy. We cannot conclude this record of the hydrographical labours of the Service, better than in the words of Sir Roderick Murchison, who said, in his anniversary address to the Royal Geographical Society, in 1862:—"The war services of the Indian Navy, as well as the beneficial and enduring results of its repression of piracy and the slave-trade, are well known. These services have been varied, honourable, and useful; but in the eyes of geographers, the widespread and lasting utility of the excellent surveys made by officers of the Indian Navy, hold an equally prominent place."

* "General Report of the operations of the Marine Survey of India, from the commencement in 1874, to the end of the official year 1875-76" Prepared for submission to the Government of India By Commander A Dundas Taylor (late I N) F R G S, Superintendent of the Marine Surveys, Calcutta, 1876

† Among other officers of the Royal Service, Rear-Admiral Nolloth writes that this "history of the Indian Navy will be welcomed, not only by old Indians, but by many Royal Navy officers, who, like myself, in a humble amateur surveying way co-operated with some of your brother officers under circumstances leaving pleasant recollections of the Indian Navy."

CHAPTER X.

THE INDIAN MUTINY, 1857—1859.

Services of the Indian Navy during the Sepoy Mutiny—The Indian Navy Squadron at Calcutta—The Seizure of the King of Oude at Garden Reach—Formation of the Indian Naval Brigade and Appointment of Captain C D Campbell as Senior Officer—Services of No 4 Detachment, under Lieutenant T. E. Lewis, at Dacca and in Upper Assam, of Lieutenant W. H. W Davies, against the Hill Tribe of Abors, of Detachments Nos 2, 7 and 10, under Lieutenant G O'Brien Carew at Barrackpore, Jugdespore, and Alipore, of No 1 Detachment, under Lieutenants Duval, Sweny, Warden and Hellard, of No 5 Detachment, under Lieutenant D L Duval, at Gya, of No 11 Detachment, under Lieutenants T H B Barron and H Cotegrave, at Moozufferpore and Mooteeharee, of No 9 Detachment, against the Coles, in Chota Nagpore, under Lieutenant A T Windus, of No 14 Detachment, at Chyabassa, under Acting-Lieutenant H W H Burnes and Lieutenant W H W Davies, of No. 3 Detachment, at Buxar, under Commander Batt—How Acting-Master G B Chicken gained the Victoria Cross—Services of Detachments Nos 8, 12 and 13, at Jessore, Julpigoree, and Chuprah, under Lieutenants H Jackson, R G Hurlock, and C. B Templer—Occupation of the Andaman Islands, and Services of No 6 Detachment, under Lieutenant C B Templer, Acting-Lieutenant F Warden, and Lieutenant S B Hellard—Government recognition of the Services of the Indian Navy during the Sepoy Mutiny.

WE now come to a most important episode in the History of the Indian Navy, that in which they assisted in the suppression of the terrible Sepoy Rebellion of 1857, which constitutes, perhaps, the most momentous crisis in the annals of British rule in the East. It was almost the last, and, certainly, it was not the least important, of the long roll of services rendered by the Indian Navy during the two and a-half centuries of its existence.

On the cessation of hostilities with Persia, most of the ships of the Indian Navy, and transports, returned to Bombay with the greater portion of the Expeditionary force. On the 7th of May, the 'Assaye,' Commander Adams, with transports, arrived from Mohamra with the 64th and 78th Regiments, which, on receipt of the alarming news from Bengal, were despatched to Calcutta without landing, on the 23rd of May, the day the 'Semiramis' arrived from the Gulf; on the 28th, this ship, under Lieutenant Stradling, who succeeded to the command on that day, sailed for Ceylon, whence she conveyed a wing of the 37th Regiment* and a detachment of Royal Artillery—the

* In October, the remaining wing of the 37th Regiment was conveyed to Calcutta by the 'Auckland,' which, on the 27th of that month, when about two hundred and fifty miles distant from Masulipatam, encountered a cyclone, which she weathered in safety, owing to a strict attention to the theory of the law of these circular storms, on the part of Commander Drought.

first, we believe, that had set foot in India for a century—to Calcutta, where she arrived on the 10th of June. On the 21st of May the 'Ajdaha,' Lieutenant Worsley, and, on the following day, the 'Punjaub,'* Commander Foulerton, arrived at Bombay from the Gulf, and, on the 25th, the latter sailed for Calcutta, whither, also, the 'Zenobia,' Lieutenant Batt, had proceeded from Madras. Thus, in the very earliest stages of the Mutiny, five of the finest steam-frigates of the Indian Navy, including the 'Auckland' from China, with crews inured to active service, were placed at the disposal of the Supreme Government, in addition to the officers and crew of the 'Coromandel,'† a new transport of 1,026 tons, brought out from England, in the previous year, by Captain C. D. Campbell, which arrived with troops from Rangoon in July.

Commander Adams, who sailed from Bombay with a wing of H.M's 64th Regiment, considered the crisis so urgent that he passed Madras without coaling, and thus saved two days. He says:—"The last shovelful of coals went on the fires as the 'Assaye' anchored off Fort William. We saluted the Viceroy with twenty-one guns, and there was no complaint of breaking windows from the inhabitants, who were only too glad of the protection afforded by the 'Assaye' and H.M.'s 64th Regiment." Scarcely had he dropped anchor on the 4th of June, than learning from the Governor-General that he was anxious to send treasure immediately to Bombay, the Commander of the 'Assaye' volunteered to convey it, though he had not a ton of coals on board; hastily procuring a supply from the depôt of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, he started that night, for which act of promptitude he received a private letter of thanks from Lord Canning. Calling at Madras for treasure, and at Galle for coal, the 'Assaye' proceeded to Bombay, where she arrived on the 15th of June.

Meanwhile, matters had come to an alarming pitch in the City of Palaces, where, owing to Fort William being almost

* The 'Punjaub' did not participate in the action at Mohamra On her return to Bombay after the fall of Bushire, she sailed for the Gulf on the 29th of January, returned on the 9th of March to Bombay, which she again quitted for the Gulf on the 20th, too late to see further service The 'Berenice,' Lieutenant Chitty, left Bushire in the end of March for Bombay, where she arrived on the 10th of April She again proceeded to Mohamra, whence she sailed on the 16th of May, and arrived at Bombay on the 28th, with Brigadier-General Henry Havelock and staff, towing a transport with the Light Battalion on board. General Havelock and staff, with Brigadier Wilson of the 64th Regiment, proceeded to Calcutta on the 1st of June, in the 'Erin,' which was wrecked about half-way between Colombo and Galle on the 8th of June, when General Havelock sailed in the 'Fire Queen' to Madras, where General Sir Patrick Grant embarked, and, on the 17th of June, arrived at Calcutta on his appointment as Commander-in-chief, in succession to General Anson.

† The 'Coromandel' sailed from London on the 5th of August, 1856, and from the 2nd of December, when she arrived at Madras, had been employed trooping between that place, Rangoon, and Calcutta.

denuded of European troops, in response to the demand for reinforcements up country, a chronic state of panic prevailed during the month of June, which would have been greatly intensified but for the sense of security afforded by the sight of the ships of the Indian Navy lying in the river, and, even more, by the presence of the greater part of their crews on duty on shore.

Early in May, 1857, the European portion of the garrison at Fort William, consisted of only a weak wing of H.M.'s 53rd Regiment, but, on the 15th of that month, when rumours were rife at Calcutta of the outbreak at Meerut and Delhi, the Governor-General issued instructions for the remaining wing of the regiment to march in from Dumdum. All through that month and the early part of June, there was an uneasy feeling among the European inhabitants of Calcutta, which was somewhat allayed when Lord Canning, after having refused their services in May, consented to their enrolment as a Volunteer Corps; great confidence was also reposed in the presence of the sailors, parties of whom were landed from the ships in the river and mounted guard over the public buildings. At length the trepidation and alarm—which was chiefly rife among the Eurasian class of the community, the English and their families participating in it to a lesser degree—culminated on the 14th of June, a day well known as "Panic Sunday."*

Mr (now Sir John Peter) Grant,† one of the ablest of Lord Canning's councillors, described the situation at Calcutta, on

* The late Sir John Kaye graphically describes the scene presented by Calcutta on Panic Sunday, in the third volume of his "Sepoy War" He says —"On the 14th of June, there was a great excitement in Calcutta It was reported that the Sepoys at Barrackpore had risen in the night, and soon the rumour ran that they were in full march upon Calcutta There also went abroad the story, and ready credence grasped it, that the Oude people at Garden Reach were to rise at the same time, and to join in the threatened massacre of the Christian people. So the hearts of many failed them through fear, and some, terror-stricken and bewildered, left their homes, seeking refuge wheresoever safety could be found From an early hour in the morning a great shudder ran through the capital, and soon the confused activity of panic flight was apparent The streets, in some parts of the city, were alive with vehicles. Conspicuous among them were those great long boxes on wheels, known as 'palanquin carriages' Within might be seen the scared faces of Eurasians and Portuguese, men, women, and children, and without, piled up on the roofs, great bundles of bedding and wearing apparel, snatched up and thrown together in the agonised hurry of departure Rare among these were carriages of a better class, in which the pale cheeks of the inmates told their pure European descent Along the Mall on the water-side, or across the broad plain between the city and the fort, the great stream is said to have poured itself. The places of refuge which offered the best security were the fort and the river Behind the ramparts of the one, or in the vessels moored on the other, a safe asylum might be found So these fugitives are described as rushing to the gates of the fort, or disgorging themselves at the different ghauts, calling excitedly for rowing-boats to carry them to the side of ship or steamer. There was a prevailing feeling that the enemy were on their track, and that swift destruction would overtake them if they did not find shelter within the earthworks of Fort William or the wooden walls of the shipping on the Hooghly."

† Afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and Governor of Jamaica.

the 10th of June, in the following terms, in a private letter addressed to his lordship:—"We have as enemies three Native Infantry Regiments and a half, which are the very worst type we know; one, two, three (for no one knows) thousand armed men at Garden Reach, or available there at a moment; some hundred armed men of the Scinde Ameers at Dumdum; half the Mahomedan population and all the blackguards of all sorts of a town of six hundred thousand people."

On the 14th of June three Sepoy Regiments were disarmed at Barrackpore, and also the detachments at the Presidency and at Dumdum. The Governor-General being convinced of the complicity in the mutiny of the King of Oude, who then resided in a large palace at Garden Reach, and his intriguing minister, Ali Nuckee Khan,* determined to seize him and his ministers, and so nip the mischief in the bud. On Sunday, the 14th of June, while at church, Commander Foulerton, of the 'Punjaub,' then senior naval officer, received a note directing him immediately to wait on Lord Canning. He at once proceeded to Government House, and, on being ushered into the presence of the Governor-General, found there the Foreign Secretary, the late Mr. George Edmonstone,† the late Colonel Powell, 53rd Regiment, commanding the troops, Major-General (the late Sir) Richard Birch, Military Secretary, Colonel Cavenagh, Town-Major, and Major Herbert, commanding the Calcutta Militia, who were alone in the secret. His lordship explained to Commander Foulerton his object in sending for him, and directed him to take his ship down to Garden Reach, at daylight the following morning, and place her off the residence of the King of Oude, when he was to land and assist in seizing the King, and to allow no one to leave the palace or grounds. Above all his Lordship enjoined implicit secrecy on all, as it was of the utmost importance no hint should be dropped of the projected *coup*. To this Commander Foulerton replied, that, unfortunately, the 'Punjaub' had her floats off, and could not be got ready in time, but, he added, seeing Lord Canning's look of discomposure, he would take the 'Semiramis' down, also all the 'Punjaub's' men in her boats. Lord Canning consented, and, the other officers having already received their

* Ali Nuckee Khan, the tool as well as Minister of the King, with whom he was connected by marriage, being uncle of the first Begum and father of the second, had held the reins of office since 1848, some years before the British annexation of Oude under General Outram, and by his administration had plunged the country into a state of misery and anarchy

† Afterwards Sir George Edmonstone, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, of whom the Governor-General wrote in his Minute of the 2nd July, 1859, that he could "give this valuable servant of the Government no higher praise than to say that the performance of the duties which fell upon him, and which were heavily increased by the state of affairs, has been exactly what might have been expected from those who knew the character of his former service—it has been admirable."

instructions, dismissed Commander Foulerton with directions to call on him again that evening at nine o'clock.

Having secured the services of a competent pilot, Commander Foulerton took him on board the 'Semiramis,' and, having informed Lieutenant Stradling that he would have to sail at daylight the following morning, directed him to stop all communication with the shore. He then proceeded to the 'Punjaub,' and gave orders to his first-lieutenant to have all the boats manned and armed in readiness to be taken in tow by the 'Semiramis,' at daylight on Monday morning, but not to give any orders till after eight p.m., and to stop all communication with the shore. Commander Foulerton now proceeded to Government House and reported the arrangements he had made to the Governor-General, whom he found closeted with the same gentlemen as in the morning, He then went on board the 'Punjaub,' and, a little before daylight, the 'Semiramis,' with the 'Punjaub's' boats in tow, got under weigh and anchored off the palace of the King of Oude. The pilot at first objected to take the 'Semiramis' down, as he had no orders, but Commander Foulerton warned him to refuse at his peril, and he obeyed.

On arriving at Garden Reach, Commander Foulerton ordered Lieutenant Stradling to send his boats to the banks of the river and allow no one to leave the place, and himself landed with all his crew and closed in on the palace. A few minutes later, Colonel Powell appeared on the scene with five hundred men of the 53rd Regiment, some Artillery, and the Governor-General's Body-Guard, with which he surrounded the vast compound and enclosure, containing a perfect town of huts, where it was said the King had gathered some fifteen hundred armed followers. The affair was well planned and the surprise complete. When Mr. Edmonstone, accompanied by Colonel Powell and Commander Foulerton, made his appearance in the King's apartments, the poor tool of the mutineers, reduced by debauchery to a state of semi-imbecility, cried and begged not to be removed from his palace, denying all complicity in, or sympathy with, the rebellion. But his protestations were of no avail, and he was driven to Fort William, in a carriage escorted by the Governor-General's Body-Guard, while the Nawab Ali Nuckee Khan, Tikaet Rao, the Dewan of the Chief Begum, Ahsun Hoossein Khan, and his son, were removed to the ghaut and taken on board the 'Semiramis,' in her boats. Commander Foulerton, in a letter to us, describing his share in these critical events, says of the interview with the King:—"Mr. Edmonstone, three or four others, and myself, went into the house and up to the King's bedroom. We were kept outside a short time; I suppose, till he was ready to receive us. We then went in and found him sitting on his bed, and some of his wives and

people were present. Mr. Edmonstone told him to get ready to go on board the steamer. His wives were very noisy, and he was in great distress, and seemed very unwilling to go on board, upon which I told Mr. Edmonstone that I supposed we should have to hoist him in, and as there seemed to be some difficulty, Mr. Edmonstone sent one of the Body-Guard up to Government House, and a carriage was sent down for him. I took Ali Nuckee Khan and two or three others on board of the 'Semiramis' to Calcutta, and landed them at the Fort." The proposal of the gallant captain of the 'Punjaub,' an officer, like many of his profession, accustomed to "stand no nonsense," to hoist the august sovereign of Oude on board his ship, by "a whip on the mainyard," with no more ceremony than would be observed in the case of a barrel of pork or a drunken sailor, must have amused, if it did not excite the horror of, the Foreign Secretary, accustomed to carry out the strict etiquette of Eastern Courts at all interviews with the dethroned monarchs of Delhi and Lucknow.

In consequence of these events, Calcutta was in a state of panic for the next few days; the most alarming rumours were rife of a simultaneous rising of all the natives, and a mutiny at Barrackpore; a repetition of the deeds of Meerut and Delhi was uppermost in every one's mind, and gentlemen in the hotels, and officers on duty, slept with swords and revolvers under their pillows. Crowds of people took refuge on board the ships, and one night the gallant Commander of the 'Punjaub,' who generally slept on shore, on coming on board his ship, found that a lady was occupying his bed.

The first Detachments of officers and seamen of the Indian Navy,* landed at Calcutta in June and July, were from the 'Auckland,' 'Punjaub,' 'Semiramis,' 'Zenobia,' and 'Coromandel,' and further bodieswere drafted up-country on the requisition of Sir Frederick Halliday, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

In May, 1858, an important change took place in the control of the Indian Naval Brigade employed in assisting in the suppression of the Mutiny, or holding military posts in order to free the British troops for service in the field. During the interval between June, 1857, and the 22nd of May, 1858, a period of twelve months, large numbers of officers and seamen, had been landed from the ships of the Indian Navy, and bodies of men, recruited from the merchant ships and trained and

* The first portion of the 'Shannon' Naval Brigade, under command of the gallant Captain W. Peel, consisting of twenty-five officers, and four hundred and fifty seamen and marines, proceeded up-country from the 'Shannon' on the 14th of August, 1857; four days later a second detachment of five officers and one hundred and forty men, recruited in Calcutta, quitted the frigate. The 'Pearl' Naval Brigade, under command of Captain Sotheby, numbering one hundred and fifty-five officers and men, afterwards increased to two hundred and fifty, proceeded up-country on the 12th of September, 1857.

officered by the Service, were despatched up-country as fast as they were disciplined and supplied with arms and equipments from the Indian Navy depôt at Fort William. These Detachments, of from one hundred to two hundred men, each with two or more 12-pounder howitzers, were scattered over Bengal without any proper supervision or means of obtaining pay or other assistance after their vessels had left Calcutta, and had, consequently, been transferred to the supernumerary list on the books of the flag-ship 'Akbar' at Bombay, thus causing the greatest confusion and delay when men died, or were discharged sick, or invalided home. In consequence of these and other difficulties resulting from the constant change of vessels of the Service in Calcutta, in May, 1858, the Supreme Government directed Captain Campbell, who had relieved Lieutenant Stradling in the command of the 'Semiramis,' in the preceding November, and was senior officer on the Bengal station, to report what measures should be adopted to meet the difficulty, and enable him to remain in Calcutta, and exercise proper control over the whole of the Detachments on shore, which numbered already upwards of five hundred men. It was fortunate for the public service that an officer so suitable in every way was at hand in Calcutta. Captain Campbell was an officer of great experience and considerable natural ability, and possessed in a remarkable degree the common sense and good judgment for which his countrymen are remarkable, while he was not destitute of the power to attract the regard of his subordinates, and disarm the hostility of those holding divergent views, characteristics which are not so generally met with in dwellers north of the Tweed.

On receiving the orders of the Supreme Government, Captain Campbell submitted a proposal that one of the boats of his ship, the 'Semiramis,' should be detached from that vessel, and be placed on the strength of the Indian Navy, as the pennant-vessel 'Calcutta,' and anchored off the Fort, and that he should be authorised to assume command, and hoist his pennant in her with a small native crew and office staff, and that the whole of the Detachments of the Indian Naval Brigade should be placed on her books, or supernumerary lists, for pay only, under his command, by which arrangement due discipline and proper order could alone be maintained in accordance with the Articles of War and regulations of the Service. The Supreme Government approved of his suggestions, and, under the orders of the Governor-General in Council, Captain Campbell made over the temporary command of the 'Semiramis' to Lieutenant Hurlock, who was soon after relieved by Commander W. Balfour,* and,

* Commander W. Balfour returned to Bombay on the 16th of March, 1858, from reporting on the navigation of Indian rivers in conjunction with Major J. H. Crawford, of the Bengal Engineers, and Mr. T. B. Winter, Marine En-

on the 22nd of May, 1858, assumed command of the pennant-vessel 'Calcutta,' and of the Indian Naval Brigade in Bengal, suitable official quarters being provided in Fort William for his office and staff, to which Mr. Purser R. Mignon was appointed as Paymaster of the Brigade.

The above proceedings, having been reported in due course by Captain Campbell to Commodore Wellesley at Bombay, were confirmed, but strong representations were made to the Supreme Government by the Commander-in-chief of the Indian Navy, through the Bombay Government, regarding the difficulty of preserving discipline amongst large bodies of seamen landed from their ships for service on shore for long periods, and Captain Campbell was called upon to define more clearly the footing on which the Indian Naval Brigade in Bengal would be placed, and the legal power by which its internal discipline was to be maintained. For this purpose he met the Military Member of the Supreme Council, General Sir John Low, and the Military Secretary to the Government of India, Colonel R. Birch, and pointed out that it was requisite that the Brigade should not be regarded as forming part of the Military force under the orders of the Commander-in-chief, but as simply landed under urgent requisitions from the civil power for the protection of the various localities and public property, and co-operating with the military forces as required from time to time by the local civil authorities, for whose assistance they were sent, and that when thus employed on shore, "on active service and full pay," they were clearly amenable to the 34th Article of War, for "Mutiny," "Desertion," and "Disobedience of orders of their Commanding Officers." Captain Campbell was quite aware that by thus considering the Brigade as under civil requisition, it would possibly debar the services of the officers and men from being mentioned in military despatches, but he considered it desirable that the force should not be made amenable to the military regulations, and subject to all the authorities under whom the officers of the Brigade might be placed at distant stations, where sooner or later affairs were liable to come to a dead lock between military and naval martial law. Commodore Wellesley was very naturally strongly opposed to the continued withdrawal of so large a body of

gineer. The Court of Directors had appointed them "for the special purpose of reporting upon the boats which are in actual use, and which are found to be best adapted for the navigation of rapid and shallow waters in Europe." In furtherance of this object, the Committee visited the rivers Rhine, Rhone, Danube, Saône, and Seine, and carefully compared their personal investigations with published reports of the navigation of American rivers, and of the Tigris and Euphrates. The nature of their inquiries, and the conclusions to which they led, were clearly stated by the Commissioners in a Report which was printed by direction of the Court of Directors, and some valuable practical suggestions were offered regarding the best class of boats for navigating the rivers of India.

officers from their duties afloat, by which the vessels were crippled, and their efficiency for service seriously impaired; but the Government of India overruled these objections under the great urgency of the times, as it was found that the natives came to regard the seamen with superstitious terror, while the force was easier handled and more available for special objects than regular European troops, which, moreover, could not be spared from the armies and columns operating in the field.

For a considerable time the Indian Navy Detachment at Fort William, formed one-third of the European garrison, and took the guards at three of the gates, and the reliefs at the magazines, arsenal, and over the King of Oude. The admirable manner in which the first Detachments in Fort William and other stations up-country, performed their duty in protecting the civil power and guarding the treasuries and other important posts, when the European troops were withdrawn for service against the rebels, induced the Local Government of Bengal, which had no authority over the Indian Navy, the shore Detachments being under the Supreme Government, to form similar bodies of seamen, under civil contract, to serve as Police Brigades, under officers of the Bengal Marine. These, latter, however, were totally unaccustomed to command European seamen in actual military service, and it became apparent that these bodies of men, when quartered at distant stations, not being amenable to martial law, or accustomed to strict discipline, were frequently uncontrollable, and had to be finally disbanded or replaced by Indian Naval Detachments.* This was not effected before great injustice and injury was done to the Service, owing to their being allowed to assume the title of "Naval Brigades," and adopt a uniform closely resembling that of the Indian Navy—by which much serious misapprehension arose, and their frequent misconduct was imputed to the men of the Covenanted Service. Captain Campbell, writing to us

* It should, however, be said in justice to the Bengal Marine, that one or two of their Detachments, formed exceptions to this charge of indiscipline or inefficiency Captain Burbank did good and gallant service at Purneah on the 11th of December, and, later, against the rebellious Coles in Chota Nagpore, for which he received the thanks of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The work thrown on Mr. Howe, the Superintendent of the Bengal Marine, and on his successor, Captain Rennie, I N, was immense and varied, and it was performed with the success that might have been anticipated as regards the latter officer, from his antecedents and past service Lord Canning says in his "Minute on the Services of Civil Officers and others during the Mutiny and Rebellion"—"The calls for exertion and watchfulness in the Marine Department have been constant, from the time when the transports with English troops began to arrive, up to the present moment, when the despatch of supplies and stores by the inland steamers is only just slackening To Mr. Howe, in the first instance, and to Captain Rennie, from the time when he took up his appointment at the beginning of 1858, great praise is due for the manner in which the duties of the office have been discharged. I trust that the services of these two officers will receive notice from Her Majesty's Government."

on this point, as to which, being the officer in chief command, he naturally felt much concern, says:—"No attention was paid to my representations on the subject, and I feel that grave and lasting injury was caused by allowing these Police Brigades to be called Naval Brigades."*

Throughout his connection with the Supreme Government, the correspondence, official and semi-official, Captain Campbell maintained with the successive Home Secretaries, Mr. (now Sir) Cecil Beadon, and Mr. (now Sir) William Grey,† was of the most unreserved and friendly character, the public interests being the paramount consideration with all parties, though the relations were of a somewhat delicate and novel character.

We will now trace the services in detail of the Detachments of the Indian Navy, each of which had a distinguishing number, as far as we are able from incomplete records, for which we are indebted to Captain Campbell, to the officers concerned, or, where these are deceased, to their representatives, and to other sources printed or unpublished.

Very good service was performed at Dacca on the 22nd of November, 1857, by No. 4 Detachment and two armed pinnaces, commanded by Lieutenant T. E. Lewis, First-Lieutenant of the 'Punjaub,' of which we gather details from an account by a gentleman, a member of the small local Volunteer force of Europeans and Eurasians, who was present on the occasion. The Detachment, which reached Dacca in August, numbered eighty-five seamen, and the following officers:—Lieutenant Lewis, Acting-Master Connor, Midshipmen W. Cuthell, and A. Mayo, of the 'Punjaub,' and Mr. Brown, boatswain. The men were trained to the utmost pitch of efficiency by their gallant Commander, an officer remarkable for military attainments which would have qualified him for the post of adjutant of Artillery or Infantry.

At a late hour on Saturday night, the 21st of November, a letter, forwarded by express, was received at Dacca, announcing the fact that the detachment of the 34th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry, stationed at Chittagong, had mutinied, and that, after burning their lines and destroying a great deal of property, they had marched off, apparently to join the 73rd Native Infantry and Artillery at Dacca. The

* It appears that this practice of passing themselves off as officers of the Indian Navy, is still practised by certain individuals who have no right to the title, to the detriment of the reputation of the old Service. Lieutenant H. Ellis (late I.N., (now Master-Attendant at Singapore) writes to us, under date, the 8th of September, 1877 —"People in the Straits are all under the idea that the Indian Navy means the Bengal Marine. I assure you there were several of these Bengal Marine men down here when poor Burn and I first came, who always signed themselves I.N., and had it on their cards. I have often been so much annoyed that I make it a point never to talk about the Service."

† Late Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces and Governor of Jamaica.

head-quarters of the Regiment which thus commenced the bold game of rebellion, had been ignominiously disbanded at Barrackpore, on the 2nd of May, for the Mungul Pandy outrage on the 29th of March, when the first blood of the mutiny was shed; but as soon as the three companies quartered at Chittagong, heard of the disgraceful conduct of their comrades, they addressed to the Government a memorial, in which they declared they would remain "faithful for ever." The Sepoys at Dacca were known to be in league with the 34th Native Infantry at Chittagong; and it became apparent that the news of the latter having mutinied, would be received by them through the post the next day, so that it was desirable to disarm them forthwith. Accordingly, Mr. Carnac, the officiating Collector and Magistrate, called a council of war, composed chiefly of civilians, to divide with him the responsibility of the measure. Lieutenant Lewis and the two subalterns in command of the Native troops were present, and, though the non-combatants were in a majority, it was finally resolved to act as the circumstances of the case imperatively demanded. The necessary arrangements were, therefore, made as quickly and secretly as possible for disarming the Sepoys at daybreak the next morning. The Volunteers were individually summoned from all parts of the city and station, and ordered to meet at the Bank at four o'clock on Sunday morning. The position was calculated to inspire some degree of anxiety. The detachment of the 73rd Native Infantry numbered three hundred men, who were supported by fifty Native Artillerymen, with two field-pieces and a well-stocked magazine of ammunition.

The Volunteer named before says:—"Against three hundred and fifty men with their 9-pounder field-guns, backed by a large and disaffected Mahomedan population, our great standby and tower of strength were the sailors of the Indian Navy, about ninety in number, and their two small howitzers, which they dragged along with them as children would their pet toys. They were as fine and trustworthy a handful of men as anyone would wish to command; well conducted, well under control, well drilled, steady under arms, full of spirit and confidence, and like all British tars, with no end of "go" in them. Three months of constant and careful training had made them equal in every practical quality to as many old and experienced soldiers, and as, shortly after their arrival in Dacca, they were armed with the Enfield rifle, in the use of which they had been thoroughly instructed, it may well be imagined that they were regarded by the English residents with considerable confidence. Still, if they had to fight, there would be four to one against them, and, for so small a body, those would be great odds.

"The Volunteers, though embodied solely for defensive pur-

poses, were yet prepared to go wherever, and do whatever they were ordered. Composed of a few Englishmen, of a sprinkling of Armenians, but principally of Eurasians, or half-castes, of men belonging to all classes, and of all ages and professions, it was not deemed advisable to expose them, except in case of extreme necessity, to the risks and dangers inseparable from actual conflict with the Sepoys. Yet they were well drilled and confident in themselves, although so few in number, and might have been safely entrusted to perform more hazardous duties than they were required to do on this occasion.

"At half-past four o'clock on Sunday morning, the 22nd of November, about thirty Volunteers had assembled at the Bank. Not more than a hundred yards off was a guard of fifty Sepoys over the Treasury, which, it was said, contained at the time twelve lacs of rupees (£120,000), and, a couple of hundred yards distant, on the other side of the Treasury, was the house occupied by the sailors as a barrack. These buildings were situated in the centre of the Civil Station, between which and the Sepoy lines, a distance of about a mile, was the native city, chiefly inhabited by a large and fanatical Mahomedan population. It being necessary to disarm the Treasury guard first, it was clearly of the utmost importance that it should be accomplished without firing a shot, which would have alarmed the main body of the Sepoys on the other side of the city. This was managed with great success. The Volunteers, according to agreement, reached the Treasury at a quarter to five o'clock, when the sailors, after disarming the guard, were in the act of marching out of the gateway. Not a hitch had occurred, and the work had been done as quietly as possible. It now devolved upon the Volunteers to act as a guard over the Treasury, and to prevent the disarmed Sepoys from leaving the large enclosure in which it was situated; while the sailors, about eighty strong, accompanied by a few civilians and Volunteers, and the two officers who nominally commanded the Native troops, made the best of their way through the city to the Lall Bagh, where they hoped to catch the Sepoys napping.

"The Lall Bagh was a large enclosure, which had formerly been a garden attached to the fort and palace, now in ruins, belonging to the Mahomedan rulers of Eastern Bengal. Immediately to the right, on entering the gateway, was a large tank, and to the left a high embankment, between which ran a narrow road, about forty yards long, which it was necessary to pass before one could be said to be fairly in the Lall Bagh. In the centre of the enclosure were two large, high, solid, stone-built structures—a tomb and a mosque, each with a dome in the centre, and minarets at their four corners, which were still occupied by the Sepoys as barracks. These two buildings

were directly in a line with one another, and had a space of about fifty yards between them, while the distance from them to the front and rear of the enclosure was one hundred yards either way. Upon the high and broad embankment to the left, which extended the whole way along the west or city side of the Lall Bagh, were built, crosswise, several ranges of barracks, which were loopholed for defence, and commanded the mosque and tomb in the centre Only two or three of these barracks were occupied as dwelling places by the Sepoys, though all of them were so far completed as to be capable of being stoutly defended. The wall by which the Lall Bagh had been enclosed to the right had fallen into ruins, and had gaps in it in several places. Lastly, to the right of the tank, not far from the gateway leading into the enclosure, was the Sepoys' hospital, and, here and there, dotted over the green, were a few trees and bushes, which however were not thick enough to afford any shelter.

"Such was the position occupied by the Sepoys, who, unfortunately, were not unprepared for the visit which the sailors were about to pay them. How they became informed of it, or whether they had been informed at all, and were about to assume the offensive, was only a matter of conjecture; but it is certain that the sailors on their arrival found the Sepoys drawn up in line ready to receive them. The mosque was strongly occupied, and formed their centre, and on either side of it was drawn up the main body, with the two 9-pounder guns masked in the rear. The sailors marched into the enclosure in columns of sections, and had not formed line, when the officer who commanded the three companies of the 73rd Native Infantry, and the Lieutenant in command of the Native Artillery, rode forward to persuade the men to lay down their arms peaceably, and to assure them of protection if they would only obey orders. But they had not gone many yards when the Sepoys prepared to fire a volley, which at once put an end to all further attempt at conciliation, and which, fortunately, was fired too high to do any harm. The sailors were then in line, with their two howitzers on their left, and a volley from their Enfields, which did execution, was the prompt reply. Before the smoke cleared away, and without waiting to load, the order was given to charge; but the Sepoys, who had no relish for the sailors' cold steel, gave way at once, and rushed to occupy in greater force the buildings around them, especially the barracks on the embankment The sailors followed, bursting open the doors and driving the Sepoys out, or, wherever they had the opportunity, shooting or bayoneting them. Once an entrance was obtained, the Pandies bolted, and only stood their ground behind the loopholed walls, whence they could fire with safety at the sailors while engaged in forcing their way into

the buildings. Another party was employed in attacking successively the mosque and tomb in the centre of the Lall Bagh, while the howitzers were hotly engaged in the endeavour to silence the Sepoys' 9-pounders. In clearing the mosque and tomb, many of the Sepoys, who were unable to escape in time, were found huddled up beneath their beds, and received their 'quietus.' Others were 'prodded' out at the point of the bayonet, and run through when endeavouring to get away. The sailors did most of their work with the 'cold steel,' and rarely stopped to load; they never asked or received quarter from their opponents, and they granted none in return. Thus, with few exceptions, all put *hors de combat* were killed. When the Sepoys were brought to bay, it became a hand-to-hand, life-or-death struggle, in which the victor only survived. It is difficult now to realise the temper of those stern times; but it may well be imagined how fiercely a handful of Englishmen would fight for their lives against fourfold their own number of Sepoys, with 'Cawnpore!' ringing in their ears for a battle-cry.

"After about half-an-hour's hard fighting, the buildings were carried, though not without considerable loss to the sailors, who especially suffered when clearing the loopholed barracks on the embankment. As a last hope, the Sepoys made a stand around the 9-pounder gun, which they had still at work, and the sailors now prepared to charge down upon it from the top of the embankment, where they remained under cover to reform after capturing the barracks. A young midshipman,* who was awarded the Victoria Cross for his gallant conduct on this occasion, placed himself at the head of about twenty of his men, and led them at full speed, and with a loud 'hurrah!' straight upon the gun. At almost the same moment, the party of sailors that had cleared the mosque and tomb appeared in view on the left flank of the Sepoys, who, together with the artillery-men, instantly broke and fled, abandoning the gun, which they left loaded, and which was at once turned and fired after them, while the howitzers played upon them from the centre of the enclosure and flanked them in their flight.

"The fight was now fairly won. In less than three-quarters of an hour the sailors had beaten shamefully four times their own number of Sepoys out of a very strong position. Only three prisoners were taken, of whom two were wounded; and when the action was over, forty-one Sepoys were lying dead in the Lall Bagh. Of the sailors, three were killed and sixteen wounded, one of whom subsequently died, nearly one man in every four having been hit. Altogether, it will probably be admitted, this was a sharp morning's work before breakfast in the usually quiet city of Dacca. It was all over in an hour.

* Mr. Arthur Mayo, a gallant and accomplished young officer.

Not a Sepoy remained alive in the place, excepting the three who had been taken prisoners, and two of these were wounded. That so much had been accomplished with comparatively so small a loss on our side, was deemed worthy of sincere congratulation by everyone. The station was now perfectly safe, for no one anticipated that the mutineers from Chittagong would pay it a visit after the utter defeat of their brethren of the 73rd Native Infantry. Still, every precaution was adopted. Sailors and Volunteers remained on duty throughout the day and the following night; and, for some days and nights afterwards, guards and patrols were active and vigilant both in and around the city and station, but nothing further was seen of the defeated and disbanded Sepoys, nor did the mutineers of the 34th Native Infantry approach Dacca The former were flying northwards, it was reported, many of them mounted on ponies, and in less than three weeks after their defeat, the wretched remnant that still survived were hunted through the jungles of Cachar into the desert wilds of Bhootan, where eventually they either became slaves or else perished miserably.

"The morning after the fight, Monday, the 23rd of November, the three Sepoy prisoners were taken before the Zillah judge, who summarily sentenced them to be hanged on the following day. There was not the least doubt or hesitation about it; and Lord Canning's celebrated Five Acts, which conferred upon every civilian in the country the powers usually exercised under martial law by a General Drum-head Court, fully warranted the procedure. At the appointed hour, the ground being kept by the sailors and Volunteers, the three Sepoys were escorted under the ugly and grim-looking beam by a strong guard of Native police. A dense spectre-like multitude, dressed in white, had assembled from the city, and occupied every point from which a view could be obtained of the drop. A dead silence prevailed among the vast multitude of people, who could be seen in every direction as far as the eye could reach. The magistrate read and explained to each of the three men their crimes and sentences, but they said nothing; the sharp cold of a chilly November morning made them shiver, and the near approach of death had apparently struck them dumb with terror. The two wounded men had to be assisted up the drop; the other, a Hindoo, went up the ladder unaided, and met his doom with much fortitude. He at the last moment preferred a request to the magistrate that his body should not be buried, but be thrown into the river. He was told that his request was granted. When the bolt was drawn, and the three men were seen suspended in the air, a low long-continued moan arose from the hitherto silent multitude, which soon afterwards dispersed as quietly as it had assembled. This was the last

act of the mutiny at Dacca. For seven long months the European inhabitants had been sleeping with revolvers under their pillows and with their guns loaded by their bedsides, ready for immediate use. All care and anxiety were now removed."*

This success broke up an intended junction of the mutineers with those of the 34th Bengal Native Infantry, at Chittagong, who were marching on Dacca. Having received the news of the action, they halted irresolutely, tried to cross the river above Dacca, were opposed by a gunboat, judiciously despatched by Lieutenant Lewis for the express purpose, and finally dispersed into the jungles, where they perished miserably for want of food, or were hunted down by the Sylhet Light Infantry. If the Indian Naval Detachment had been repulsed in their attack on the mutineers' position, and had been obliged to retreat, a general massacre would probably have ensued, for in their rear lay the city of Dacca, with a large fanatical Mohammedan population in a very excited state. A copy of the following letter of thanks, addressed to Captain Campbell, was received by Lieutenant Lewis, who was himself wounded in this action, signed by Mr. Beadon, Secretary to Government, dated the 4th of December, 1857 :—"The Governor-General in

* Lieutenant Lewis says in his despatch —"The Treasury, Executive Engineers, and Commissariat Guards were disarmed without resistance We then marched down to the Lall Bagh, on entering the lines the Sepoys were found drawn up by their magazine, with two 9-pounders in the centre Their hospital and numerous buildings in the Lall Bagh, together with the barracks, which are on top of a hill, and are built of brick and loopholed, were also occupied by them in great force Immediately we deployed into line, they opened fire on us from front and left flank, with canister and musketry We gave them one volley, and then charged with the bayonet up the hill, and carried the whole of the barracks on the top of it, breaking the doors with our musket-butts, and bayoneting the Sepoys inside As soon as this was done, we charged down hill, and taking them in flank, carried both their guns and all the buildings, driving them into the jungle While we were thus employed with the small-arm men, the two mountain-train howitzers, advancing to within 150 yards, took up a position to the right, bearing on the enemy's guns in rear of their magazine, and unlimbering, kept up a steady and well-directed fire Every one, both officers and men, behaved most gallantly, charging repeatedly, in face of a most heavy fire, without the slightest hesitation for a moment I beg particularly to bring to notice the conduct of Mr Midshipman Mayo, who led the last charge on their guns most gallantly, being nearly twenty yards in front of the men I regret to say our loss has been severe, but not more, I think, than could have been expected from the strength of the position and the obstinacy of the defence. Forty-one Sepoys were counted by Mr Boatswain Brown dead on the ground, and eight have been since brought in desperately wounded Three also were drowned or shot in attempting to escape across the river I enclose the list of killed and wounded. Dr Best being ill, Dr Green, Civil Surgeon, accompanied the detachment into action, and was severely wounded I was ably seconded by Mr. Connor, my second in command. Lieutenant Dowell, Bengal Artillery, volunteered and took command of one of our howitzers, which he fought most skilfully to the end of the action. We were also accompanied by Messrs Carnac, C S., Macpherson and Bambridge, and Lieutenant Hitchins, Bengal Native Infantry, who rendered great assistance with their rifles, and to whom my thanks are due."

Council, while deeply regretting the loss which the Detachment has sustained, is happy to recognise the excellent services it has rendered on this occasion; and His Lordship in Council desires me to request that you will convey to Lieutenant Lewis, and to the officers and men under his command, the thanks of the Government of India for the gallant manner in which they performed their duty. His Lordship in Council notices, with approbation, the conduct of Mr. Midshipman Mayo in leading a charge against the enemy's guns." The Bombay Government also, under date the 12th of January, 1858, issued the accompanying complimentary order, signed by Mr. (now Sir) Henry L. Anderson, Secretary to Government:—"I am directed to inform you that the Right Honourable the Governor in Council has perused with heartfelt pleasure the record of the gallantry displayed by Lieutenant Lewis and the officers and men of the Detachment of the Indian Navy at Dacca; and His Lordship in Council has no doubt that the services performed by Lieutenant Lewis and his men will be appreciated by the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council."

Immediately on receipt of intelligence of these events, Lord Canning despatched to Dacca, in a steamer and flat, three companies of H.M.'s 54th Regiment, and on that and the following day, two Detachments of seamen, with guns, also proceeded to Dacca, whence they were pushed on to Rungpore and Dinagepore, and, on the 4th of December, the Detachment of the 54th Regiment also left for Sylhet. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the magnitude of the service rendered to the State by Lieutenant Lewis at Dacca, but Sir Frederick Halliday, in his Minute, has only done justice to the opportuneness of his arrival and the brilliant service performed by his handful of seamen.*

Government considering it advisable, at a later date, to strengthen both Dacca and Sylhet, three companies of H.M.'s 19th Regiment were despatched to Dacca, and, on their arrival, in August, 1858, the greater portion of No. 4 Detachment was

* The Lieutenant-Governor—a man not given to exaggeration, and himself described by Lord Canning, in his Minute of the 2nd of July, 1859, on the "Services of the Civil Officers and others during the Mutiny," as "the right hand of the Government of India,"—says of the position of affairs at Dacca:—"Unlike most other Divisions of Bengal, where in case of any outbreak, a temporary divergence of troops intended for the Upper Provinces was sufficient either altogether to prevent any outbreak, or at least to avert the more serious consequences, this part of the country was far removed from any possible resource of this kind All despatch of aid must, therefore, be quite independent of any other movement, whilst the only means of despatch was by a circuitous water route The presence of the sailors prevented any serious consequences that would have been otherwise certain to arise from the mutinous outbreak which afterwards occurred, and which but for their presence would probably have happened at an earlier and more embarrassing time, and I need hardly say, been attended with much more serious consequences."

pushed on to Sylhet. During the stay at Dacca, the Detachment lost some men of fever.

Lieutenant Lewis proceeded to Sylhet during the height of the monsoon, Acting-master Connor being left behind at Dacca with a small party, chiefly time-expired men, the complement of the Sylhet force being made up to a hundred by new hands from Calcutta. Lieutenant Lewis writes from Sylhet on the 20th of August, 1858:—"We arrived at Sylhet after a most disagreeable passage of eleven days from Dacca, pulling boats over paddy fields amongst legions of musquitoes and flies. We have very good quarters here, everybody very civil, and willing to do all they can for us; the Sylhet Light Infantry turned out and received us with military honours, great cheering, &c. It has been pouring down ever since we came here. They had made no arrangement for an hospital for us, notwithstanding that I wrote to them about it when we were first ordered here. We shall have to build one, which will take a long time I am afraid." On the 13th of November he writes:—"I have only fifty of my old men left, their terms of service are gradually expiring, but they do not seem particularly anxious to be discharged. The men suffer very severely from fever, and we have always a large number sick and convalescent. The Doctor tells me he does not consider more than seventy of the men are fit for service now; in consequence I have established a small canteen, which answers capitally, and we have a theatre, built by subscription of the residents, who are a very good set of fellows, and so, the sickness excepted, it is a very good station." In January, 1859, Lieutenant Lewis was directed to proceed to Dibrooghur, on the extreme North-East Frontier of Assam, to relieve Lieutenant Davies' Detachment, which had been quartered there since the 2nd of October, 1857, and, in the following month, he proceeded against the Abor* hillmen. The Detachment engaged numbered sixty-two petty officers and seamen, and the following officers:—Lieutenant T. E. Lewis, in command, Lieutenant W. H. M. Davies, whose Detachment

* Dr. McCosh, who had medical charge of Goalpara and Gowhatty, published in 1837, an instructive work on the "Topography of Assam," which was enriched by the observations of Captain (afterwards General Sir) F. Jenkins, who was employed on a special mission to Assam in 1839, and at this time (1859) was the Agent of the Governor-General and Officer Commanding on the North-East Frontier. The Abors, Bor Abors, and Mishmees inhabit an extensive range of mountainous country along the southern side of the great Himalayan chain

occupies almost as long a time as a journey to England; add to this the neighbourhood of numerous and formidable tribes of savages, with some of whom we are always more or less in collision, and the comparatively recent occupation of the Province (since the Burmese War of 1826), and it will be acknowledged that these in themselves afford no inconsiderable cause of anxiety."

stationed up here had returned to Calcutta on the expiration of their term of service, Assistant-Surgeon White, and Mr. Midshipman Mayo.

The following is the report of their operations, by Lieutenant-Colonel S. F. Hannay, Commanding the 1st Assam Light Infantry, dated Gowhatty, Pashee Ghât, 28th February, 1859: —"I have the honour to acquaint you that the Expedition* under my command reached the vicinity of Pashee Ghât on Saturday, the 26th inst, and on Sunday morning, the 27th inst., I proceeded from that point with a party to the attack of Pashee and the adjoining Meyong Abor village of Romkang, which was effectually carried out, and these two positions taken and completely destroyed by four p.m., when I returned to the camp established at Pashee Ghât. I beg to state that the resistance made by the Abors to our advance was most obstinate and determined; which they were enabled to do, from their thorough knowledge of the ground, their peculiar skill as marksmen, and their formidable barricades and stockades, eleven in number, from the river bank, nine of which the enemy defended, and in three instances it was necessary to use a 12-pounder howitzer gun to open the way for the assault. The enclosed list of killed and wounded (Europeans and Natives) will show that we had to contend against a formidable enemy, armed with a powerful weapon in skilful hands; the strong nature of the defences keeping the attacking party unavoidably exposed, not only to the fire from the front, but from both flanks, and from trees and heights occupied by the enemy. However, all went down before the gallantry of the troops. The village of Romkang and three strong positions were carried at the point of the bayonet by our gallant band of Europeans, Indian Navy, and the advance guard under Lieutenants Lewis and Davies, with Mr Midshipman Mayo. The position of Pashee was taken by Major Reid and myself, the main body of Native troops, with the local Artillery and a 12-pounder howitzer gun. In such jungle positions, and with the prevailing practice of carrying their wounded, the loss of the enemy cannot be ascertained; but they must have suffered considerably, particularly in the defences of Romkang, where the conflict was hand-to-hand. I beg leave to express my utmost satisfaction with the conduct of the troops engaged, European and Native. I would especially notice for your information, and that of the Right Honourable the Commander-in-chief, the

* Europeans, Indian Navy—Sixty-two men, three officers, one assistant-surgeon. Assam Local Artillery—Thirty-five men, one European officer, two 12-pounders, two mortars. 1st Assam Light Infantry Battalion—one hundred and sixty rank and file, one European officer, one European non-commissioned officer. One hundred and fifty auxiliaries.

very gallant conduct of the Indian Naval Brigade, under Lieutenant Lewis, I.N., with Lieutenant Davies and Mr. Midshipman Mayo, I.N. Lieutenant Lewis had a narrow escape, an arrow fired at a very short distance lodging in his cap pocket. Lieutenant Davies, who gallantly led the advance guard throughout the whole of the operations of the day, was, I am sorry to say, severely hit in the left breast and left arm. Mr. Midshipman Mayo also, a gallant young lad, who was prominently forward on all occasions, was slightly wounded in the finger. I beg to report that the conduct of these officers was most gallant and exemplary; and I have to add also the highly meritorious conduct of Mr. Assistant-Surgeon White, whose devotion and attention to the wounded in positions of great risk, was beyond all praise." In conclusion, Colonel Hannay mentioned the gallantry displayed by Major Reid, and the exertions of the Assistant Commissioner, Captain Bivar.

Lieutenant Lewis's report on the services of his men on the 27th February, is in the following terms:—"The advanced guard of Europeans and 1st Assam Light Infantry was commanded by Lieutenant W. H. M. Davies, I.N., temporarily doing duty with the brigade under my command, followed by the rest of the Brigade, under myself and Mr. Midshipman Mayo, I.N., then the guns and 1st Assam Light Infantry. For about two to three miles the march was unmolested, and slight opposition was then experienced at the felled trees in the plain, but at the stockade No. 4 the enemy offered a determined resistance; concealed in the jungle on both sides, they poured showers of arrows upon us, as also from the stockade in front. A mountain howitzer was brought up by Major Reid, several rounds of grape was poured into the stockade, and then, by desire of Colonel Hannay, the whole of the Europeans came to the front and carried the stockade. We then pushed on till we came to No. 5, a very strong stockade on the opposite high bank of a small river; part of the Indian Naval Brigade was extended under cover to keep down the enemy's fire. Major Reid again brought up the howitzers, and after several rounds of grape, the Indian Naval Brigade crossed and carried the stockade. Considerable difficulty was experienced in getting the guns up the steep bank, and by the permission of Colonel Hannay, I then pushed on with Lieutenant Davies, I.N., the brigade and a sub-division of the Assam Light Infantry to the next stockade, marked No. 6. Part of the men kept down the fire of the stockade, and a charge was then made, and it was carried by the Brigade, supported by the sub-division of the 1st Assam Light Infantry. We then enfiladed the stockade marked No. 10 with the fire of our Enfields, and drove the enemy out, the ground not being passable between them. Leaving a party of the 1st Assam Light Infantry to hold

the ground until the main body came up, I went on up the road to Romkang, and carried the stockades marked Nos. 7 and 8.

"At No. 8 the resistance was most desperate, by far the worst of any we had met. The hill was here extremely precipitous, and they rolled down stones upon us, as well as showers of arrows. Even when we charged and got up to the stockade, they thrust their spears and shot their poisoned arrows through slits in the stockade, and it being defended by palisades at right angles with the stockade, and half way up, it could not be climbed over; we had gradually to break down a portion of the stockade to get in. Lieutenant Davies was here severely wounded, through a slit in the stockade, by poisoned arrows, in two places, and Mr. Midshipman Mayo slightly wounded in the same manner. On getting in, all opposition ceased, the enemy abandoned No. 9 without a blow, and we were in possession of the village of Romkang at two p m., after five hours of uninterrupted hard fighting. After having set fire to and completely destroyed the villages, I returned down the hill, destroying the stockades as we came, and rejoined the main body under Colonel Hannay in Pashee, which place they had taken while we were engaged at Romkang. The whole force then returned to the Ghât at Pashee, which we reached about seven p.m. Lieutenant W. H. M. Davies, I.N., and Mr. Midshipman Mayo, I N., exhibited throughout this long affair the most daring courage, and on every occasion of storming these numerous stockades they were in the front. The men of the Brigade behaved most admirably throughout, and followed close up to their officers at every stockade. Our loss has been very severe, I am sorry to say, and amounted to more in wounded than the third of the men engaged."

The fighting throughout the day was desperate, and all displayed conspicuous courage, especially the three officers, two of whom were wounded, and Lieutenant Lewis, the third, had a narrow escape. Of the seamen, four were killed and twenty-one wounded, the wounds being chiefly caused by arrows, the barbs of which were steeped in "aconite" poison, of the nature and effects of which Captain Lowther, of the Assam Battalion, sent a report to the Agricultural Society of India.* The path at the foot of the hills was found planted with *punjies*, or small

* At a meeting of the Medical and Physical Society of Bengal, on the 7th of July, 1827, a paper was communicated by Dr Breton, giving the results of certain experiments he had made as to the nature of the poisons in use by the Nagas, a tribe of hillmen He said that the poison is a vegetable gum, obtained by making incisions into the bark of a large tree The Nagas mix it with tobacco water to the consistency of paste, with which they smear the points of their arrows. By experiments on animals, Dr. Breton proved its deadly effects He said the people are reluctant to indicate the tree from which the gum is extracted.

poisoned stakes, so that the elephants carrying the ammunition and mountain-guns were lamed. Lieutenant Davies was wounded in the shoulder, arm, and breast, the latter a very severe wound, from which he has continued to suffer ever since, the bone coming away many years afterwards. On receiving this last wound, Lieutenant Davies pushed the muzzle of his revolver through the interstices of the stockade and shot his assailant dead.

Lieutenant Lewis gives some interesting details of the Expedition in a private letter. Writing on the 11th of March, he says:—"We returned to Dibrooghur from Pashee Ghât on Monday last, the 6th of March, having been away just three weeks, and I was very glad to get back, as it was terrible rough work about those hills marching in the rain, and encamping on sand-banks in small paul tents, leaking when it rained, and sand blowing in when it did not. The day after the fight no end of Abors came in; they were not the villagers we had been fighting with, but other villagers, supposed to be friendly; they told us that there were all the fighting men of twenty-two villages assembled in the stockades that we took, making at the very lowest computation thirteen hundred men we had against us. If there is going to be much more fighting like the last up here, they certainly must have European troops of some kind always here: the Assam Light Infantry are of no use against such enemies as the Abors, provided they always fight the same. It is the first time the Government have ever had any collision with these tribes, and I am rather inclined to think they will not give quite so much trouble the next affair. I do not think the Assam Light Infantry would ever have taken the stockades if we had not been there; they would have come to great grief, as they are just like so many sheep under fire, yelling and firing in the air, and sitting down in the pathway. I had a very narrow escape at the last stockade, where Davies and Mayo were wounded. While I was trying to break in the door, an arrow was shot through a chink which went into my cap pouch; fortunately, it was one of the 'Punjaub's' Bombay ones, the leather of which is like a board. The arrow went through two parts. and nearly through a third, and brought up against the leather waist-belt; if it had been one of the new-pattern pouches, I should have been dead in less than five minutes, as it was right over the spleen. Davies is going on pretty well, Mayo all right; one man wounded, I am sorry to say, died to-day, I hope we are not going to lose any more, there are four more that cannot be considered out of danger. It certainly requires good men for the work, as, if you got repulsed at a stockade, you would suffer tremendously in the retreat if there was a muster of tribes like the last; besides, it would most likely have the effect of raising the whole of the

hill tribes, who were only waiting to see which was going to win. Colonel Hannay has mentioned us very handsomely in his despatch; it was a very fortunate thing he kept our doctor (White) on, as, when he arrived here. he found he was ordered to return. There is only one doctor here, and if anything happened to him, it would be a very long time before another could be got. I should think this ought to be one of the very last stations where Europeans should be left without a surgeon."

The following orders express the approbation of the gallant conduct of Lieutenant Lewis and his officers and men, entertained by the Governor-General and Lord Clyde. Extract from Governor-General's order, No. 656, of 1859 :—"His Excellency the Governor-General in Council is pleased to direct the publication of the following letter from the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, No. 99, of the 8th ultimo, with enclosures, reporting the successful operations of Lieutenant-Colonel Hannay against the Meyong clan of the Abors. His Excellency in Council concurs with the Commander-in-chief in the approbation expressed by his lordship regarding these operations. 'No 99, from Major H N. Norman, Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, dated Delhi, the 8th of April, 1859. To the Secretary of the Government of India, Military Department :—"I am directed by the Commander-in-chief to transmit for the information of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, a letter dated the 11th ultimo, No. 107,* from Colonel F. Jenkins, Agent to the Governor-General and Commanding North-East Frontier, enclosing a report from Lieutenant-Colonel S. F. Hannay, of his recent successful operations against the Meyong clan of the Abors. Lord Clyde desires to express his approbation of the manner in which these operations were conducted, and of the gallantry of those engaged in them, but especially of the detachment Indian Naval Brigade, under Lieutenant Lewis.'" The Governor of Bombay also, in a resolution communicated to the Commander-in-chief,

* The following is a copy of the above letter, addressed by Colonel F Jenkins, to Major Ross, Assistant Adjutant-General, Barrackpore —"Sir,—I have the honour to submit for transmission to the Right Hon the Commander-in-chief, in original, a letter, No 41, of the 28th ult, from Lieutenant-Colonel Hannay, accompanied by a sketch map and six enclosures, reporting the complete success of the detachment under his command in carrying, by assault, on the 27th ult, the strong stockaded position of the confederated Meyong clans of Abors, and the destruction of two of their villages I have pleasure in drawing notice to the high satisfaction expressed by Colonel Hannay at the conduct of the whole of the troops under his command, and particularly with the gallant manner in which the attack was led by the Naval Brigade, under the command of Lieutenant Lewis, I N"

"Forwarded to the Adjutant-General of the Army for submission to the Right Hon. the Commander-in-chief by his Excellency's obedient servant,

"J. B Hearsey,

"Major-General Commanding Presidency Division."

Indian Navy, expressed his acknowledgments in the following terms:—"His Lordship in Council has received with great satisfaction this account of the success of a small force of the Indian Navy, under the command of Lieutenant Lewis, in an attack upon stockades in Upper Assam, notwithstanding a most determined resistance, as evidenced by the considerable loss sustained. His Lordship in Council requests that Commodore Wellesley will explain to Lieutenant Lewis and his brave comrades, that more special and public recognition of this service is only withheld because it will be more appropriately given by the Government under which the force was immediately employed."

But the gallant commander of the Naval Brigade, who had been wounded at Dacca, and again on this occasion, received no reward, and died plain Lieutenant Lewis, while Lieutenant (now retired Commander) Davies, familiarly known in the Service as "Pat" Davies, has been permitted to linger on in constant suffering from his wound, after having served his country with brilliant courage and devotion at Mooltan, in Burmah, China, and India Had either of these officers been in the Royal Service, it is not too much to say that they would have received promotion and the C B.

Before this service performed in Upper Assam, Lieutenant Davies had been engaged with the same enemy. After exchanging, at Singapore, out of the 'Auckland,' with Lieutenant Carew of the 'Zenobia,' the latter ship proceeded to Madras, and in May, on matters in Bengal beginning to look serious, was employed transporting the Madras Fusiliers, under Colonel Neil, to Calcutta. On her arrival here, Lieutenant Batt was forced to invalid temporarily, and Lieutenant Davies assumed command for six weeks, until Commander Stephens arrived from Bombay to take charge. On the 4th of June, being then in command, Lieutenant Davies received the following private note from the Secretary in the Home Department:—"*Confidential.* Home Office, June 4, 1877. My dear Sir,—The Governor-General desires that as long as the 'Zenobia' remains in port—and she is not to sail till further orders—she may be moored off the Mint, and that an evening gun may be fired every day in the direction of Calcutta. Yours faithfully, Cecil Beadon."

On the 10th of September, Commander Stephens, of the 'Zenobia,' then Senior Naval Officer at Calcutta, having received an application from the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, for an officer for special and urgent service, placed his First-Lieutenant at the disposal of Sir Frederick Halliday. Early in September, 1857, intelligence had reached Calcutta of a plot*—

* Sir F. Halliday, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, writes:—"The widespread effects of the disturbances in the North-West have been communicated

in which the young Rajah of Assam, residing at Jorehaut, was concerned—being concocted at Dibrooghur, in Upper Assam, the head-quarters of the 1st Assam Light Infantry, numbering nine hundred and fifty of all ranks, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel S F. Hannay, and sixty Native artillery, Hindostanees, with four 6-pounder field guns and two 12-pounder howitzers, under Major David Reid Lieutenant Davies was immediately despatched from Calcutta with a Detachment,* consisting of Acting-Masters M'Can and Havers, and one hundred and ten seamen, who had been hastily enlisted and drilled, and, passing through Dacca and Gowhatty, arrived at Dibrooghur on the 2nd of October, when confidence was somewhat restored among the small band of planters, who hailed the sailors as their deliverers, and entertained them liberally.† It speaks highly of the power to command men,

even to this distant part of our dominions, resulting in at least a partial disaffection of the local troops, and, in connection with this a conspiracy, having for its object the subversion of our rule, and I am convinced that had it not been for the judicious measures of the authorities on the spot, and the prompt despatch of assistance from the Presidency, that an insurrection would have broken out, damaging not only to the tranquillity of the province itself, but also perilling the safety of the whole of our Eastern frontier It was not for some time after the occurrence of the first outbreak in the north-west that any cause for apprehension showed itself in Assam In July, the acknowledgments of the Governor-General were transmitted to the 1st Assam Light Infantry at Dibrooghur for the offer of service which they had made to Government How valueless these professions of loyalty have usually been, the experience of the past few months has but too plainly shown, but there was then but little reason for distrusting these local corps, and at that time little doubt of their fidelity was entertained Indeed, in July, and for some time afterwards, the Governor-General's Agent, Colonel Jenkins, was more apprehensive of any danger that might arise from the probable breaking out of the 73rd Native Infantry at Julpigoree, and of the effect likely to be produced on the Bhootan and other frontier tribes It was not till September that an uneasy feeling began to display itself amongst the men of the 1st Assam Light Infantry at Dibrooghur From carefully conducted inquiries, Colonel Hannay, commanding the battalion, found that the excitement was produced by letters from Arrah and Jugdespore, addressed to men, of whom there were many in the regiment, enlisted in the Shahabad district The company of artillery at Dibrooghur was also composed of Hindoostanees, of whom there were a considerable number in the 2nd Assam Battalion in Gowhatty, though in a less proportion than in the 1st It was about the same time discovered by the authorities that these men, Native officers and others, were in communication with the Sarung Rajah residing at Jorehaut, in whose house, whilst proceeding on furlough, they were reported to have held meetings by night The men of the old disbanded Assam Militia had also been tampered with."

* This appears to have been the only Detachment commanded by an officer of the Indian Navy, raised and despatched under the authority of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, like the other "Police Brigades," the Indian Naval Brigade being under the exclusive orders of the Supreme Government

† A correspondent of a Bengal paper writes from Dibrooghur, under date the 10th of May, 1858 —"At present we feel tolerably secure, as there are upwards of one hundred and fifty men of the Naval Brigade in the province, fifty-six of whom are at this station Nearly all the men have ponies, such as they are, and at all hours of the day you may see them galloping madly about at a neck-or-nothing pace The cutcherry has been converted into a temporary barrack for their accommodation, at one end of which they have fitted up a theatre. I attended a performance there the other night, and was not a little amused, the

possessed in an eminent degree by Lieutenant Davies, that he was enabled to render efficient, and maintain discipline among, a body of men whom he himself describes as recruited from among the desperate characters and loafers of Calcutta. By their timely arrival, the Detachment, which had four 12-pounder howitzers, were doubtless instrumental in saving the lives and property of the Assam Tea Company, as, at a later period, the mutineers from Dacca succeeded in penetrating the Goalpara district, when they plundered Bugwah and the bazaar at the Kurribarree Thannah.*

Some of the plotters of the Assam Light Infantry, for they did not break out into open mutiny, were tried and sentenced to death; but the sentence was commuted to transportation to the Andaman Islands. Before the close of the year, the want of European troops in Upper Assam became very pressing, as, owing to the inroads of flying columns of mutineers, Lieutenant Davies' Detachment was totally inadequate to maintain order at all the out-stations in such a vast and inaccessible territory: accordingly, an appeal being made to Government by Colonel Hannay and the Chairman of the Assam Tea Company, on the last day of the year, a second Detachment of one hundred seamen was despatched from Calcutta, whose presence restored confidence among the planters throughout the province. But before the arrival of this party, the gallant First-Lieutenant of the 'Zenobia' had undertaken an Expedition against the Abors.

On Lieutenant Davies being relieved of the custody of his prisoners, by their despatch to the Andaman Islands, he marched against a tribe of these hillmen, who had come down from their fastnesses and ravaged a village, distant about three hours' journey from Dibrooghur, killing many of the inhabitants. The force consisted of a party of seamen, under Lieutenant Davies, and 115 Goorkhas of the Assam Infantry, under the command of Captain Lowther, and was too small to attain the desired object. Nevertheless, Lieutenant Davies embarked the force in canoes and went up the rapids of the Dehony River, a distance of twenty miles, when he landed and attacked a Boormaun village, which was burnt after a stout resistance, the enemy

women's parts are taken by huge, strapping, broad shouldered he-fellows, with anything but femmine voices. However, in the jungle one is not disposed to be over fastidious We have no ballet as yet, but I do not despair of our attaining even that last touch of civilization"

* The peril must at this time have been imminent, for when, on the restoration of tranquillity, the tea-planters of Upper Assam presented to Captain Holroyd, Assistant-Commissioner at Seebsaugor, a testimonial of silver plate, the inscription on the salver recorded that to his zeal and courage was due "the unravelling of the plot of the mutineers to massacre all the Europeans in the province." The gratitude of these planters did not, however, extend to the presentation of any testimonial or vote of thanks to the gallant officer whose opportune arrival saved their lives and property, and who freely fought and bled for them.

firing poisoned arrows and spears, and rolling down heavy boulders* from the tops of the high cliffs forming the banks of the river. The position of the small force was an exceedingly critical one. On both banks of the river they heard the enemy's war-cries, the natives in the forest signalling the advance of the force to those on the cliffs, while they fired on them showers of poisoned arrows with iron barbs, but would not show in the open. Some natives of the rear-guard carrying provisions, were killed and disembowelled, which created such a panic among the remainder that they fled, and the Detachment was without food for nearly forty-eight hours. After capturing the Boormaun village, Lieutenant Davies encamped behind the huge boulders on the strand of the river, in which the canoes were moored with a small guard. All night the enemy fired arrows and spears, giving the camp no rest, and, in the morning, Lieutenant Davies, who had put his coat on the top of his rifle, which was stuck in the ground, found it riddled with arrows. To induce the natives to quit the jungle, Lieutenant Davies, having sent the force on in the morning, remained behind in concealment, with Sergeant-Major Carter, of the 1st Assam Light Infantry, and a few sailors and Goorkhas, all crack shots. The feint proved successful, as the natives, seeing their foes in full march, came out into the open, when a volley brought down the foremost of them, including the chief. In this Expedition, several men of the British force, both Europeans and natives, were killed, and a large number were wounded. Lieutenant Davies performed an act for which an officer was promoted in the sad case of the late Commodore Goodenough: he sucked the wounds of several of his men who had been hit by poisoned arrows, and thus probably saved their lives. Captain Lowther, in a report to the Agricultural Society of India on the "aconite poison" used by these Abors, says:—"Out of twenty-five wounded Europeans, only four died, one of these men in half an hour."

The Abors suffered severely, and sixty-four men were ascertained to have been killed and a large number were wounded. At the foot of the hills the force was joined by Captain Bivar, the Assistant-Commissioner, who remained there with the reserve and a depôt of provisions, much needed by the starving party, and then the whole column returned to Dibrooghur. On the 4th of February, 1859, Lieutenant Lewis arrived at Dibrooghur with No. 4 Detachment from Sylhet, and Lieutenant Davies' party, whose term of service had mostly expired, returned to the Presidency. He, however, remained behind, and accompanied the second Expedition of February, already detailed, which resulted in the submission of the tribe.

* The method adopted was to tie the boulders in their places, with strips of bamboo, which they cut when they saw their enemy underneath.

Soon after this affair, Lieutenant Davies returned to Calcutta, and was ordered to England for the recovery of his health, He was on the point of sailing when, learning that an officer was urgently required at Chyabassa, he volunteered, and, proceeding thither, took command of No. 14 Detachment from Lieutenant Burnes. He remained at Chyabassa a few months, suffering severely from his wound, which, on his return to Calcutta when the Detachment was withdrawn, in July, 1859, assumed a dangerous character, and, sloughing having supervened, he was forced to proceed to England. Lieutenant Lewis and Mr. Midshipman Mayo—who received the Victoria Cross for his great gallantry at Dacca in leading a charge against the enemy's guns—were also in such shattered health that they were compelled to leave India, the former to die in his native land.

One of the first Detachments of the Indian Naval Brigade to land for service at Calcutta, if not the first, was No. 2 Detachment, drawn from the 'Auckland,' which had done such good service in China, and commanded by Lieutenant George O'Brien Carew, First-Lieutenant of that ship. In consequence of representations made by this officer to a member of the Governor-General's Staff, that there was on board his ship a body of seamen drilled to use the field-piece and rifle equally well, a party of a hundred sailors and marines—Bombay European artillerymen—with Midshipmen H. W. Brownlow, of the 'Auckland,' and H G. F. Cotgrave, of the 'Semiramis,' was drafted for duty on shore under his command, and proceeded to Barrackpore, where it was attached to No. 20 horse field-battery (Capt. Hungerford's). Lieut. Carew's first duty was to disarm the native artillerymen belonging to the battery, and then he set to work drilling his men, who soon became thoroughly efficient under their smart commander, who had always been regarded as a promising officer at the Gunnery Establishment at Butcher's Island. He says:—"I felt quite at home with the battery, but one hundred and twenty horses belonging to it I left entirely in the hands of their captain, who was attached to the battery with me, and it was agreed between us that he should drill and manœuvre when limbered up, but when unlimbered for action I should take command, being the senior officer" It was predicted at the time that this arrangement of a divided command "would never work," but where, as in this instance, the parties concerned subordinated professional jealousies to the public weal, it did work without a jar or hitch, a circumstance which should be placed on record to the credit of both officers. Lieutenant Carew always had a fear that the native drivers might bolt over to the enemy with the horses, and was therefore much relieved when Major Liardet, of the Royal Artillery, brought him a bullock battery in exchange for No. 20. He writes:—"It was a scene of great confusion when the English drivers

first took the place of the natives. The order to mount was given and obeyed, but two-thirds of the saddles were in the next instance vacated, as the horses, unused to English drivers, who were very much heavier men, would have none of them." At length the native drivers took the battery from the square in which it had been parked, and it was made over to the Royal Artillery on the Grand Trunk Road, when the sailors gave their old battery a parting cheer.

During this critical time it was well that the large station of Barrackpore, within sixteen miles of Calcutta, was commanded by that fine old soldier, General Sir John Hearsey, by whose bold bearing and able measures mutiny was stamped out at its inception. Lieutenant Carew's position was one of great anxiety until the arrival of H.M.'s 84th Regiment from Burmah, and other troops of the China Expedition, and he then had the unpleasant duty of blowing from his guns some of the mutineers. He says of this time:—"Very many an anxious night have I spent by my battery ready at a moment to limber up and march against the men whom we all knew were only waiting the signal to attack us. Now all anxiety was past, and stern retaliation upon those who caused it, was left for my battery to make; but even while I admitted the justice of the punishment, I could not but feel admiration for the coolness and courage displayed by the men who, lashed to my guns, with the portfires lighted ready at the word to destroy them, could await that moment without the play or twitch of a nerve or muscle in face or body.*

In April, 1858, Lieutenant Carew, after repeated applications, received permission to proceed up country, and was directed to join Brigadier Corfield, who was then operating in the Jugdespore district His force consisted of one hundred and ten men, drawn partially from the old hands in No. 2 Detachment—to the command of which Lieutenant A. T. Windus succeeded—and recruited to its full strength of one hundred and ten effectives, by a draught of seamen from the Indian Naval depôt in Fort William. The officers were Midshipmen Brownlow and Cotgrave, and the Detachment, officially known as No. 7, was supplied with two 9-pounders, from the arsenal, and with two 5½-inch mortars, on their arrival up country. The Detachment

* He gives the following as an instance —"On the second occasion of my having to execute some of the native officers, while waiting for the conclusion of General Hearsey's address to the assembled troops, one prisoner lashed to the gun nearest to me, said in a calm tone, 'Sir, may I speak to the adjutant of my regiment?' I immediately despatched one of the gun's crew to make known his request. Upon the adjutant arriving, he thanked me for coming, and said, 'There are some rupees due to me for pay Will you send them to my wife?' mentioning her village. To which the adjutant replied, 'No, all property of a mutineer is forfeited to Government' 'True,' said the prisoner, 'but this was due before I became a mutineer' The next moment I saw the signal from the Major of Brigade, and gave the word that sent him to eternity."

proceeded by rail about one hundred and twenty miles, when they began the march up country, being provided with bullock carts for the baggage.

The country was swarming with rebels who, on the 23rd of April, had achieved a great success* in the Jugdespore jungles, having annihilated a small British column and captured two guns. The safety of Arrah was threatened by the enemy, who advanced within two miles of that place. At Chuprah precautions were taken to guard against a possible attack, and the presence of the Company's armed steamers, 'Jumna' and 'Megna,' had a good effect, the latter having fired into and dispersed more than one body of the enemy preparing to cross the Ganges into the Shahabad district On the 30th of April, the safety of Arrah was assured by the arrival of a portion of Brigadier Douglas' force, and reinforcements were pushed on to Sasseram from Calcutta, so that, on Lieutenant Carew's arrival at that station, he found assembled there H.M.'s 6th Regiment, half a battery of Royal Artillery, a portion of Captain Peel's Naval Brigade, under Lieutenant Hay, R.N., and some Sikh cavalry and infantry. Sir Edward Lugard, having made the necessary preparations for attacking the rebels in co-operation with Brigadier Corfield's column, on the 6th of May marched upon Jugdespore, from which the enemy were dislodged. But, though driven from their position, the rebels still held together in the extensive jungle which surrounds Jugdespore, and, on the 11th, Sir Edward—having opened communications with Brigadier Corfield, who, by his direction, had moved from Sasseram to Peeroo with seven hundred and fifty men of H.M.'s 6th Regiment, sixty Sikhs, and one hundred and three officers and men of Carew's Battery—again attacked them, the Brigadier making a simultaneous assault from the south.†

* The redoubtable chief, Koer Singh, had been driven out of Azimghur by Sir Edward Lugard about the 13th of April, and had again been defeated on the 20th by a column, under Brigadier Douglas, which pursued him to the banks of the Ganges and captured his guns, but a large party of rebels having crossed the Ganges at Sheopore and made their way to the jungles of Jugdespore, on the 22nd of April, Captain Le Grand, commanding the troops at Arrah, marched thence by night with one hundred and forty men of H M's 35th Regiment, fifty European sailors belonging to the Bengal Marine, with two guns, and one hundred Sikhs, for the purpose of attacking the enemy before they had recovered from their recent defeats The force entered the jungles, but being seized with panic, returned to Arrah, having lost one hundred and forty-one Europeans out of two hundred, including three officers, and the guns and ammunition. The Sikhs alone behaved well in this disgraceful fight.

† The following is Brigadier Corfield's despatch, addressed to the Chief of the Staff with Brigadier-General Sir Edward Lugard, under date "Camp Peeroo, May 12, 1858 —I have the honour to report for the information of Brigadier-General Sir Edward Lugard, K C.B, that yesterday, after I had detached my cavalry and two 9-pounder guns of the Royal Artillery with you, on hearing firing in the direction of Juttowra, I immediately proceeded with the following force towards the jungle.—H.M's. 6th Regiment, with drafts, seven hundred and fifty

The following is Lieutenant Carew's despatch to Captain Campbell, dated "Camp, Sasseram, 25th May, 1858," detailing the part taken by his battery in the action of the 11th of May: —"I have the honour to report to you, for the information of his Excellency the Commander-in-chief of the Indian Navy, that the Detachment under my command, as follows, one lieutenant commanding, two midshipmen, one assistant-surgeon, and ninety-nine men of all ranks, two 9-pounder guns, field-pieces, and two 5½-inch mortars, moved out from this station on Sunday, the 9th instant, with the force under the command of Brigadier Corfield, for the purpose of co-operation with Sir E. Lugard against Koer Sing in the Jugdespore district. After a march of forty miles the force encamped at Peeroo on the 11th. At two p.m. on the same day, heavy firing being heard in the direction of a thick jungle, we were ordered to advance. We found the enemy entrenched in front of some villages, and about two miles in the jungle. I immediately opened fire with my artillery, and the infantry advanced in skirmishing order, the nature of the ground not permitting any other formation. After a continuous fire of four hours, and having with shell fired the villages in their rear, the entrenchments were stormed, and the enemy driven into the deep jungle. I advanced the guns till the burning villages obliged me to halt. I here found my left flank exposed to the enemy's fire. It was silenced by a party under Mr. Cotgrave, Midshipman, who, with Midshipman H. Brownlow, gave me every assistance during the day, and performed their work well. The force returned to camp at

strong, Indian Naval Brigade, two 9-pounders, one 5½-inch mortar, and one hundred and ten men, Sikh Battalion, sixty men. After advancing about two miles, and just at the entrance of the jungle, the enemy opened fire upon me, on which I advanced three companies of infantry in skirmishing order, and opened fire with my guns After considerable opposition, I brought up my right shoulder, driving the rebels towards my left, in the direction you had proceeded in with the cavalry and artillery, all firing on my right then ceased, as I had arranged with you that I should not advance into the jungle unless I heard long continued firing in the Juttowra direction I then halted to watch the outlets of the jungle on this side, about half-an-hour afterwards the rebels again appeared in force, moving from our left front towards the position they first occupied. On this I advanced, and reinforcing the skirmishers, closed round the village and stormed it. The rebels then retreated into other villages close at hand I pursued them steadily, burning each village as I took it At sunset I recalled my skirmishers, and was returning to camp, when the Brigadier-General's message to advance on Juttowra reached me. I have the honour to enclose a return of my casualties; it is impossible to estimate correctly the loss of the rebels, but I have every reason to believe it must have been heavy, more particularly on my left. I beg to state that I have every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the officers and men engaged both with the infantry under Major Stratton, H M.'s 6th Regiment, and the Indian Naval Brigade, under Lieutenant Carew, who worked their guns admirably The small detachment of Sikhs under Lieutenant Earl behaved with their usual gallantry. The Deputy-Magistrate of Sasseram, Mr. E. Baker, accompanied me, and was of the greatest assistance, and Lieutenant Staunton, of the Engineers, who, in the absence of my staff officer, kindly consented to officiate as my orderly officer, was of the greatest use to me."

eight p.m. I have every reason to be satisfied with my men, as they had performed a march of fourteen miles in a burning sun, and before there was time to obtain a meal had again to march against the enemy through a sun that struck seven of H.M.'s 6th Regiment dead * I did not hear a complaint from any one of them. The Brigadier commanding was pleased to say they served their guns admirably. On the morning of the 12th, under instructions from the Brigadier commanding, I proceeded with my Detachment to destroy certain villages pointed out, which service was performed without loss, the enemy retreating to the jungle on our approach." The Detachment lost three men from the effects of exposure to which they had been subjected during the day's operations.

* Lieutenant Carew writes —"Those who were in the field during the month of April, 1858, must well remember it from its excessive heat and the loss it caused in men. We would start about half-past three in the morning and arrive at the new encampment at nine or ten, but tents were but little protection, as it was the atmosphere and not the actual sun that killed the men From intense heat they died in two or three hours of heat apoplexy The debilitating effects of this great heat was felt by the strongest, and I believe that it was only the hope of our soon meeting the enemy that kept many of us from despondency. The Colonel of H M's 6th Regiment was found dead in his tent one day, and it was said that no one had seen him die, so sudden was it After some days' marching we arrived at a place called Peeroo Here we pitched our camp, and sought the rest which a fourteen miles' march in such weather required, but this proved to be the last earthly rest for many, for before we could procure the much needed breakfast, the assembly sounded, and we marched out to attack the enemy. Our line of march was marked by the dead bodies of our men who were struck down by the noonday sun We found the enemy occupying an entrenched position in the jungle, and engaged him till sunset, when having fired the houses in rear with shell, the position was stormed, and we marched back to camp The neighbourhood of the enemy reanimated the men, and did them good, and being anxious to keep up the excitement, I obtained permission from Brigadier Corfield next day to take as many of them as I could spare from duty to attack certain villages We marched out before sunrise for that purpose, and by sunset had destroyed four, the absence of proper food, and the exposure of the last two days, made me ill Jaundice and congested liver obliged me to keep to my charpoy, where I was tended and cared for by a Lieutenant Poulson of Dineley's Battery. We had been always together on the line of march, and the same tope of trees was shared at the halt, he was my great stay in my present disabled condition, and I was deeply grieved when news was brought to him of the death of Dineley, the Captain of his battery (a man much beloved), a settled despondency took possession of him upon learning it, and I was too ill to give him all the consolation I could have wished. He would shake his head and reply to my efforts to comfort him that he would follow Dineley before long. Some few days after this conversation he was sitting by my charpoy trying to cheer me in my sickness, when his servant came to report his dinner ready, he put his hand on my shoulder and said, smiling, 'I shall be back, old fellow, in a few minutes, it's only ration beef for dinner' Presently, in about ten minutes, the doctor of his battery came hastily in, and inquired for mine. I told him he had gone to hospital, and asked,—'Anything serious?' 'Yes, poor Poulson is down to day.' Upon hearing this, I insisted upon being conveyed to his tent, which was next to mine, and I got there to find him dying of heat apoplexy I spoke to him but he did not know me. His body was carried past the door of my tent to be buried within four hours of that time. 'He had gone to join his Captain.' At this time the doctor told me we were burying fifteen men a day from apoplexy and liver complaint."

The terrible heat of an Indian summer proved more fatal than the sword of the enemy, to the Europeans during the march from Sasseram to Peeroo and the subsequent operations, and many officers and men died from heat apoplexy, including the Colonel of the 6th Regiment and the captain and subaltern of the Battery of Royal Artillery. Lieutenant Carew also was taken ill with fever, and, after vainly struggling against the disease, was forced, on the 28th of May, to resign the temporary command of his battery, to Mr. Midshipman Cotgrave,* and Mr. Brownlow also left, suffering from illness which proved fatal.

Brigadier Corfield, in forwarding to Captain Campbell, from Sasseram, the proceedings of the Medical Board invaliding Lieutenant Carew, observed:—"I take this opportunity of requesting that on the expiration of his leave, Lieutenant Carew may be allowed to take command of the party he has left here, as he has proved himself both a most useful and zealous officer, and his men are in a fine state of discipline. I enclose extract of the order permitting Lieutenant Carew to proceed in anticipation." Mr. Chapman, Under Secretary to the Government of India, wrote, under date the 17th of June, 1858, "to express the satisfaction of the Honourable the President in Council at the share taken by the Indian Naval Detachment at Sasseram, under command of Lieutenant Carew, in the combined attack upon the rebels in the jungles of Peeroo on the 11th and 12th ultimo, under the orders of Colonel Corfield, commanding at Shahabad."

Captain Campbell, in forwarding to Commodore Wellesley copies of Lieutenant Carew's despatch of the 25th of May, and Brigadier Corfield's report on the high state of discipline to which that officer had brought No. 7 Detachment, expressed a hope that the Commander-in-chief would approve the conduct of the officers and men under Lieutenant Carew's orders, and that he would lay the correspondence before the Governor of Bombay. Commodore Wellesley wrote, as requested, to Lord Elphinstone, and the result was a letter, under date the 30th of June, 1858, expressing the high approval of his Lordship in Council.

Lieutenant Carew was sent down in a dawk gharree to Barrackpore, where he was received by Lieutenant Windus, com-

* Mr H G F Cotgrave will be long remembered by his friends and shipmates as a fine seaman, a man of iron nerve and great personal strength His life was one of strange adventure by flood and field, dating from the time when he was washed ashore, one of the few survivors of the wreck of the 'Prince' at Balaclava. Possessing a handsome face and grand physique, he was much beloved by his brother officers, who mourned the sad end he came to in Australia Falling from his horse in the bush, his foot caught in the stirrup, and he was kicked to death Mr. Brownlow was also popular in the Service, and, during his brief career, saw considerable service.

manding No. 2 Detachment quartered there, and Sir John Hearsey took him to his own house, where he was tended with assiduous care by the family of the gallant General, one of whose daughters became his wife. When sufficiently restored to enable him to undertake the voyage to England, Lieutenant Carew was about to appear before a Medical Board, when the following letter from Captain Campbell, dated the 22nd of June, 1858, decided him to put off his visit to England, and resume his duties: "My dear Carew,—Is it possible for you to do any duty? We are hard up for officers, and if you could get patched up so as to do duty at Barrackpore, however little you could do, it would be of the greatest importance to the public service, as Lieutenant Windus is off to Chyabassa, and I want an officer to take charge at Barrackpore, so that I can send an officer to Sasseram from the 'Auckland.' At present, I am at my wits' end; you can make what use of this you see good, and I can, of course, appoint you only as fit for duty on the spot, and not to march out, if you can induce the medical officer to allow you to buckle on your sword once more, and try how you get on at Barrackpore." Accordingly, Lieutenant Carew replied affirmatively to this pressing invitation, and remained at Barrackpore till No. 2 Detachment was no longer required, when he marched with it to Fort William, and returned the six guns to the arsenal.

Before leaving, he called on Brigadier Christie, commanding the station, who expressed himself highly satisfied with the conduct of his men, as also did Colonel Knox of H M's 67th Regiment. The former said:—"I will most certainly write to Captain Campbell, the senior naval officer, when the order comes for the breaking up of your Battery. I will then repeat to him what I told you the other day, viz., that nothing could have exceeded the good behaviour of the Naval Brigade of this station since they have been under my command, now upwards of four months. During that time not a single man has been brought before me for misconduct, a more orderly, cleanly, respectful set of men I have never had under my command and I can only further add, I shall be very sorry when the order comes for your brigade to leave Barrackpore." Colonel Knox also wrote:—"Agreeably to order, I send you a memorandum about your departure. We are all sorry you and your men are going—a finer or a better conducted set of fellows it has never been my lot to serve with in garrison. I wish I had the pick of some of them to fill up my Grenadier Company with, £5 might tempt some."

Upon leaving Barrackpore, Lieutenant Carew proceeded to Fort William, where he assumed command of No. 10 Detachment of the Indian Naval Brigade, consisting of one hundred men, raised to guard Alipore jail, which contained a large

number of convicted mutineers awaiting transportation for life to the Andamans, an anxious duty, as the prisoners were desperate characters. His officers were Lieutenant R. Carey and Acting-Lieutenant H. W. H. Burnes, who, soon after, proceeded with No. 14 Detachment, and operated in the jungles of Singhboom, against the rebel Coles. Other officers serving with this Detachment, at various times, were Acting-Masters W Shum, E. D. Green and H. V. Lillycrap. The charge of Alipore jail had been taken over from the military by Lieutenant R. G. Hurlock, who, in September, 1858, marched from Fort William with No. 10 Detachment, of eighty seamen, and Mr. W. Bertram, gunner,* and remained until relieved by Lieutenant Carew. In September of the following year, upon again making over charge of the jail to a military force, who were sent to relieve him, Lieutenant Carew received the following letter from Mr. Montresor, the superintendant of the jail, under date, Alipore, 10th September, 1858:

"Sir,—It having been intimated to me that the Brigade under your charge is to be relieved by a detachment from the Fort on Monday next, I have the honour to request you will accept yourself, and convey to the junior officers and men under your command, my best thanks for the very able manner in which the duties of guarding the Alipore jail have been performed. At no time during the course of my official career have I ever met with so orderly, respectful, and respectable a set of men as have composed the Brigade under your command. The duties, irksome as they have often proved to be, have been performed by officers and men cheerfully and without a murmur, and it is no little criterion of the discipline and good feeling of the men when I state that during the six months I have been Magistrate of Alipore, I have not only had no signs of disturbance amongst the men and natives, but I have actually not had a complaint of any kind against them."†

Lieutenant Carew assumed command of theNaval Depôt, now stationed at Dumdum, and remained there till he went to England on medical certificate.

On proceeding sick to the Presidency from Sasseram, on the 28th of May, 1858, Lieutenant Carew was succeeded in the command of No. 7 Detachment, by Senior Lieutenant H. W.

* Lieutenant Hurlock had no commissioned officers with him at Alipore He left Calcutta with a First-Class Second-Master, but shortly after his arrival at Alipore this officer was arrested under instructions from the Royal Navy authorities, he being a midshipman and a deserter from H M S 'Sparrow-hawk.'

† Lieutenant Carew also received, through Captain Campbell, a copy of a letter dated "Council Chamber, October 1, 1852," and signed by Mr J. D. Gordon, Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of India, stating "that the Governor-General in Council considers the high terms in which the Superintendent of the Alipore jail has expressed his sense of the good conduct of the Indian Naval Guard lately on duty at Alipore, reflects great credit upon the officers and men composing it."

Etheridge, who received over charge in July. The Detachment garrisoned a small fort guarding the ferry over the river Soane at Dehree, close to the Great Trunk Road, and parties were constantly employed in large covered boats, protecting the fords right and left of Dehree, and preventing the rebels from crossing the river. Lieutenant Etheridge frequently proceeded in chase of bodies of rebels, who succeeded in eluding pursuit, and, in March, 1859, was relieved by Lieutenant M. P. Tozer, in command of the Detachment, which numbered about one hundred and twenty seamen—the other officers being Acting Masters Braybrooke and Poole, and Mr. T. Wilson, gunner. On one occasion, fifty seamen of No. 7 Detachment marched in company with a flying column of one hundred and fifty men of H.M.'s 77th Regiment and one hundred Beloochees, under Major Kent, but the mutineers moved with the lightest of light baggage—musket, ammunition, and a bundle of rice per man—and succeeded in effecting their escape. In May, 1859, Lieutenant Tozer proceeded with No 7 Detachment to Dumdum, where it was paid off and disbanded.

On the 11th of July, 1857, about the time when parties of seamen were landed from the 'Punjaub,' 'Auckland,' and 'Zenobia,' Lieutenant D. L. Duval, of the 'Coromandel,' was directed to proceed to Fort William, with one hundred seamen, and Midshipmen C. A. Wray and R. Scamp, to reinforce the garrison at that critical time. This Detachment, known as No. 1, was highly commended for the good service it performed in guarding the gates of Fort William, and the State prisoners; and, later on, it became the Depôt of the Brigade, in which seamen were trained and drilled prior to proceeding up-country, in response to the pressing appeals poured in from all quarters for European troops; the numbers of No. 1 Detachment, consequently, greatly fluctuated, and sometimes there were as many as five hundred men on the muster-rolls, though the strength was one hundred and fifty. Early in December, 1857, Lieutenant M. A. Sweny arrived at Bombay and took command of the Detachment, with Acting-Lieutenant F. Warden as his subaltern, and Lieutenant Duval proceeded to Gya with No. 5 Detachment, but, in the following February, he was ordered on survey duty, and Lieutenant Windus assumed command until April, when he succeeded Lieutenant Carew at Barrackpore in charge of No. 2 Detachment. Lieutenant Warden now took command until November, when he relieved Lieutenant Templer in command of No. 6 Detachment, at the Andaman Islands, and was succeeded by Lieutenant Hellard, who was in command of No. 1, until its removal to Dumdum, in January, 1859, when Colonel (now General) Orfeur Cavenagh, Commandant at Fort William, wrote in the following terms to Captain Campbell, regarding the services and good conduct of the men

during the eventful period they were under his orders:—"Sir.—The Brigade of the Indian Navy so long quartered in Fort William having ceased to exist, I deem it my duty to convey to you an expression of my opinion with respect to their conduct during their service in garrison As regards the men, considering the frequent changes that occurred amongst them, it is sufficient for me to say that the cheerful alacrity with which they performed all the duties, at times very severe, entrusted to them was deserving of great praise. With regard to the officers, throughout the entire period of their stay in Fort William their conduct was such as to afford me the highest satisfaction. I always found them most attentive to their duties, and unwearying in their efforts to maintain discipline amongst the men under their command, and I beg that you will tender to them my best thanks for the great assistance that I invariably received from them in all matters connected with the performance of their duty."*

In December, 1857, Lieutenant Duval, with Midshipmen Wray and Scamp, was ordered to proceed to Gya, in Behar, with one hundred seamen and two guns. For a considerable time the whole of Behar had been in an unsettled state, and was the scene of military operations. On the 1st of August, in obedience to the orders of Mr. Tayler, Commissioner of Patna, the station of Gya had been abandoned by all the officials, though Messrs. Money and Hollings returned and saved the greater portion of the treasure, amounting to seven lacs of rupees. On the 16th, Gya was reoccupied without opposition, the prisoners having all escaped from the jails. Again, on the 8th and 9th of September, the rebels, after an action with Captain Rattray's Sikhs, succeeded in breaking open the jail; but the arrival of a detachment of H.M.'s 53rd Regiment, on the 22nd of October, restored confidence. Early in January, 1858, their place was taken by Lieutenant Duval with No. 5 Detachment, and, at a later period, further parties of seamen were passed up-country to restore order throughout the districts under the rule of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

Not long after Lieutenant Duval's arrival at Gya, his Detachment was employed—in conjunction with two companies of H.M.'s 85th Regiment, which was then passing through Behar, and was directed to halt at Gya for the purpose—in dismantling the neighbouring fort of Tickaree, in which were

* General Cavenagh writes to us, under date the 4th of April, 1877, in the following terms of his estimate of Indian Navy officers, formed under varying circumstances —"I enjoyed during the Mutiny an opportunity of making myself acquainted with the zeal and efficiency displayed by many of your late brother officers, and, subsequently, when Governor of the Straits Settlement, I had some of them employed under my orders, who zealously fulfilled the duties of the different appointments to which they were nominated."

discovered some guns and ammunition. In April No. 5 Detachment was moved from Gya to Patna, in the neighbourhood of which the rebels were in great force, notwithstanding their defeat at Jugdespore, by Sir Edward Lugard and Brigadier Corfield, on the 10th and 12th of May, when Lieutenant Carew did such good service.

On the 15th of June, the rebels destroyed the Bikram Thannah, not more than sixteen miles from Patna; but they avoided the city, though, on the 25th of June, their leader, Jodhur Singh, destroyed a dawk bungalow ten miles from it. The Commissioner made arrangements for the defence of Patna, moving Lieutenant Duval's Detachment, with two guns, to the opium godown,* and posting his police so as to prevent a rising in the city; at the same time two companies of H.M's 10th Regiment arrived from Dinapore, and the treasure, amounting to eleven lacs, was removed into the fort. For the third time the jail at Gya was attacked on the 21st of June, when the Nujeebs—as the station guards in Behar were called—exhibited great cowardice, if not collusion with the rebels, a portion of the same force, while employed in escorting some prisoners to Shergotty, breaking out into open mutiny, and shooting the native officers and releasing the felons; for this act, eighteen of them were hanged and twenty-three transported. On the treachery of the Nujeebs being proved by their recent conduct in connection with the prisoners, the magistrate of Gya, Mr. Money, directed their disarmament, which was carried out by the sailors and five companies of the Madras Rifles, which furnished the only reliable troops at Gya; the enemy, meantime, were moving about in considerable force between that place and Patna, and regularly collected the revenue, while all government buildings and friendly villages were destroyed, and the police and others ruthlessly murdered.

Lieutenant Duval writes semi-officially to Captain Campbell, from Gya on the 14th of August, 1858:—"About the 25th of June the rebels were about seven or eight miles from Patna, and I was ordered down with the two guns and the whole of the Detachment to the opium godown, about five miles from the fort at Bankipore. On the 29th, at 11.30 p m., after I had made the arrangements for returning to our old quarters, I received a letter from the Commissioner, requesting me to proceed without delay up the country to prevent the enemy crossing the Gunduck into Tirhoot or Chumparum. This was very hurried, but there was no help for it, so, on the evening of the 30th, we crossed the Ganges, and, after sixteen hours' boating, landed at a place called Hajeepore. On the morning of the 2nd of July, the whole of us started in ekhahs (a two-wheeled country gig) for Moozufferpore, thirty-four miles off,

* See Sir Frederick Halliday's Minute (p. 27).

which place we reached the same night at 9.30, after halting about half way for about five hours. It rained tremendously the first half of the journey, and we were drenched and dried again alternately three or four times during the day. We remained here two days, when it was expected that the rebels were likely to cross the Gunduck higher up into Chumparum; so away we went again on elephants and ekhahs for Mooteeharee, fifty-two miles from Moozufferpore.* We halted at two magnificent indigo factories, Mootepore and Barrah; the latter was a perfect palace, and the men were very well cared for by the proprietors. The house was so large that though the men were stowed away in half of it, they were scarcely visible. We remained here two days, and at length reached Mooteeharee, a little place with only three or four Europeans, where we were stationed for eight days I drove out one day and visited Segowlie, and the spot where poor Major Holmes† and his wife were murdered, and the house where Dr. Garstin's wife and child were burnt to death, the doctor and one child being outside; the infant was saved by the Ayah. From Mooteeharee we marched to the banks of the Gunduck, and then by boat to Patna, which we reached on Sunday the 18th of July. On the 26th we again left Patna for Gya, and arrived here on the 30th. I am sorry to say we have a great deal of sickness and many fatal cases."

Lieutenant Duval's Detachment was now augmented to two hundred men, with a complete field battery of six guns. Their services being in constant requisition, they were frequently broken up into small parties, and were continually on the move, until the return of the Detachment to Calcutta, in July, 1859, when Lieutenant Duval's health was so much affected by exposure that he was compelled to proceed home on sick leave.

When the stations of Moozufferpore and Mooteeharee were denuded of all troops by the disarmament of the traitorous Nujeeb Guards, a Bengal Marine Police Detachment was sent from Patna for their protection, but these again were relieved

* Both these stations had been abandoned in obedience to the order of the 31st of July, 1857, of Mr. Tayler, the Commissioner of Patna, but the magistrates in charge—Mr. E Lautour at Moozufferpore, and Mr Raikes at Mooteeharee—soon returned of their own accord It should be mentioned here, that the districts constituting the Patna division, under the orders of Mr Tayler, were Shahabad, Patna, Behar, Sarun, Chumparum, and Tirhoot, and on the 30th of July, 1857, the day preceding that on which the abandonment of certain stations had been ordered by the Commissioner, martial law had been proclaimed throughout the entire division.

† The murder of this officer at Segowlie, in Chumparum, by the 12th Irregular Cavalry, of which he was in command, was one of the most barbarous during that sanguinary period. Mrs. Holmes was the daughter of Sir Robert Sale, and her first husband, Lieutenant Sturt, of the Bengal Engineers, fell during the retreat from Cabul, under the melancholy circumstances familiar to those who have read Lady Sale's Journal and Vincent Eyre's graphic record of those disastrous events.

by an Indian naval Detachment, known as No. 11, which, in July, 1858, left the depôt at Fort William, under the command of Lieutenant T. Barron. The Detachment, consisting of one hundred men and Acting-Masters S. S. Ridge and G. Gladwin, arrived at Gya in August, having passed through Berhampore —in the Nuddeah division, the military cantonment of Moorshedabad—Bhaugulpore, and Patna, where they were detained a short time. Lieutenant Barron writes:—"We had a very tedious march from Patna to Gya, but got over it in four days. We brought with us two 12-pounder howitzers, which Lieutenant Duval had left behind on account of the roads being so bad. It was with great difficulty we managed it, and eight bullocks were left dead on the road. The Collector talks of sending a party to the River Soane, to disperse the pirates that infest the river. I am expecting to be sent to Shergotty with a detachment, as the Shannon's Brigade that were there, have left for Calcutta.* The whole of the first day's march, the men were wet through to the skin."

In November, 1858, Lieutenant Barron's Detachment relieved the Marine Police Brigade at Moozufferpore, on the Little Gunduck, the chief town of the district of Tirhoot, Mr Midshipman Cotgrave (with the rank of Acting-Lieutenant) marching, on the 27th of November, to Mooteeharee with thirty men, to relieve a party of the Marine Police stationed there. On the 3rd of January, 1859, Lieutenant Barron writes of his men:—"A better behaved set I could not wish to have, and I hope that my next month's punishment-roll will be blank. It is rumoured that eight thousand rebels, with ten guns, have given our troops the slip out of Oude, and are not more than two hundred miles from us; if this is true, I hope No. 11 Brigade

* The 'Shannon' Naval Brigade arrived in Calcutta on the 14th of August, 1858, and were received by the Europeans, official and mercantile, with all the honours that were so justly their due. The route to the river was lined by No 1 (the depôt) Detachment of the Indian Naval Brigade, numbering at this time five hundred men, under Captain Campbell, and they were met on board the 'Shannon' by the General under whom they had served, the noble Outram, who had a kind word for every officer and man he recognised. On the 1st of September, the inhabitants gave a banquet at the Town Hall to the brigade, at which three hundred and fifty blue jackets and marines were present out of the five hundred and sixteen forming the force present under Peel at Lucknow in November, 1857, and Sir James Outram made a characteristic speech. The 'Pearl' Brigade, under Captain Sotheby, which disembarked on the 12th of September, 1857, rejoined their ships in January, 1859, after fifteen months' most meritorious service, during which they formed the main portion of the Goruckpore field force under Brigadier Rowcroft. The Governor-General, as in the case of the 'Shannon,' issued a complimentary General Order to the Brigade on their passing through Allahabad, dated the 7th of January, 1859, and they were also specially thanked in General Orders, by the Commander-in-chief, Lord Clyde. The 'Pearl' Brigade, which originally numbered two hundred and fifty men, returned two hundred and five strong, but they only lost one man killed in action. The officers, as in the case of the 'Shannon,' were all promoted, and Captain Sotheby received the C.B.

will have a chance of distinguishing themselves." The seamen suffered much from dysentery, and four men died* at Moozufferpore, and Mr. McKinley, the gunner, at Mooteeharee, whom he had described as a "steady, trustworthy officer, greatly respected by the men." The officers and men of the Detachment subscribed liberally to place a memorial over the remains of their shipmates.

Lieutenant Barron reports on the 21st of February:—"Mr. Acting-Master Butland is away with a party of men escorting treasure to Patna, from whence he goes on to Arrah; should another escort not be in readiness to relieve him at Patna, I expect he will be absent eight or ten days longer: Mr. Cotgrave with his detachment at Chumparum are all doing well." On the 6th of March he writes:—"This day important intelligence has been received about the rebels. A Gowalah from the enemy's camp reports that they are a "lac" strong — men, women, and children included; another reports that they have from eight to nine thousand fighting men, and that they have recrossed the Gunduck. Colonel Bright arrives here on the 10th, with ten officers and three hundred and ten men of the 19th, *en route* to Mooteeharee to protect the district. I am ordered by the Commissioner to have the guns in readiness to join him, and have therefore made the necessary arrangements for accompanying Colonel Bright's force." Lieutenant Barron was eager in seizing any pretext for delaying his departure to Calcutta, in accordance with the orders of Government, and writes on the 8th of March:—"I am sorry I cannot yet inform you as to when we are likely to return to Patna. Mr. Cotgrave has been detained at Mooteeharee with the Commissioner's approval, and the magistrate of the said place has been directed to inform you of the same A copy of your order has been forwarded to the Commissioner by the Collector here, with a letter from me upon the subject. I mentioned having made the necessary arrangements for accompanying the guns with Colonel Bright's force, and I trust you will not disapprove of my having done this, as the Collector has prepared carts for the ammunition and baggage, which are now drawn up in front of the barracks. He has requested that we may not go down to Calcutta; and the residents are surprised at our going away when reports of the rebels are flying about."

Lieutenant Barron was disappointed in his expectations of

* On the 10th of January Lieutenant Barron writes:—"Dr Macnamara cannot imagine what is the cause of the dysentery No liquor can be had, as all shops are shut to them The rations have been changed, and various other changes made, but still it creeps upon us I have applied for a change of quarters, which may have a salutary effect, but it's not in Moozufferpore only that troops are suffering, but also at Dinapore, Chuprah, and the stations round about it is the same. It may be the change of weather, for now the nights are very cold and the atmosphere damp in the extreme."

engaging the enemy, and, soon after, marched to Mooteeharee, where he joined Mr. Cotgrave's detachment. He writes on the 30th May:—"The men are in very good quarters. I have made the fort into an hospital for the sick, the remainder of the men are in the opium godown, which is large and roomy. I found Mr. Cotgrave's men well up in their drill, and every man in good health. The brigade is exercised for two hours every morning, in marching and rifle drill; I have also taught them the bayonet exercise,* which they know perfectly, as also field-piece exercise. On the Queen's birth-day, I fired a Royal salute, and the residents and planters round about subscribed 260 rupees towards sports for the seamen, which went off very well. The Brigade has always had the good will of the residents, on account of the difference found between them and the police brigade stationed before them, who were to be seen lying drunk in the bazaars day and night." Writing in July, Lieutenant Barron says:—"The Commissioner wrote to the Magistrate, requesting to know whether we were required here any longer; and the planters of the district were asked for their opinion. They, with the Magistrate, replied that, if we were removed, the rebels of the next district, Goruckpore, would immediately come into this." But the Government had decided to dispense with the services of the Indian Naval Brigade, and, soon after, No. 11 Detachment returned to Calcutta, and was broken up in September, 1859, the Commissioner of the Patna Division, Mr. Fergusson, reporting in high terms of the good conduct of the men and the zeal of the officers. Lieutenant Barron joined the 'Ferooz' as Senior Lieutenant, and participated in the China War of 1860.

Lieut. A. T. Windus, who succeeded to the command of No. 2 Detachment at Barrackpore, in April, 1858, on Lieut. Carew's proceeding up-country, was directed to march to Chyabassa in Chota Nagpore, with No. 9 Detachment, to relieve the Police Brigade employed in that district. The Detachment consisted of the usual complement of one hundred seamen, with two guns, and the following officers:—Acting-Lieutenant W. F. Yates, Acting-Master W. Vincent, Acting Second-Masters D. Dunn, E. D. Green, and T. Wilhams, and Mr. Scott, gunner. Lieutenant Windus displayed great resource and skill in con-

* Of the daily routine in camp he writes —"In the morning they are turned out to coffee at six o'clock, fall into drill at half-past, which lasts till nearly eight, at ten they muster in a clean suit for the day I then inspect barracks, visit the sick, and see that everything is right, after which those who are anxious to improve their knowledge of reading and writing repair to a tent, where I have had books, &c, placed, and a well educated man gives them lessons Several attend daily and improve rapidly. Those who were drunkards appear to have given it up, for since the examples I made, now near two months ago, not a man has been in the slightest degree the worse for liquor. I am also glad to inform you that since the Brigade have been here not a complaint has been made against one man by the authorities or natives of the town."

ducting his Detachment, in the long and toilsome march through a difficult country, during the height of the monsoon, and not less energy during the subsequent operations against the savage race of Coles.

At the commencement of the Mutiny, the various stations of Chota Nagpore and Cuttack—Hazareebagh, Ranchee, (or Dorundah), Purulia, Chyabassa, and Sumbulpore—were occupied by the Rhamghur Battalion, consisting of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, together with detachments of the 7th and 8th Bengal Native Infantry. On the mutiny of the regular troops and of the greater portion of the Ramghur Battalion, the officers of the latter raised a corps from the Coles and Sonthals, for service as police in Chota Nagpore, and they afforded great assistance to H M 's 53rd Regiment, a Police Brigade of seamen under Captain Burbank of the Bengal Marine, and Rattray's Sikhs, in clearing Chota Nagpore of the insurgents, and re-occupying the above stations which had been abandoned. But the Coles, from among whom the new levies were raised, themselves took up arms, and gave employment to the troops and No. 9 Detachment of seamen, sent up from Calcutta, under command of Lieutenant Windus.

On arriving at Midnapore, he took on with him a party of twenty men, stationed there under Acting-Master Rose, and continued his march up-country. Some of the difficulties attending the march of Lieutenant Windus to Chyabassa, during the height of the monsoon, when he had to carry his guns, ammunition, and three months' stores, over swamps, nullahs full of water, and rivers swollen almost to the dimensions of lakes, with a tide running like a mill-race, will be gathered from the following extracts from his letters. He writes from "Camp Dahajooree, Rajah of Lall Ghur's territory, the 17th of July, 1858:"—We have made twenty-six miles in three marches, which, including crossing a river, I consider good work I am halting here for twenty-four hours, as we get free quarters from the Rajah. The officers are in tents, but the men are nicely housed with clean straw, and roast goats and kids *ad lib.* The roads* are horrible; no road in fact, only a track through a paddy-field swamp, with deep dips at about an angle of forty-five degrees, and two or three feet water at bottom, every two hundred yards. Yesterday's march was very heavy, and I came in like a scavenger. My horse is invaluable,

* Captain Birch, Assistant Commissioner at Chyabassa under Major (now Colonel) Dalton, C S I., Commissioner of Chota Nagpore, writes to Captain Campbell —"The roads in these parts are impracticable for wheeled carriages during the rains, and the only carriage permissible are elephants. Just tell the General your men cannot march with carts. You may say on my authority that a few elephants up here will double the efficiency of the detachment, and are the least expensive carriage to employ and will save Government the pay of extra men for duty."

and I don't know what I should do without him. He enables me to keep the whole line in hand, as it were. You would have been amused if you could have seen me yesterday, sitting on horseback, pounding along up to the shoulders in a coil of drag-ropes from the rear, with the chain ends hanging over the horse's flanks. However, we walked the carts out of the holes very sharp. If the ground was at all more swampy than it is, it would be impossible to move, for the carts sink up to the nave already. We have great trouble with the gharry drivers, who take every opportunity on a halt of bolting into the jungle with their bullocks, such is their horror of this trip. In consequence of this, my own personal share of shouting, screaming, breaking sticks into ribbands, twisting tails, &c., is marvellously increased"

He writes from the banks of the Soubunreeka river, on Sunday, the 25th of July, 1858:—"I am writing under disadvantageous circumstances, the rain beating through the tent, and I am well drenched myself. The accounts of the difficulties of this march at this season have not been exaggerated, and it is astonishing how the stores and ammunition have been preserved from damage, though what another twenty-four hours will do I know not. Our march the last three days has been through a rocky country, deep ravines and nullahs with large boulder stones, over which the water pours with tremendous fury. The first few days after the date of my last letter to you, the heat was intense, and a number of men were struck down by the sun and fatigue, for it is impossible to march at night in this country on account of the roads and boa constrictors (these I consider a myth, but the natives and cartmen are horribly afraid of them, and would bolt into the jungle if they were made to march of a night). Many have bolted, leaving bullocks, carts, and everything, and we have been obliged to make dhoolie-bearers do the duty. The officers work well, and I have every reason to be satisfied with their zeal in performing their duties. The last three days, the weather has suddenly changed, and, owing to this, I have had the opportunity of seeing how totally incompetent anyone is to judge of the roads, &c., on this march, judging by fine weather reports. We have marched nearly ninety miles from Midnapore, but it was rather pleasant than otherwise during the fine days, except for the heat knocking our men up so, but now the road is a jungle track, the most fearful storms break over us, and the nullahs rise up to our necks in the act of passing them; the rain is so tremendous that it beats one down, and takes the breath away like a very severe shower-bath, and, the ground being rocky, turns into a water-course, and every bank hurls a cataract on top of us.

"We arrived on the banks of the Soubunreeka last night; it

looked bad enough then, but this morning, after violent rain all night, the sight of it made my hair bristle. The river is broader than the Thames at Greenwich, and runs about seven knots, the water like pea-soup, and bringing down huge trees like straws; the natives state it will be worse, so I am setting to work to cross at once. The river rose six feet whilst I was making a raft this morning. Our boat is no good for towing, and is not built for such a current. I tried to cross this morning in her, but was whirled away like a peg-top in a moment. I have finished two small rafts, made each of two canoes lashed together, capable of taking two cart-loads. I made a larger one at first, which, when finished, I saw at once would not answer, as our boat could not tow it, so I consulted the natives, and made two small ones, which I load and trust entirely to them I have made one trip over, and landed two cart-loads safely before breakfast, but we were carried down a long way. All is jungle the other side, but I shall have a little camp there before night. There is another river a mile off, so we have our hands full, and this river has again to be crossed four miles from Chyabassa, which is forty miles distant. I received the son of the Rajah of Dhell Bhoom, and he has given us supplies liberally. The men are all cheerful and willing.

"Twelve a.m., the 25th of July. The river has risen forty feet, the rain is in water-spouts, and the boatmen won't cross, as the snags are coming down so fast. I am going to write to the Rajah, as there are no provisions for the cartmen or straw for the bullocks here"

But the Soubunreeka was, at length, crossed, without the loss of a man, and Chyabassa reached in safety. For the energy and good management displayed in this march, Lieutenant Windus received the special thanks of Government. He writes from Chyabassa on the 3rd of August:—"I must give great praise to the men, as they worked well, and carried out all my instructions. The march certainly presented very great difficulties, but I believe we have nearly one half of the original cart-men who started with us. The others got frightened at the distance and hard work, and bolted into the jungle, so we had to drive the carts ourselves until we reached the next station, when we managed sometimes to get fresh ones, who would go one stage and then bolt in their turn. Strict discipline was preserved, though there were some cases of looting by the camp followers (numbering nearly three hundred), who were caught red-handed, and castigated over a cart, in sight of the villagers, which did a great deal of good, and procured us much assistance from the Sonthals, for the news spread along the line of march, and we found provisions and coolies all ready for us in most cases, and the people quite confident; whereas, I understand, the former party went through the country like a

simoom. The proceedings I have heard of the camp at Chuckaderpore,* near here, have been disgraceful. I like Captain Birch, the Assistant-Commissioner, very much; he assists me in all I want, and appears to be very glad I have arrived. I am going to unload and overhaul all ammunition this evening, and have got my guns mounted. I am nearly driven frantic by applications for all sorts of things; small payments for commissariat supplies, elephants' food, money, extra gharries' pay, baker's flour, &c. You will scarcely credit that these contractors who are sent to ease the work, I should conceive, of the Commanding officer, are thrown on my hands, without a pice to procure what they contract to do, and they surround me all day, saying they are starving. Mr. Rose, from Midnapore, and his twenty men, I send on to Chuckaderpore with his convoy of provisions."

Lieutenant Windus writes from Chyabassa on the 5th of August:—"I am hard at work† fitting out a magazine, building

* This refers to the conduct of the Police Brigade, about whom Captain Birch wrote in the following terms to Captain Campbell, under date the 24th of July, a few days before the arrival of Lieutenant Windus, who was sent to relieve them —"If your Articles of War and the Civil Power can save the officers from being robbed occasionally by the men, and the natives from rape and murder, I shall not want more, but these little trifles are quite a pastime with the men we have, and the sooner the fun is put a stop to the better. I do not think that any of your officers can shoot a man for mutiny, or hang him for murder without a Court-Martial, and the Civil Power, at any time only able to deal with the latter, cannot touch a British subject in these parts, the cost and expense to Government, and misery to the witnesses if a man must be sent to Calcutta to be tried, will very soon call for an enactment on the subject I have now a murder case in hand against two Europeans, and I write feelingly A court-martial is the only remedy that I can see, for I do not at all wish for extended powers myself as I have quite enough on my hands without the Europeans" Speaking of a rumour of the continuance of the Marine Police Brigade, Lieutenant Windus says —"The state of things up here has been dreadful, and I can easily understand reports having come in from all sides to Government showing the little control these Police Brigade officers have over their men, and the enormities committed. The fact is a good many of the best men among them really wish to join us (I speak advisedly), but they want to have a week or two in Calcutta first and join in Fort William. As for the trash, they dread discipline, and we don't want them. I really hope it is not the case, as we only heard it from one of Mr. Moore's officers, who came over from Chuckaderpore this morning, and made an application to the Commissioner to go out to swear the re-volunteers in for another six months, but Captain Birch declines doing so until I hear from you officially on the matter. Mr Moore is to be placed under my orders immediately, which, from all accounts, will not be very delightful news for him if I go out to the camp, and see a few of the amusements going on in that direction."

† Of the difficulties in the commissariat line with which he had to contend, he says —"I had three months' provisions, the consumption of which I reckon from the 1st of July, my salt provisions is as yet intact, but the great consumption has been of biscuit, the baker contractor not having beyond four or five times provided any fresh bread since we started. There is an oven out here very much out of repair, and whilst it is so, I am obliged to serve out biscuit, as there is only one native mason, who is constantly drunk. Fresh meat fails altogether sometimes and cannot be procured in the jungle at any price, but at any rate I think you will be satisfied of the importance of spirits, tea, sugar, and biscuit, being dispatched at a proper time before our present stock is consumed. There is nothing here and nothing to use as a substitute."

sheds, repairing march damages, and preparing to make the limbers. I hope to have the guns ready for exercising in a few days." Writing later, he says:—"As for the present we shall, in all probability, remain stationary at the two camps of Chyabassa and Chuckaderpore, I am going to inspect the latter, and lay out a proper place for a camp, cut away and gravelled, and improve the roads between, which will keep the men in health and exercise. The Commissioner, Major Dalton, with whom I see I shall get on very well, wants the Police guns and ammunition, and will make a requisition for them by and by. Things have gone on well at Chyabassa, and I am making the limbers very substantial, stout shafts, &c., box to open with double lid, and carry six mountain-train box contents. All ironwork we are very hard up for, and I would give anything for a good armourer and forge; the mens' accoutrements also want much repair at intervals. I have picked out a fine battery ground at Chyabassa, marked off 1,200 yards with a view to a range table, for which a few rounds will suffice, without waste of ammunition." On the 13th of August, he writes from the same place:—"A number of the leading men of the Coles came in yesterday. I was requested to throw a few shells to overawe them, and they seemed to understand it. We had a field day. The Rajah is still lurking in the jungle with a number of men." In September, the Marine Police Brigade was broken up, to the relief of all concerned, and Lieutenant Windus took over their two guns, in addition to the two he had brought He writes, under date the 27th of October, from the Camp at Chuckaderpore, having left Acting-Lieutenant Yates at Chyabassa, with thirty men:—"I have been now at Chuckaderpore Camp some days, and have made an excursion or two to protect the natives, whose crops have been cut and villages burnt by the rebels. We march at midnight to-night to attack a den of the robbers in one of their fastnesses in the jungle. and hope to surprise them. I shall take forty picked men and fifty Cole levies, who are smart little fellows, armed with percussion muskets, and are under my orders up here. The men are very well, a few knocked up with rheumatism, of which I get my share very severely occasionally."

Early in November, Lieutenant Windus, taking with him Mr. Green and seventy seamen, made a successful *dour* against the Coles, in conjunction with Captain Birch, and some native levies. The enemy mustered about 5,000 strong in the jungles, though broken up into small detachments, each having a leader, the ex-Rajah of Porahaut, Urjoon Singh, being the principal chief. On starting to beat up the rebel quarters, Lieutenant Windus left a party, under Acting-Master Williams, at Chyabassa, with one gun, and, at the camp at Chuckaderpore, thirty seamen, and fifty Cole levies,

under command of Acting-Lieutenant Yates and Mr. Dunn.

He writes to Captain Campbell, under date "the 11th of November, Jungles near Aruntelyia, Porahât country:"—"I am now in the jungle with Captain Birch, seventy seamen and sixty Coles, and a mass of armed natives Our chief magazine is still at Chyabassa, where we leave the hospital; there are about twelve or fourteen sick on the average, which makes a hole in our little force, when it comes to be divided. We hear many reports from Palarmo, as to the flight of the rebels in that direction. The Commissioner believes there will be work for us when we have hunted out these rebels here." Again writing on the 22nd of November, from "Camp at Dorikala, jungles of Western Singhbhoom," where he was employed beating up the quarters of the rebels, he says:—"We are now split into three parties, two constantly on the move. The rebels are very active all round us, burning and looting, retiring when we advance, and breaking out afresh in another place. I have placed Yates in permanent charge of Chuckaderpore for the present. but have constant communication, and have a small depôt here. Captain Birch left me yesterday with the Cole levies to hunt up some marauders in Porahât, and I have had to be on the *qui vive* ever since, as a few hours after he was gone, I received intelligence of a strong body of two or three thousand men approaching, having heard of our diminution of force I have taken all precautions, got native lookouts on the hills round, and a masked gun with canister defending our only approach. We are encamped in a very picturesque place, in an amphitheatre of hills surrounded by dense jungle. Urjoon Singh, the rebel Rajah, is encamped some sixteen or twenty-four miles off amongst the hills, as far as we know, but the paths are very intricate. I made a reconnaissance along the jungle path, leading, as is supposed, the nearest to his quarters, and found it blocked up with huge trees in one place, done by a large body of men evidently the same morning. I have lots to do,* and rode forty miles the day before yesterday to Chuckaderpore and back, and was not much the worse for it. I like the copper friction-tubes very much, and used them once or twice in practice for the edification of the Coles, who, we have since heard, spread a report

* Though hard at work in the jungles and keeping up communications with his Detachments at Chuckaderpore and Chyabassa, the rigorous requirements of red-tape could not be denied, and we find him writing to Captain Campbell — "My stationery and official document department is in sad confusion, and owing to the constant moving about, I shall not be able to send in abstracts for this month, as we are all separated, and I am half distracted sending money about, and getting signatures for the Commissariat Department, who are in about five different places. I will make the abstract come all right for batta and good conduct. I shall have to send in an indent for stationery in a day or two The coil of rope and entrenching tools, also the water skins and planks, have arrived at Chyabassa."

that wonderful men had come with guns which let themselves off, and I really believe they imagine our guns do sentry duty."

Writing two days later from the same camp, Lieutenant Windus says:—"If the reinforcement comes up as you seem to think probable, carriage being easy at this time of year, I should recommend them bringing up about ten thousand rounds of Enfield rifle ammunition, and most particularly it will be a good opportunity to send up the proper trail carriages for the two police guns, also two spare axletrees and four wheels. By the bye, you will think I forgot to send you my road Report from Midnapore. I drew it out long ago, and you can have it whenever you please, but as it covers several sheets of foolscap, I did not send it. I made a draft of it for Captain Birch, with extra remarks on the roads, when required, from which he took the heads and sent in to Government with his Report. I really think that with all the arduous work we are now constantly engaged in, our officers and men are entitled to have their names sent in for the war medal.* We are, and shall be, constantly employed driving out hordes of these rebels, but reports cannot be made of every trivial skirmish in the light of an engagement, though the work is excessive. I drove out a whole nest of these rebels yesterday, marching twenty-five miles to effect it, and am very much knocked up to-day with rheumatism from lying in a nullah. I think the real nature of our services will be seen by and by." Again he writes from the same camp on the 2nd of December:—"Captain Birch has just come back and joined me again. We hear my Expedition into the hills the other day caused great consternation among the rebels. We are to be attacked by a large force to-morrow or next day, they say." On the 15th of December, he writes from the same camp in the jungles:—"I am deeply concerned at having so soon to report again two more deaths in my little force. They were two of my old hands, who have been with me since leaving Fort William. I will settle the deceased estates as soon as possible. This fever is going the rounds, and I have now about twenty-five in hospital; I have done everything possible with regard to hospital accommodation and medical treatment, and must abide the result, but it is very unfortunate occurring just at the time when we shall want every man we have, and not be strong enough then for the work cut out for us. I am preparing a party of fifteen men, under Mr. Williams, and one gun, to proceed with Captain Birch and one hundred Coles, into the jungles, with one month's provisions. He is going with this party to be in readiness to commence operations on the 1st of January. A larger number of our men would go, only there is such difficulty in carriage, as

* This Detachment, with the others actually engaged with the rebels, received the war medal.

there are no roads, and everything goes on elephants. I have had seven good elephants and twenty carts at my disposal for the last two months, and have plenty of work for them. I intended to have gone with the party myself at first, but find that I must necessarily make this my headquarters at present, for I should be cutting off all communication between myself and the bulk of the Brigade, also the accounts, commissariat and brigade, would be falling into arrears, and, as I hope many of the men now sick will be all right again soon, I shall be able to back up Captain Birch's movements with a strong force, if necessary."

There is a blank in the correspondence at this point, as the gallant officer in command was himself struck down with jungle fever and nearly lost his life. The surgeon, Dr. Bayn, writes to Captain Campbell on the 22nd of January, 1859, reporting him better, and adds:—"I have spoken to him about going away, but this he has no wish to do, and hopes to be able to work on until our campaign ends. Lieutenant Yates has been unwell, but is very much better now." Eventually Lieutenant Windus was forced to return sick to Calcutta, and both Major Dalton and Captain Birch reported in the warmest terms of the efficiency and good conduct of No 9 Detachment and the energy and zeal of Lieutenant Windus. The Government also thanked both officers and men, for their steadiness and discipline in the jungle, not unworthy of veteran troops. Acting-Lieutenant Yates was left in command at the camp at Chuckaderpore, and Acting-Master Williams continued in charge of a party engaged under Captain Birch in beating up the quarters of the insurgent Coles. On the 15th of February, 1859, Urjoon Singh, ex-Rajah of Porahât, in pursuit of whom Captain Birch, with the Naval Detachment under Lieutenant Windus, and the Cole levies under Lieutenant Reeves, had been in the jungles since the previous November, hearing of the arrival of a reinforcement of one hundred seamen from Calcutta, under Acting-Lieutenant H. W. H. Burnes, and despairing of clearing himself from the toils of the hunters now closing round his lair in the jungles, surrendered himself a prisoner, and the insurgent chiefs and their followers were either dispersed or captured.*

* Major Dalton, writing to the Government of Bengal from Chuckaderpore under date the 21st of February, 1859, says —"I have every reason to hope that the Singbhoom disturbances are nearly at an end, but with regard to the strong feeling in favour of Urjoon Singh, which I know still exists in some portion of the Colehan, and to the probability of our being necessitated to make a further demonstration of force in the Southern Province, before the disaffected of that part of the district submit in sincerity, pay their arrears of revenue, and give up proclaimed offenders, I do not think it advisable to propose that any portion of the Naval Brigade now doing duty here should be immediately withdrawn. Led by Lieutenant Reeves, the young soldiers of the Cole and Sonthal levy have vied with the sailors of the Naval Brigade in celerity of movement and pluck, and

In January, 1859, Acting-Lieutenant Burnes proceeded to Chota Nagpore from Calcutta, with one hundred men (increased by some volunteers from No. 9 Detachment, which proceeded to Calcutta in July) and Acting-Masters Gladwin and Purrier; this force, known as No 14 Detachment, was divided into two parties, stationed at Chuckaderpore and under canvas at Dorakala, distant twenty-two miles. The men were in a good state of discipline, and of their efficiency Lieutenant Burnes writes:—"I have never come across a better set of men." In May, Lieutenant W. H. Davies, who was suffering greatly from the severe wound in the chest he had received in Assam, arrived at Chuckaderpore from Calcutta, and assumed command of the Detachment. He writes;—"From Raneegunge to Chyabassa is one hundred miles and a bad road. On my arrival I found Lieutenant Burnes in a bad state with fever and liver, but I am glad to say he is much better. Lieutenant Yates is waiting for the elephants from Raneegunge; when they arrive I will give them three days' rest and pack him and his Brigade off as soon as possible, and march this Brigade to Chyabassa, where they will have better quarters. The men seem to be an orderly set." No. 14 Detachment suffered severely from sickness during the monsoon, and the health of many of the officers and men was permanently affected. On the 2nd of August Lieutenant Davies writes:—"Mr. Purrier has been very ill since his arrival, with fever and spleen, and is now hardly able to put one leg before the other. Burnes gets fever now and then. We have had lots of sickness during the last month, ten in hospital daily. The men are getting on very well and give very little trouble. Captain Birch said to me the other day, they were so quiet he hardly knew they were in the station. We take a long march every morning, if fine, and parade in the evening." In October, Lieutenant Davies's wound became very

have also displayed a steadiness unusual in a corps so recently raised Lieutenant Birch has favourably noticed Mr. Williams and the men of the Naval Brigade who were with him I beg to add my testimony to the general good conduct of the men of the Naval Brigade forming other Detachments, and to record that I am under acknowledgments to Lieutenant Yates for his willing co-operation with me in protecting wayfarers and unoffending villages from outrages, and in putting a stop to the marauding expeditions of the insurgents In reply, the Secretary to the Government of Bengal writes, under date the 28th of February, 1859:—"I am directed to state that the admirable arrangements by which the ex-Rajah of Porahât was induced to surrender, and the promptitude and zeal with which they were carried out, reflect the highest credit upon all parties concerned. To yourself as Commissioner, the Lieutenant-Governor offers his cordial acknowledgments for the judgment and unremitting energy which have characterised this, in common with the whole of your proceedings, for the pacification of the Singbhoom district, which may now be considered as complete. You are requested to intimate to Lieutenants Birch and Reeves, and to Mr. Williams, and the men of the Indian Naval Brigade, the high approval with which the Lieutenant-Governor regards the excellent service rendered by them on the present occasion."

bad, and Lieutenant Burnes had temporary command; the former officer would not, however, invalid, but remained with the Detachment until their return to Calcutta, though only able to accompany them by palanquin dawk. Lieutenant Burnes writes to Captain Campbell from Raneegunge, on the 8th of January, 1860:—"I have just arrived here with the advanced guard and stores, which will be returned to-morrow morning early, and Davies will be in about ten a.m. to-morrow; I have marched twenty-five miles this morning, and feel as if I were going to have a return of fever and ague, but I hope I shall be all right in the morning. With the sanction of Davies I am making the arrangements for starting to Calcutta. The number of men is as follows:—Petty officers and A.B. one hundred and seven, two warrant officers, three officers. On their arrival at the depôt at Dumdum, the Detachment was disbanded, and Lieutenants Davies and Burnes proceeded to England, where the latter eventually succumbed to the effects of climate and exposure.*

Senior Lieutenant Batt did good service with No. 3 Detachment in the disturbed districts of the Patna division. He was in command of the 'Zenobia' at the time of the outbreak of the Mutiny, but proceeded on shore sick when Commander Stephens succeeded to the command of the steam-frigate. His health being improved by a residence of a few weeks on shore, in the latter part of July, 1857, he proceeded up-country with No. 3 Detachment, consisting of one hundred men and four guns, with the following officers:—Midshipmen G. C. Parker, H. E. Hannay, and R. Scamp. No. 3 Detachment embarked in the 'Jumna,'† a small river steamer, and, on the way up from Cal-

* This young officer was entitled to great credit for the care and trouble he took under conditions so novel to a naval officer, as providing for the wants and enforcing discipline among so large a body of hastily raised seamen on shore. He wrote at the time —"Often I have ridden and sometimes had to walk thirty-six miles so as to keep the men properly fed, and even paid a man twenty rupees per month out of my own pocket to interpret for and assist me"

† During the month of October, 1857, portions of the Detachment were frequently embarked in the 'Jumna' to operate on the Arrah side of the Ganges. An officer of the 'Jumna' writes on the 30th of October —"On the 28th instant, the Commissioner of Patna sent us orders, and in consequence the officers of the Indian Navy, with their seamen, embarked for the third time We were to proceed with the least possible delay to about fifteen or twenty miles beyond the Gogra river, and communicate with the people on the Arrah side of the Ganges. Should we learn that the mutinous detachment of the 32nd Native Infantry was approaching the banks of the Ganges, with the intention of crossing into Goruckpore or Ghazeepore, we were to proceed on and do everything in our power to intercept them; they were reported to be at Shapore factory, sixteen miles west of Arrah. After doing this service we were to proceed to the mouth of the Gogra and survey it carefully, and if able to enter it without fear of being shut in by the fall of the river, we were to proceed and report ourselves to Captain Sotheby, R.N, and he would avail himself of our services on the Gogra. Early on the 29th of October the 'Jumna' started, passed by Shapore at four o'clock the same evening and proceeded on to Perbutpore, where we anchored for the night. This morning we ran down for the purpose of surveying the Gogra, received two

cutta was detained at Berhampore, a large military station, within six miles of the city of Moorshedabad, the ancient Mahommedan capital of Bengal, and the residence of the Nawab Nazim. As the native troops were rife for mutiny, Lieutenant Batt remained in the river until the arrival, on the 1st of August, of H.M.'s 90th Regiment, when the Detachment was disembarked to disarm the 63rd Native Infantry and the 11th Irregular Cavalry. The latter, who, as everywhere, were the ringleaders in mutiny, were rather inclined to be troublesome, having hesitated three times before coming on to the parade. The disarming was effected by the 90th and No. 3 Detachment, and, on its completion, some of the carbines of the cavalry, who were also deprived of their horses, were found to be loaded with patent cartridges.* The Detachment proceeded to Dinapore, and thence to Allahabad, where Lieutenant Batt embarked twenty-five men of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, under Lieutenant Barclay, and was proceeding up the Ganges to Cawnpore, when he received instructions not to pass the Fort of Kallykunka, but to go lower down the river, to cut out or destroy some boats, laden with Government stores, that had been seized and detained by the rebels. Lieutenant Batt sent a boat in charge of Midshipman Parker, to cut them out, but the enemy, who lined the banks in great numbers and occupied a thick wood close down to the river, opened so fierce a fire that Lieutenant Batt hoisted the signal for recall. The steamer and boats now advanced to the attack, and engaged the enemy for six hours, and, at length, they were shelled out of their positions, and the enemy's boats were all destroyed. The Detachment lost two killed and four wounded. Lieutenant Batt now returned to Allahabad, where Captain Peel was stationed with the Shannon Brigade. He writes:—"Captain Peel attached us to his Brigade, intending to take us up to Lucknow, but the Government would not sanction it, and we were ordered down to garrison Buxar." Subsequently he commanded at Buxar,† where

pilots at Chuprah, and proceeded to Revelgunge and Monjing, whence, there not being sufficient water, we returned to Dinapore for further orders."

* The Nawab Nazim, who throughout acted with loyalty, took this opportunity of disarming his own troops, and subsequently the fanatical Mahommedan population of Moorshedabad were disarmed.

† In consequence of the disturbed state of the districts of Shahabad and Chuprah, on the abandonment of Goruckpore, the Arrah establishments were removed to Buxar. Readers familiar with the events of the Mutiny, will recall to mind the memorable defence of Arrah by Mr. Wake, Mr. Boyce, and other Europeans, with the assistance of fifty Sikhs, against the Dinapore mutineers, and their relief by the gallant Vincent Eyre of the Bengal Artillery, with only one hundred and fifty European soldiers and three guns. Major Eyre, having received reinforcements, defeated the rebels under Koer Singh, and followed them up to Jugdespore, which was precipitately abandoned by the rebels. Shahabad was for a time cleared of the enemy, but later on it was again overrun by them, until the operations of Sir E. Lugard and Brigadier Corfield, already detailed, resulted in their dispersion.

he relieved the 'Pearl' Naval Brigade, under Captain Sotheby, R.N. He writes to us:—"On my taking charge of the fort at Buxar, there was not a gun or a carriage of any description except the four 12-pounders I took with me, so I set to work with the carpenters I had amongst my brigade, and the blacksmiths from the village, and made two field carriages and limbers, and drilled the men to the guns and use of the field-pieces. I found the fort in a very dilapidated state, and had to dig the moat out and repair the ramparts, &c." Their efficiency was soon put to the test, and the men proved themselves apt pupils of an experienced master. The alarms at Buxar were frequent, and the Detachment was constantly on the move and engaged in desultory operations against the rebels.

In August, 1858, Commander Batt* performed some good service near Buxar, with forty of his men, and two guns. Brigadier Douglas writes to the Adjutant-General from Dinapore, on the 30th of that month:—"I have the honour to forward herewith, for submission to his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, a report from Major Carr, Madras Rifles, commanding at Buxar, of a successful operation undertaken by him on the 13th instant, which resulted in the complete defeat and dispersion, with heavy loss, of a very greatly superior body of rebels, who had threatened, and were about to attack, his advanced post at Doomraon." The following is Major Carr's report, dated Buxar, 16th August, 1858:—"On the 11th, having been called on by Captain Broome, commanding Doomraon, for assistance, as a large body of rebels were moving on his post, I immediately sent off a troop and a half of the military train, in all fifty sabres, and one hundred and twenty Sikh Cavalry, under Lieutenant Ryall, the whole commanded by Captain Nason, Military Train; I proceeded myself during the night with two companies of the 84th, on elephants, and fifty Madras Rifles. On the 12th the enemy, said to be from fifteen hundred to two thousand, eight hundred of whom were Sepoys, were reported to me to be posted in and around the village of Chowgain, about six miles off. I went out of Doomraon a short way in their direction, but finding the country so difficult for cavalry, for it was all enclosed, and having in all only about one hundred and fifty infantry, of whom one hundred only were Europeans, I returned, and sent into Buxar for the two Naval Brigade guns, which, with one other company of the 84th, arrived at twelve at night; this they were enabled to do by the fortuitous presence here of some bullocks and some drivers of the Bengal Artillery, which have been detained here by the closing of the communications. Thus reinforced, on the morning of the 13th, as soon as I could get certain information of the rebels, I marched out in the direction of the enemy on

* He attained the rank of Commander on the 21st of August, 1858.

the Chowgain road. When about four miles out, the rebels were reported in front, advancing in three large bodies; on reaching the end of the enclosures I saw one large body posted in a tope behind a rising ground, about 400 yards on my left front; I had a company of the 84th extended on that flank, and then advanced the guns which Captain Batt skilfully brought up. On the skirmishers advancing, the enemy began to retire, they were five or six hundred. Captain Batt then fired three shells at them, the last of which, set for 1,200 yards, fell amongst a number of them, killing two and wounding two others; this sent them all flying. Just as I began to advance on this body, word was brought to me, that a body of seven hundred Sepoys, and a hundred and fifty sowars, were passing my right flank to get round in my rear; I sent Captain Nason with his men to stop them, which he did eventually, as he did everything entrusted to him. As soon as I saw the rebels in front clear off, I retired along the road with two companies of the 84th between me and the enemy when I had got parallel with them; at Captain Nason's request I sent a gun, one company of the 84th, and half the Madras Rifles, to dislodge the rebels from a village they had seized. On the approach of the gun, &c., they all fled, throwing away their clothes and shoes. Knowing that a third body was working round on my flank, I could not venture yet to let the cavalry pursue; indeed I was told that the body on the left were getting round to Doomraon. I had sent a troop of Sikh Cavalry to stop them some time before, and they were reported to me as having halted, and I afterwards heard that, on the report of the first gun, they went towards Arrah plundering Jewninggunge on the way." After this affair Captain Nason, commanding the Cavalry, distinguished himself by his pursuit of the enemy, whom he cut up handsomely.

During their long stay up-country, the services of No. 3 Detachment were frequently called into requisition to act as Artillery, but the rebels generally managed to elude pursuit. On the 27th of September, 1858, one of the officers, Acting-Master George Bell Chicken gained the Victoria Cross for an act of brilliant gallantry. Before going into action he avowed his determination to win the "Cross for Valour," or perish in the attempt, and well he earned it, for with his sword he slew five men, when he fell covered with wounds. Captain Campbell appointed Mr. Chicken to the Service on the 31st of July, 1858, and after doing duty at Fort William for eight months, on the 23rd of March, 1859, he left for Buxar to join No. 3 Detachment, taking with him a party of seamen to replace the sick and dead of No. 7 stationed at Dehree. At this time Brigadier Douglas, C.B, was engaged with his field force keeping open the communications on the Grand Trunk Road to the westward of Dinapore, and Lieutenant-Colonel Turner

was in command of a small column, which, on the morning of the 27th of September, 1858, halted at Khurona for breakfast before attacking the enemy, who were encamped in force at a small village called Suhejnee, near Peeroo. Mr. Chicken happened to be just then at Dehree, on his way to Buxar, and when Colonel Turner detached his Cavalry, consisting of fifty-four troopers of the 3rd Sikh Irregular Cavalry under Lieutenant Broughton, and sixty-eight men of Rattray's mounted police, under Lieutenant Baker, Mr. Chicken attached himself to the column. On nearing the enemy, Lieutenant Baker first retired, and, on clearing the village and jungle, suddenly wheeled into line and charged the mutineers, who soon broke and fled. In the charge, Mr. Chicken greatly distinguished himself, and, in pursuit of the flying foe, plunged into, and swam his horse through, a deep and wide nullah, and, galloping through the village of Kussowlie, dashed into the clumps of sugar-cane, and on through two miles of jungle and into the deep tangled recesses beyond. Some few of the best mounted sowars accompanied the daring sailor in his headlong ride for the bauble upon which he had set his heart, but when he had plunged 500 yards into the jungle, he found himself alone. Alone, did I say! Rather not alone, but in the presence of twenty armed and desperate Sepoys. This, however, was the quarry which Mr. Chicken had come from Dehree to encounter, and he, accordingly, charged into the middle of them without a moment's hesitation. His sword fell rapidly as he laid about him right and left like a Paladin of old, and quickly four Pandies rolled over in the death agony, and yet a fifth fell desperately wounded. But here his career was cut short by blows and thrusts from a dozen musket stocks and bayonets, and, just as he fell from his charger, severely wounded, and was about to be despatched, four native troopers dashed into the mêlée, and having killed several of the mutineers, and dispersed the rest, rejoined the column at the skirts of the jungle, bringing Mr. Chicken with them. This officer and the four troopers were all wounded in the desperate fray, as were also their chargers, but, probably, they made little account of these honourable mementoes of a glorious day, for the sowars received the 3rd class of the "Order for Merit."

Colonel Turner, in forwarding to the Assistant Adjutant-General, the despatch of Lieutenant Baker, speaks of the charge as being "as gallant as any made during the war." "The enemy," he says, "at the lowest estimate was seven hundred strong, well armed, and mostly old Sepoys of the 56th, 47th, and 32nd Regiments Native Infantry, of whom a subahdar and eighty men were left dead upon the field, while the wounded, by native report, are stated to have been from *twenty to thirty* more. Indeed, a spy from Jugdespore was

present at the muster after they had rallied, and states that there were a hundred and fifteen of the number missing." Both Lieutenant Baker and Mr. Chicken received the Victoria Cross* for their deeds of gallantry on this occasion. The Commander-in-Chief, Lord Clyde, through his Military Secretary, in a letter to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated "Head Quarters, Allahabad, 6th of October, 1858," writes as follows:—"I have the honour to request on the part of his Lordship, that you will have the goodness to direct the attention of the Right Hon. the Governor-General to the brilliancy of the exploit performed by Lieutenant G. C. Baker, of the Bengal Police Battalion, which is deserving of the highest encomium on account both of conception and execution. His Lordship is of opinion that the Victoria Cross should be awarded to Lieutenant Baker, and to Mr. Chicken, of the Indian Navy, and he will take immediate measures for the execution of his intention in this respect." But the gallant officer did not live long to enjoy his dearly-bought distinction, and, although he strove hard to earn a soldier's death, he was destined after all to lie in a sailor's grave. Mr. Chicken returned to Calcutta on the 30th of November, 1859, and, in the following March, was appointed to the command of the 'Emily,' of ninety tons and three guns. He proceeded to sea in May, but, soon after leaving the Sandheads, the little schooner was overtaken by one of those tremendous gales that periodically strew the shores of the Indian Peninsula with a thick fringe of wrecks; a steamer was sent to look after her, but neither the gallant Commander, nor his ship, nor his crew, was ever heard of more, and there can be little doubt that she foundered at sea with all hands on board.

In October, 1858, Commander Batt resigned the command of No. 3 Detachment† to Mr. Midshipman R. Scamp, and proceeded to England, on sick leave. For his services he received the thanks of the Supreme Government and of the Military Commanders at Patna and Buxar. Soon after Commander Batt's departure, Lieutenant H Jackson arrived from Jessore and assumed command of No. 3 Detachment, but the Bengal Government, making a requisition for the services of a surveyor

* The following is the official record of the achievement —"Mr George Bell Chicken, date of act of bravery, 27th September, 1858 For great gallantry, on the 27th September, 1858, at Suhejnee, near Peeroo, in having charged into the middle of a considerable number of the rebels, who were prepared to rally and open fire upon the scattered pursuers. They were surrounded on all sides, but, fighting desperately, Mr Chicken succeeded in killing five before he was cut down himself, he would have been cut to pieces had not some of the men of the 1st Bengal Police and 3rd Sikh Irregular Cavalry dashed into the crowd to his rescue, and routed it, after killing several of the enemy."

† In June, 1858, Mr. Parker was sent to Bombay to pass his examination for lieutenant, and he arrived in charge of wounded soldiers and seamen on the 12th of July, 1858.

on the Coromandel coast, to assist Lieutenant Sweny, he resigned the command to Lieutenant Duval, who left Acting Lieutenant Cotgrave to take charge of No. 5 Detachment at Gya, and, in November, 1859, brought No 3 Detachment down to Calcutta for disbandment. On their quitting Buxar, a correspondent of an Indian paper writes :—"On the departure of No. 3 Naval Brigade, upwards of one half were *hors de combat* from fever, and the chaste obelisk which these gallant, well-conducted fellows raised in generous sympathy to the memory of their lost shipmates, and which adorns the Buxar burial ground, tells too truly how the brigade suffered."

Mention has been made of Lieutenant R. G. Hurlock, as commanding No. 10 Detachment at Alipore. On being relieved by Lieutenant Burnes, who was succeeded by Lieutenant Carew, in November, 1858, he was placed by Captain Campbell in command of No. 12 Detachment, raised to garrison Julpigoree, which numbered a hundred petty officers and seamen and the following officers: — Acting-Master C. H. Brown; Acting 1st Class Second-Master J Dolmage; and Mr. Lackington, Gunner. The Detachment conducted itself in a manner to command the approval of the authorities, and the confidence of the planters, though suffering from great sickness and want of shelter. In April, 1859, the Detachment was disbanded, its services being no longer required, and Lieutenant Hurlock was placed in command of the depôt at Dumdum, and, on being relieved there by Lieutenant Carew, proceeded in command of a Naval Guard, on board the 'Sesostris' and 'Boanerges,' which conveyed prisoners to the Andaman Islands In November, 1859, Captain Campbell placed this young officer* in command of the 'Coromandel,' which participated in the China Expedition of 1860.

No. 8 Detachment, which was stationed at Jessore, only consisted of fifty men, and was first placed under the command of Acting-Master Connor, who had served at Dacca under the command of Lieutenant Lewis, with No 4 Detachment, and when that officer proceeded to Assam, remained behind with the time-expired men. As it was desirable that a commissioned officer should command the Detachment, Lieutenant H. Jackson proceeded to Jessore, and, in October, 1858, when Commander Batt went on sick leave to England, took command of No. 3 Detachment at Buxar until he was ordered to join Lieutenant Sweny in the survey. On his departure Lieutenant Duval brought down No. 8 to Calcutta, leaving Acting-Lieutenant

* Lieutenant Hurlock joined the Indian Navy in June, 1849, and thus had only ten years' sea time, but, as has before been observed, as characteristic of the Service, the entire period had been passed in continuous active service, without a day's intermission, and he had already gained a medal for Persia and Burmah, where he was employed for eight months in the boats of the 'Feroos' on the rivers Irrawaddy, Salween, and Sittang.

Cotgrave to bring down his own Detachment (No. 5) from Gya.

Good service was rendered by No. 13 Detachment, under the command of Lieutenant C. B. Templer, at Chuprah, the chief town of the district of Sarun, on the route from Dinapore to Goruckpore. No. 13 Detachment, which was despatched from Fort William on the 15th of December, 1858, consisted of a hundred seamen and the following officers:—Acting-Master J. M. Paul, Acting 1st Class Second-Master A. Powell, and Mr. Gibson, Gunner. The usual two 12-pounder field pieces, with two horses to each gun, were attached to the Detachment. Lieutenant Templer rendered good service at Chuprah, and when the services of the Detachment were no longer required, brought it down by boats to Calcutta, where it was disbanded on the 29th of September, 1859. Mr. Fergusson, the Commissioner of Patna, reported to the Government, on the 30th of January, 1860, of the Detachments in his Division, that "the assistance of the Brigade was very valuable, and on all occasions they performed their duties with the utmost zeal and alacrity. I consider the officers entitled to much credit for their good management under peculiarly difficult and unprecedented circumstances." After paying off his Detachment, Lieutenant Templer proceeded to the depôt at Dumdum, whence he was directed to take charge of three transports, conveying troops for the China Expedition of 1860, in which he participated.

In addition to the Detachments whose services have been detailed, there were four twin-screw gunboats stationed in the Ganges between Calcutta and Buxar, which were manned and officered by the Indian Navy, and armed with two 9-pounder brass guns. These gunboats, which rendered valuable service in preventing the rebels from crossing the rivers and keeping the banks and ferries clear of them with their guns, had no names, but were numbered from 1 to 4. They were commanded by the following Acting-Masters, between October 1858 and September 1859, when they were all put out of commission:—No. 1, Mr. C. S. Wanick; No. 2, Mr. J. Stephenson; No 3, Mr. R Salmon; No. 4, Mr. J. Saunders. Lieutenant Lewis had also under his orders at Dacca two armed pinnaces, and there were four paddle-wheel river steamers of the local Marine, which were occasionally employed under the orders of Commander Batt, Lieutenant Duval, and other officers, and were of service in transporting the Detachments and patrolling the rivers.

The services of No. 6 Detachment were not less meritorious than those of the others of the Brigade, while it was not only one of the largest, but was embodied for a longer period than any other. Between the 19th of November, 1857, when Cap-

tain Campbell, upon his promotion to post rank, made over the command of the 'Coromandel' to Lieutenant Stradling of the 'Semiramis,' himself assuming command of that ship, to the 22nd of May, 1858, when he proceeded on shore to Fort William as Senior Officer in charge of the Indian Naval Brigade. he was engaged on an important mission. When the mutiny of the Bengal Native Army placed in the hands of the Government many thousands of rebels, the question of their disposition became one of pressing urgency. Lord Canning, accordingly, appointed a Committee to proceed to the Andaman Islands, and report upon their suitability for a convict establishment. The Committee consisted of Surgeon Mouatt, of the Bengal Army, Inspector of Prisons, an officer of great experience in the management of convicts, Lieutenant Heathcote, I.N., who was specially entrusted with the hydrographical duties, and Surgeon Playfair.

The 'Semiramis,' Captain Campbell, sailed with the members of this Committee on the 23rd of November, 1857, for the Andamans, and, having visited Port Cornwallis, at the northern end of the North Island, which the Committee rejected for its unsuitability, proceeded to Moulmein, where the 'Pluto,' an iron steamer of light draught, was placed at their disposal, and Captain Campbell selected twenty well-trained seamen of his ship, whom he placed under the command of Mr. Midshipman Cotgrave, to proceed in her as a naval guard. The 'Pluto' sailed from Moulmein, with the Committee, on the 9th of December, and arrived in two days at Port Blair, also called Port Chatham,* situated at the south end of the South Andaman, a magnificent inlet, or harbour, in which are the three islands, called Ross, Chatham, and Viper. The European seamen, and twelve Burmese convicts, used to forest life, supplied by Colonel Fytche, the Commissioner of Moulmein, set to work clearing the jungle in Chatham Island, the spot chosen by the Committee as the best site for the penal settlement, being the same as was adopted by Lieutenant Blair,† of the Bombay Marine, the eminent surveyor and first Governor of the convict settlement established here in the

* Port Chatham, of the charts and Horsburgh's Directory, also known as Old Harbour and Port Blair, was first called Port Cornwallis (See Vol I p 186), but this name was subsequently given to the northern harbour, which has since retained it.

† Speaking of Lieutenant Blair's report on the Andaman islands, laid before the Marquis Cornwallis in June, 1789, Dr Mouatt says —"It not only contained a minute and accurate account of the survey conducted under the superintendence of that able and enterprising officer, but it was also illustrated by a chart in which the situation of the most important localities was distinctly marked, accompanied with a plan of three harbours. The report merited and obtained much praise for the clearness with which it was written."—See Dr. Mouatt's Report published in 1859, in the 25th number of the "Selections from the Records of the Government of India."

last century, of which fragments of brickwork were disentangled from the jungle. On the 30th of December, two boats' crews of the 'Pluto,' under command of Mr. Cotgrave, with the three members of the Committee, proceeded on shore at Interview Island, in the Middle Strait between the South and Middle Andaman, and were met by seven canoes, full of natives, who treacherously discharged a flight of arrows into the cutters, by which Lieutenant Heathcote was severely wounded in the thigh, one sailor was wounded in the back, and the hand of a second was pinned to the boat's gunwale. The seamen promptly replied with a volley, when three natives were killed and fell overboard, one of them being a chief who had deliberately taken aim at Lieutenant Heathcote. The natives now retreated, but one wounded man was captured.*

The Committee having thoroughly examined the islands, on their return to Calcutta reported in favour of Port Blair, or Chatham, a striking testimony to the sagacity of Lieutenant Blair, the discoverer, after whom it was named, as it was the site selected by him, and was used as the convict settlement between the years 1789-92, after which the establishment was removed to another site in the North Island, known as Port Cornwallis. On the 22nd of February, 1858, Captain H. Man, Executive Engineer at Moulmein, by directions of the Supreme Government, hoisted the British flag at Port Blair, under a salute of twenty-one guns from the 'Pluto,' and took formal possession of the Andamans in the name of Her Majesty and the Honourable East India Company, and, on the 4th of March, Captain Campbell† sailed from Calcutta in the 'Semiramis' with Dr. J. P. Walker, Superintendent of Agra jail, appointed Superintendent of Port Blair, and two hundred and fifty mutineers, being the first batch of convicts at this establishment. Lieutenant C. B. Templer, of the 'Semiramis,' was appointed to the command of the Naval Guard of fifty seamen, his officers being Midshipmen D. B. King and R. F. Finnis, who were soon after relieved by Acting-Master H. A. Wood, and Acting First Class Second-Master D. M. Morrison. Ross Island, as also Chatham Island, and other spots, were cleared of jungle by the convicts, of whom there were over two thousand at the end of 1858; but the difficulties attending the first settlement were great, as there was only the primeval forest around, which had to be cleared before a tent could be pitched, or a hut erected, and the rains were tremen-

* He was taken to Calcutta, but the garments of civilised life appeared irksome to him, he fell ill, and, by Lord Canning's directions, was taken back and landed at the very spot where he had been captured, when he speedily divested himself of his habiliments and disappeared in the woods with a *whoop of joy*.

† During the voyage, Captain Campbell visited Barren Island, situated in Lat. 12° 17' N. Long. 93° 54' E., and planted the British flag on the summit of the volcanic cone, 600 feet above the level of the sea.

dous, while the adjoining mainland was inhabited by as relentlessly savage a race as any on the globe.*

Early in November, Lieutenant Templer was relieved† of the command of the Naval Guard, known as No. 6 Detachment, by Acting-Lieutenant F. Warden, who brought a reinforcement of fifty men from the depôt at Fort William, to make up the strength to one hundred. Early in 1859, about one hundred and fifty Punjabee convicts—who had formed a plan for murdering the Europeans, seizing the sailors' barracks, the Indian Navy schooner 'Charlotte,' 167 tons, and the 'Sesostris,' belonging to the Bengal Marine—succeeded in overpowering and wounding the sailor on sentry, when the main-guard turned out, and, after a short struggle, assisted by the convict Chuprassies, (or office-attendants) succeeded in overpowering these desperadoes.

Acting-Lieutenant Warden was relieved in March, 1859, by Lieutenant S. B. Hellard, and No. 6 Detachment was made up to a strength of two hundred men, the officers being Acting-Master C H. Brown, Midshipmen C. S. Mainwaring, H. H. L. Gower, and Assistant-Surgeon Gamack. Dr. Walker resigned in September, 1859, and Major Haughton‡ succeeded to the post of Superintendent; his administration was most successful, and his efforts to maintain order were ably seconded, during the three years, between September, 1859, and September, 1862, by Lieutenant Hellard, who, as a reward for his zealous co-operation§, was appointed Assistant-Superintendent by the

* Of seven hundred and seventy-three convicts landed between the 10th of March, and the 12th of June, 1858, sixty-four died in hospital, one hundred and forty effected their escape, one committed suicide, and eighty-seven were executed for mutiny and running away In the latter part of the year there were two thousand convicts in the Settlements, and the numbers rapidly increased until at the time of Lord Mayo's memorable and ill-fated visit, there were seventeen thousand five hundred souls, including six hundred and fifty females, distributed throughout the three islands in Port Blair, eight stations situated on the north and south sides of the harbour, and Port Mouatt on the western side of the island

† Lieutenant Templer received the thanks of the Superintendent of Port Blair, "for his zealous and cordial co-operation during the eight months that have elapsed since the formation of this Settlement," and the thanks of the Governor-General in Council was also conveyed to him by the Home Secretary, Mr Cecil Beadon. On his return to Calcutta, Captain Campbell appointed him to the command of No. 13 Detachment, which he took to Chuprah.

‡ Now Colonel Haughton, C S I , the same officer who so greatly distinguished himself by his memorable defence of Chareekar, during the terrible Afghan uprising against British authority in November, 1841, when he lost an arm and was otherwise severely wounded Colonel Haughton was subsequently appointed Commissioner and Political Agent in Bhootan, where he was of essential service during the Bhootan war, and other operations in the Garrows and on the frontier.

§ The following extracts from Major Haughton's letter to Mr. W. Grey, Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, dated the 14th of January, 1861, details the services rendered by No. 6 Detachment:—"Para. 14. Our store vessel, the 'Walter Morrice,' has had a shingle roof put upon her; moorings for vessels have been laid down off Chatham Island; the,

Supreme Government on the 3rd of March, 1860. Major Haughton reported in the following terms of Lieutenant Hellard and the Detachment under his command, in a letter to the Supreme Government, dated the 14th of January, 1861.—"I have repeatedly had occasion to notice the services of the Naval Brigade, and I cannot allow the present occasion to pass without again doing so. I have never been associated for an equal period with any body of Europeans of whose conduct I could speak in higher terms, or whose services have appeared to me so eminently valuable. The Brigade has guarded the Settlement night and day, afloat and on shore, and it has at the same time furnished clerks, smiths, carpenters, bricklayers, engineers, shipwrights, &c., &c, for the Settlement service. This valuable aid could not have been obtained without the zealous co-operation of Lieutenant Hellard and the officers under him."

On the 19th of June, 1861, Major Haughton again reported in the strongest terms of the able and zealous assistance rendered to him by Lieutenant Hellard, and, on the 16th of August, the Governor-General in Council recorded a Resolution that, from the following September, that officer should receive a special consolidated allowance of 600 rupees a month, "in consideration of the strong testimony borne to his good services."

On the 28th of May, 1860, the Indian Naval Brigade (with the exception of No. 6, the Port Blair, Detachment,) the depôt of which had been stationed at Dumdum, was broken up, the

dangers in the harbour have been buoyed, and a re-survey of it nearly completed The Middle Straits, which separate the Southern of the three principal islands from the Central one, have been examined, and found to afford a safe passage for steam vessels of moderate size, whereby a saving of one hundred miles to vessels following the ordinary course in the voyage to and from Calcutta may be effected, but to render the passage available to strangers a minute survey is still required

"Para 15. The boats of the Settlement, from the ignorance of the convicts to whose entire care they have been entrusted, had, at the close of the year 1859, got into an almost useless condition There were four lighters of from five to thirty tons burden, nine built boats, all of which (three only in permanent charge of the Naval Brigade excepted) were unserviceable Also five canoes. By the exertions of the officer commanding the Naval Brigade and his men, the whole of these have been repaired

"Para 16 The iron steam gunboat No 5, wrecked during the hurricane of the 1st December, 1859, was floated over piece-meal by the Naval Brigade to Ross Island. After I had undertaken to rebuild her, when this task was commenced I almost despaired A close examination disclosed the fracture of almost every plate and rib of her component fragments The whole had to be rebuilt, excepting only a small piece of the bow By the exertions of the Naval Brigade she was ready for launching at the close of the year, paint for her bottom being alone wanting This has since arrived, and she will be launched next spring tides She has been justly named the 'Perseverance,' and I think thanks are due to Lieutenant Hellard and his men for having rescued and rendered available at a very small comparative cost a valuable vessel."

pennant-vessel 'Calcutta' was put out of commission, and Captain Campbell proceeded to England, his health having suffered greatly by two years' residence in the precincts of Fort William, without a day's leave, an ordeal considered sufficient to tax the strongest constitution. The total force of the Indian Naval Brigade, employed between August, 1857, and May, 1860, was as follows:—One captain, one commander, eighteen lieutenants, one purser, nine midshipmen, eighteen acting-masters, fourteen acting second-masters, sixteen warrant officers, and one thousand seven hundred and forty petty officers, seamen, and marines, the latter numbering about thirty European gunners of the Bombay Artillery, who had formed part of the Detachments under the command of Commander Batt and Lieutenants Lewis, Carew, and Duval. This force had two mortars, and thirty-eight guns, all 12-pounder howitzer mountain guns, complete with limbers and ammunition waggons, except Detachments Nos. 2, 3, and 5, which had 9-pounder field-pieces, of the usual equipment, with bullocks and drivers.

The following officers of the Brigade proceeded to England, either suffering from sickness or wounds:—Captain Campbell; Commander Batt; Lieutenants Burnes, Carey, Carew, Duval, Davies, Etheridge, Lewis, Tozer, Warden, Windus, and Yates, being eleven out of the eighteen Lieutenants serving on shore. Of these, Lieutenants Burnes, Carey, and Lewis ultimately died. Of the Midshipmen, Messrs. Brownlow, Gower, and Wray, died in England, Mr. Mayo was unable to return to duty, Mr. Hannay resigned the service, and joined his father, Colonel Hannay, in Assam; and Mr. Scamp, a promising young officer, who had done good service in Fort William, and at Gya and Buxar, was drowned at Calcutta on rejoining his ship. A large proportion of the Masters left India in broken health, but, not being covenanted officers, most of them were discharged on their services being no longer required, so that no record exists of their ultimate fate. Of the few who remained in the Service, Acting-Master Chicken, as already related, was drowned in May, 1860. Thus, to the last, the Indian Navy maintained its baleful reputation as, perhaps, the most health-destroying of any Military or Naval Service belonging to a European Power. Those lieutenants and midshipmen who remained fit for duty proceeded to sea, and, as they had come to Bengal fresh from laurels gathered in Persia, so they now went to China, and participated in the war of 1860. It would be almost impossible for us to speak in too eulogistic terms of the admirable conduct of the warrant officers, petty officers, and seamen, who, by their discipline and valour in an unaccustomed arena, increased the renown gained on shore, in many fields from China to Aden, by the ancient Service so soon to pass away. But it is needless,

with such testimonials to good conduct in quarters, and steadiness in the field, as are supplied by the letters of Colonel Knox, of the 67th, the Superintendent of Alipore jail, Colonel Haughton, the Commissioners of Patna and Chota Nagpore, and the Military Commanders under whom they served in action. After taking their discharge, a large number of the seamen were so enamoured of soldiering, that they enlisted, strangely enough, into the mounted corps, the Horse Artillery and the Cavalry.

The full meed of justice has never been awarded to the officers of the Indian Navy, who trained and led the Detachments of the Naval Brigade. Yet, beyond the War Medal, which those Detachments who were engaged with the enemy received, in common with the Army, and the two Victoria Crosses, to which the recipients would have been equally entitled had they been private soldiers, not a solitary decoration was conferred on an officer of the Service. Properly to gauge the difficulties under which they laboured, it should be borne in mind that the men, with the exceptions of the Detachments under the command of Commander Batt and Lieutenants Lewis, Carew, and Duval, were recruited from the merchant ships in the Hooghly, and chiefly consisted of the most adventurous and turbulent spirits among the crews; also, that the time of training in Fort William, under those smart officers and strict disciplinarians, Lieutenants Sweny, Warden, Duval, and Hellard, was very brief, and that, the supply of commissioned officers being limited, the Lieutenants had to depend for assistance, in managing their men, upon inexperienced mates of merchant ships, unacquainted with small-arm or gun drill, and unaccustomed to the strict discipline of Martial Law. That such unpromising material as these seamen and subordinate officers should, when broken up into small parties, under the most trying circumstances, such as service in the deadly jungles of Chota Nagpore or the remote solitudes of Upper Assam, perform their duty with the orderly discipline of veteran soldiers, speaks more highly for the efficiency and devotion to duty of the officers of the Indian Navy, than could any words of eulogium on the part of a brother officer, who may be accused of partiality—a deadly sin in an historian.

It is a thankless and unwelcome task to refer to the treatment, alike unjust and ungenerous, to which the Indian Navy was subjected by the Government, or to contrast it with that received by the Royal Navy. The 'Shannon' Brigade was formed on the 14th of August, 1857, and that of the 'Pearl' on the 14th September; the former served exactly a year on shore, and the 'Pearl' Brigade fifteen months. On the other hand, the Naval Detachments from the 'Punjaub,' 'Coromandel,' 'Auckland,' and 'Zenobia,' were disembarked in June and July, 1857, and, in conjunction with the Queen's troops, which those ships brought

from Bombay and elsewhere, assisted in saving from possible massacre and rapine the public of Calcutta, whom it is very easy for writers after the event, sitting in judgment in their arm-chairs, to accuse of needless panic, but who, with the deeds of Meerut and Delhi ringing in their ears, followed by the sudden seizure of the King of Oude and his powerful minister, from amidst a warlike and excited *entourage*, had some excuse for fear; and the more so when they saw around them a vast and hostile population who openly gloried in the deeds of their compatriots up-country. In this time of doubt and expectation, the frowning batteries of the ships of the Indian Navy, in the river off Government House, the Mint, and other menaced points, and the welcome presence of the crews on shore, as they marched with that easy swagger assumed by "Jack" on *terra firma*, which appeared to ridicule the very possibility of danger, restored confidence among the Europeans, and struck terror into the hearts of the plotters and *budmashes* of the community.

It was felt in those months of June and July, and the thought reassured the timid, and nerved the hearts of the brave, that, in the last extremity, the wooden walls of England would afford shelter to their families, and the cannon teach her treacherous enemies that, though driven to their ships, the countrymen of Clive and Coote were determined to reassert their ascendency, and reconquer the empire added to Britain by the prowess of their forefathers Absolutely even the name of the Indian Navy cannot be found in the pages of the "History of the Sepoy War," by Sir John Kaye, though it will not be denied that good service was rendered by many of the Detachments—notably by those of Lieutenants Duval and Carew in Fort William and at Barrackpore, of Lieutenant Lewis at Dacca and in Assam, of Lieutenant Windus in Chota Nagpore, of Commander Batt at Buxar, of Lieutenant Davies in Assam, of Lieutenant Carew at Judgespore, of Lieutenant Duval at Gya, of Lieutenants Barron and Cotgrave at Moozufferpore and Mooteeharee, and other officers at various distant points. From first to last the Indian Nava Brigade, numbering over eighteen hundred officers and men, with forty guns, served on shore nearly a period of three years, and yet what was the treatment they received? On their embarkation on board their ships, the crews of the 'Shannon' and 'Pearl' were fêted by the inhabitants of Calcutta, and received from the Governor-General in Council the honour of a General Order, thanking them for their services, a distinction which was also conferred upon all regiments on their return to England or their Presidencies, and even on the Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry on their abolition. But the Indian Navy received no such recognition from Her Majesty's Viceroy, and, on being broken up, were suffered to return to their ships, or disperse, as if they

had been convicts, whose period of service had expired. This unmerited neglect must have been intentional, for, whereas no honorary distinctions whatever were conferred on the officers for their services on shore, we find that every officer of the 'Shannon' Brigade, and, we believe, also of the 'Pearl' Brigade, received promotion, all the midshipmen being made lieutenants on passing their examination, and the 'Shannon' put to sea with no less than six commanders; her Captain and First-Lieutenant also received, respectively, the K.C.B. and the C.B., and Captain Sotheby, of the 'Pearl,' the C.B., and more recently was advanced to the Knighthood of the Order. No officers, particularly the noble Peel, more worthily earned their honours, and no particle of a spirit of unworthy jealousy animated their brethren of the Indian Navy on this score; but why, we should ask, was not equal honour paid to the Indian Navy? Why was the Brigade broken up without a word from the Governor-General, to whom the Service naturally looked for some expression of thanks; and why did the inhabitants of Calcutta permit their quondam protectors, whose advent in the hour of their greatest peril, they welcomed with such heartfelt thankfulness, to quit their shores without some public acknowledgment, or even a parting cheer?

The answer is easy, though not a pleasant one to record. It was the fate that had ever befallen the Service, whether known under the name of Bombay Marine or Indian Navy. Ignored by the Supreme Government, neglected, alike, in Leadenhall Street and Westminster, despised by the Indian public, who prided themselves chiefly on that Native army, which, like a broken reed, pierced the hand that leaned upon it, the Indian Navy received no acknowledgment of any sort whatever. Almost equally strange is it to find that the officers of the Service made no complaints of this studied neglect, either by petition to Government or in the columns of the Press; probably they had learned the bitter lesson of the futility of all appeals for justice, and, in weariness of spirit, had come to regard with resignation that abolition of the Service which had been looming in the distance for many years, and the shadows of which were deepening fast.

In 1860* it was known that the Service was doomed, and the

* The "Bombay Times"—which, as its present name of "The Times of India" implies, aspires, not unworthily, to the leading position of its world-famous prototype—thus writes of the position and prospects of an officer in the Service, in a leading article in August, 1860 —"The Indian Navy is a small collection of ships and steamers employed between the two extreme points of the Persian Gulf and the Chinese waters, centreing at Bombay as their head-quarters. The service on these ships is performed by men holding commissions as naval officers, and whose circumstances are supposed to resemble those of officers in the Royal Navy, their rank being similar, and their pay adjusted so as to render the

wonder is, that the officers, aware of their impending fate, and disgusted with the treatment they had received, continued to do their duty with unabated zeal and success. As the "Bombay Times," an able organ of the Indian press, referring to this condition of suspense, not inaccurately remarked:—"The position and circumstances of the Indian Navy would have demoralized any body of men in whom the sense of duty was not unusually strong, years ago." It is a striking proof of their efficiency and professional knowledge, that, during the years 1857-60, when the ships were under-officered and under-

advantages, taking the difference of climate and situation as to expense into consideration, pretty nearly equal in both. This is doubtless the general impression at home and as the officers in the smaller service number amongst them men equal in science, enterprise, bravery, and all the other requisites of an efficient servant of the Crown, to the most distinguished men in the Royal Navy, the impression that they are, upon the whole, equally remunerated, certainly ought to be the true one. This little Service, at the present day, numbers some adventurous and world-known explorers, whose energy in the heat and parched plains of Africa may be held to equal that displayed by a few from amongst a much larger service, amid the no less deadly regions of the Northern Seas" The writer then contrasts the chances of promotion (no hypothetical case) between an elder brother who enters the Indian Navy, and a younger who goes into the Royal Service, and continues.—"The younger brother, although in no way superior in education or talent, yet what with his chances in the Crimea, or in the Baltic, or China Seas, attains in twenty-one years the rank of post-captain and the honours of C B The unfortunate elder one still plods on, a lieutenant of fourteen years' standing, making what head he may against a climate which sends him home on sick leave, if he can afford it, and if not—to his grave. And his pay is so small that he *cannot* afford it, unless by borrowing the necessary funds The "Royal" officer, in the same unhealthy seas, which he is rarely called to visit, has his allowances increased to more than the amount of those enjoyed by his Indian equal in rank, who has borne the burden and heat of the day Numberless other instances might be given of the difference between the circumstances of officers in the two Services. The Commander of a Royal ship is allowed freight on Government treasure, while the Indian Captain has none On private treasure the proportion of freight allowed to the latter is so small as not even to balance the risk he is obliged individually to bear. The shore allowances of an Indian Naval officer are also shamefully inadequate to his expenses In short, the whole subject of the pay and promotion of the Service is one requiring immediate and thorough revision Amalgamation, to which the Indian Army is so averse, is what the Indian Navy look forward to with hope We have heard a great deal in the last two or three years of the grievances of this and that branch of the Service, and of that other one, but we doubt if amongst them all they can make out a case more urgently demanding relief But one feeling pervades the Indian Navy; and the discipline and efficiency of the Service under discouragements so profound, are equally honourable and marvellous. A sailor is not easily induced to take up the pen, but we do earnestly invite the officers of the Indian Navy to make an appeal to public opinion through our columns Let the Service either be amalgamated with the Royal Navy, or put upon a footing of equality therewith. The suspense in which its officers at present stand ought not to be permitted to continue. The position and circumstances of the Indian Navy would have demoralized any body of men in whom the sense of duty was not unusually strong, years ago, and we cannot but be conscious of some indignation that Royal officers have been content, year after year, to command this gallant and distinguished little Service, without an effort to secure for it the status and the consideration to which it is entitled, and which we take the liberty to add, must be accorded it."

manned, a great portion of the officers and crews being withdrawn for service with the Naval Brigade, there was an absolute immunity from loss of any of the steam-frigates sent to sea in a condition most prejudicial to their safety and efficiency, the officers in charge of watches being midshipmen and acting lieutenants of six years' standing, and the crews hastily-shipped merchant seamen, strangers to the discipline and routine of a man-of-war.

CHAPTER XI.

THE INDIAN MUTINY, 1857—1859.

Services of the Indian Navy during the Sepoy Mutiny in Western India—Transport of Troops by Lieutenants Chitty and Sweny during the South-West Monsoon on the Malabar Coast—Trooping by the other Ships of the Service—Mission of Captain Jenkins, C B, to Mauritius and the Cape of Good Hope—Bombay on the 13th of October, 1857—Indian Naval Artillery Brigades at Bombay and Surat—Lieutenant Holt at Mooltan—Proclamation of the Queen's Sovereignty on the 1st November, 1858—Operations against the Waghers—The Bombardment of Bey and the Services of the Indian Naval Brigade at the Siege of Dwarka.

ON the Western side of India the officers and men of the Indian Navy did equally good service to the State, with those of their brethren who were more fortunate in having, as their field for exertion, the districts of Bengal, where mutiny and rebellion were, for a time, almost in the ascendant; but, though the hydra-headed monster of sedition was crushed promptly in the Western Presidency, and a general mutiny of Bombay troops was never threatened, yet it is surprising and inexplicable to find people of high authority denying that there was ever any mutiny, while facts, pointing to a contrary conclusion, stare them in the face. Thus the Secretary of State for India, Sir Charles Wood (now Lord Halifax) declared, in the House of Commons, that there had been no overt mutiny in the Bombay Army, and the Duke of Argyll, besides writing, to the same effect, in the "Edinburgh Review," published a pamphlet, in which he declared that "the breath of sedition never reached the Western Presidency." And these statements were made though mutinous Sepoys were blown from guns on Bombay Green, itself, and, on the 31st of July, 1857, the 27th Regiment of Bombay Native Infantry mutinied at Kolapore, in the Southern Mahratta country, and murdered three of their officers. Sixty-three men of the Regiment were executed by sentence of court-martial, and sixty-six were transported.*

* For the incidents of the Mutiny in the Southern Mahratta County, see "Western India," by Major-General Sir George Le Grand Jacob, K C.S.I., C.B. This officer, who was for many years Political Agent in Cutch, and commanded the Light Battalion during the Persian War, on his return to Bombay was invested by Lord Elphinstone, with the powers of a Special Commissioner, and

In the suppression of this Mutiny the greatest assistance was rendered by the Indian Navy. In the months of July and August, though in the height of the south-west monsoon, the 'Berenice,' Lieutenant Chitty, and 'Victoria,' Lieutenant Sweny, were engaged carrying troops from Bombay and Kurrachee, and landing them on that open and storm-beaten coast, at Viziadroog, Kalbadeir Bay, sixteen miles below Jyghur near Rutnagheri, and at Goa, for which permission was given by the Portuguese Governor-General, the Viscount de Torres Novas.* These officers made several voyages with troops, including portions of the 33rd and 86th Regiments and the 2nd Bombay Europeans, and showed what gallant and skilful seamen can do when inspired by a sense of duty. Lord Elphinstone, in his Minute of the 18th of August, 1859, specially thanked Lieutenants Chitty and Sweny for the "good services they rendered in carrying the different detachments of European troops down the coast at the height of the monsoon, by which movement, under Providence, the peace of the Southern Mahratta country and of the Presidency was preserved."

The first detachment of European troops was only just landed in time, as his lordship says, "to preserve the peace of the Southern Mahratta country and of the Presidency," as the mutineers of the 27th Native Infantry, on the 1st of August, the day after they broke out into revolt, marched off from Kolapore to join their comrades at Rutnagheri, but on descending the Ghauts, found the road blocked by the European de-

reached Kolapore on the 14th of August. Speaking of the persistent attempts of some authorities, and a portion of the Press, to deny the existence of any disaffection in the Western Presidency, he writes to us —"The 'Saturday Review,' in reviewing a work on India in 1872, made out that Kolapore had since 1844 remained quiet during the mutinies, barring a local outbreak or two, and the Rajah was rewarded for his fidelity with the Star of India, the said Rajah having been spared by me because he was only imbecile, while his brother, by another mother, also Rajah (for we treated them both alike) was at the head of the rebellion, and stirred the regiments in the Southern Mahratta country to mutiny, especially the 27th Native Infantry at Kolapore, him I deported and spared the other, but he had no weight or influence in the country and never rendered me the slightest assistance."

The 21st and 27th Regiments of Bombay Native Infantry were disarmed, and, by Order of the Governor in Council, No 612 of 1858, it was ordered that "the numbers borne by the 21st and 27th Regiments Native Infantry are to be struck out of the Army List, and the regiments, when reconstituted, are to bear the numbers 30 and 31."

* Of this act of "cordial and friendly co-operation," as Lord Elphinstone described it, his Lordship writes in his Minute on the services of civil officers during the Mutiny —"I believe it is not generally known that, in permitting British troops to land at Goa during the monsoon of 1857, his Excellency was acting in opposition to his Council, and in violation of the Portuguese laws. He did not tell me so at the time, but in a private letter which I received from him some months ago, he mentioned that his conduct had been approved by the King's Government, and that a Bill of Indemnity had been passed absolving him from any penalties he might have incurred."

tachment. "This landing," writes Sir George Jacob, "had been done for the first time, I believe, in Indian history, as it was previously considered a thing impossible to land on that coast during the height of the monsoon, Bombay and Goa being, during that season, the only ports available. Checked in this way, the greater number of the mutineers, under command of a Sawunt Waree leader, betook themselves to the Waree jungles, where the insurgents of 1844-45 had given such trouble."

On the arrival of the 'Berenice' at Rutnagheri, on the 8th of August, the European inhabitants, apprehensive of an insurrection, all crowded on board her, but the disembarkation, soon after, of a Detachment of a hundred seamen and three officers from the ships of the Indian Navy on the coast, restored confidence, and they returned to their homes. This Detachment remained at Rutnagheri until the arrival of European troops rendered their presence unnecessary.

Lieutenants Chitty and Sweny were among the few fortunate recipients of a special letter of thanks from Her Majesty. Under date the 11th of June, 1860, Sir Charles Wood wrote to them individually:—"The excellent service performed by you during the Mutiny and disturbances in India in 1857-58, in conveying the different detachments of European troops down the coast at the height of the monsoon, has been brought to the notice of the Queen; and I have been commanded to convey to you the gracious approbation of Her Majesty of your conduct during that critical period"

When the Detachments of the Indian Naval Brigade in Bengal proceeded up-country under Commander Batt and Lieutenants Lewis, Carew, Davies, and Duval, more officers were required for the ships under the orders of the Supreme Government, and, in November, 1857, Commodore Wellesley despatched Lieutenants Sweny and Templer round to Calcutta, the former being relieved in the command of the 'Victoria' by Lieutenant Twynam, and Lieutenant Templer in the 'Mahi,' by Lieutenant Nixon. On arrival at Calcutta the latter joined the 'Semiramis' as First-Lieutenant, and Lieutenant Sweny, relieved Lieutenant Duval in command of No. 1 Detachment in Fort William, when that officer proceeded to Gya in command of No. 5 Detachment. With the able assistance of Lieutenant Warden, Mr. Sweny carried on the duties of organizing and drilling the Detachments in course of formation, until February, 1858, when he was detached for duty under the Bengal Government and appointed to the command of the surveying brig 'Mutlah,' which he retained until he returned to England on furlough, in April, 1861, after a continuous sea service in India, mostly on the survey, since May, 1845.

The 'Zenobia,' Commander Stephens, arrived at Bombay

from Calcutta, on the 11th of October, and the 'Punjaub,' Commander Foulerton, on the 21st of September, and she proceeded to Kurrachee on the 8th of October, returning thence on the 18th, and again sailing for Vingorla on the 11th of November. The 'Ajdaha,' Commander Worsley, was also engaged transporting troops, and, on Thursday, the 1st of October, arrived from Kurrachee with the first intelligence of the storming of Delhi on the 14th of September, which was received in Bombay with great manifestations of delight, Lord Elphinstone, who happened to be entertaining a large party at Government House, giving as a bumper toast, "General Wilson and his brave army." On the 20th of October the 'Ajdaha' proceeded to Mangalore, and, on the 9th of November, sailed for Aden, which was almost denuded of European troops by Brigadier Coghlan, who, with great forethought and no little courage, considering the large native garrison, had despatched to Bombay the wing of H.M.'s 86th Regiment, and trusted to one battery of European Artillery, and the crews of the 'Elphinstone' and 'Mahi,' which were held in readiness to march up to camp in the event of their services being required. The 'Lady Canning,' Lieutenant Peevor, arrived at Bombay from Vizíadroog in the latter part of October, with sixty-six mutineers of the 27th Native Infantry, under sentence of transportation to Penang, in charge of a Detachment of H.M.'s 95th Regiment, and a party of the Indian Naval Brigade employed on that coast In August, 1857, that arch-plotter, the Moulvie of Poona, and eight accomplices, was brought from Tanna, and sent on board the guard-ship 'Akbar,' in Bombay Harbour, where he was kept in close confinement.

An officer of the Indian Navy was enabled to fulfil an important service to his country in the crisis of the Mutiny. Lord Elphinstone, who, at this critical time, displayed himself in his true colours as a courageous and sagacious governor, selected Captain Griffith Jenkins, then officiating Assistant-Superintendent, to proceed to Mauritius and the Cape of Good Hope, with full powers to solicit aid from those colonies, in men, horses, and money, for the Indian Government. Captain Jenkins at four hours' notice, sailed on the 30th of June, from Bombay, in the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer 'Pottinger,' Captain Stead, and arrived at Port Louis on the night of the 19th of July. He left the steamer in the offing, and, landing, posted up to Government House on the neighbouring mountains; arousing the Governor out of his bed at past midnight, he placed before him the critical state of affairs in India. Sir James Higginson, who was ignorant of the outbreak of the Mutiny, immediately summoned his Council to meet him at daylight, and, with an energy becoming the crisis, succeeded in

inducing them to place the resources of the colony entirely at the disposal of the envoy of the Indian Government.* Within sixteen hours the 33rd Regiment and a half battery of Artillery, with guns and stores, were embarked in the 'Pottinger' and 'Canning,' which Captain Jenkins chartered, and these ships had sailed for Bombay, where they arrived on the 4th of August, at a most critical moment. On the 25th of July, the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer 'Madras' arrived from Bombay, having on board Acting-Master D J. Kennelly, I.N., as agent for transports, under the orders of Captain Jenkins, who, having, in the meantime, detained and chartered the Royal Mail steamer 'England,' bound from London to India, despatched her, with Mr. Kennelly as Agent, to East London in Cape Colony. On his way, Mr. Kennelly, acting on his instructions, stopped at Algoa Bay, whence he proceeded to East London, where, on the 16th of August, he embarked the 89th Regiment, numbering thirty-three officers and seven hundred and one rank and file, on board the steamers 'England' and 'Ocean Wave,' and returned to Bombay, touching at Mauritius for coal.† These regiments arrived at Bombay on the 11th and 12th of September, and proceeded immediately to Gogo, *en route* to Ahmedabad.

On the 27th of July Captain Jenkins sailed, in the 'Madras,' for Algoa Bay, where he arrived in a heavy westerly gale, on the 3rd of August. Landing a duplicate despatch, he sailed, on the following day, for Simon's Bay, some four hundred miles distant, which was reached at one a.m., on the 6th of August.

* As the powers conferred on Captain Jenkins were deficient as regards the Navy, over which to this day the Government of India has no authority, an anomaly which, for the good of the public service, ought no longer to exist, as it might cause disaster in critical times, Captain Jenkins appealed to Sir James Higginson to exercise the authority vested in him as Vice-Admiral, and his Excellency accordingly wrote the following letter, dated the 26th of July, though he said it was without precedent —"Captain Jenkins, of the Indian Navy, is employed by the Government of Bombay upon special service, the importance and emergency of which it is impossible to overrate, and I venture to solicit the active co-operation of any ships of the Royal Navy that he may happen to fall in with, in furtherance of the object of the . ission in which Captain Jenkins is engaged An essential service may be rendered to Her Majesty's Government as well as that of India by such co-operation"

† Mr H L Anderson, Secretary to the Bombay Government, wrote to Commodore Wellesley, "that the Governor in Council concurs with you in considering that Mr Kennelly has exhibited great zeal and activity in the proceedings which form the subject of the correspondence forwarded with your letter, more particularly in laying in provisions for the soldiers at Port Elizabeth when directed by Lieutenant-General Sir James Jackson not to do so, by which a delay of several days was avoided" When horses were required to mount the cavalry, Mr Kennelly's services were once more called into requisition, and he was despatched from Bombay to Melbourne, in the iron transport 'Wanata,' under instructions from Commodore Wellesley, dated the 22nd of December, 1857, to make arrangements with Colonel Scobie, the re-mount agent, for the despatch of vessels to Bombay and other ports in India, with cargoes of horses.

Captain Jenkins immediately waited on Captain Sir William Wiseman, Bart., R.N., commanding H.M.S. 'Penelope,' and senior officer on the station, in the absence of the Commander-in-chief, Admiral Hon. Sir Frederick Grey. Sir William placed the resources of the Navy and of the dockyard at the disposal of Captain Jenkins, and together they immediately posted to Cape Town, where they arrived at eight a.m. the same morning, and waited on the Governor, Sir George Grey. His Excellency, with commendable patriotism, summoned his Parliament, and placed before them the critical state of affairs, as communicated by Captain Jenkins, and the members unanimously agreed to assist the Indian Government, and formed two volunteer corps to take the place of the troops, who proceeded forthwith to India, in transports and in Her Majesty's ship 'Penelope,' which, also, carried horses, four deep, on both decks. It was stated in Parliament, on the 9th of December, 1857, that the reinforcements despatched, from the Cape alone, to India, consisted of three regiments of Infantry, two batteries of Artillery, and one thousand horses, besides £60,000 in specie, which Lord Canning assured Captain Jenkins arrived most opportunely at Calcutta, the treasuries up-country having been looted by the rebels.

At Captain Jenkins' request, Sir George Grey not only ordered the transports conveying troops from England to China, but those which arrived with soldiers, destined for Australia and New Zealand, to proceed to Calcutta.

All the contracts of the transports being from England to these colonies, Captain Jenkins framed new ones, which were counter-signed by the naval authorities Three of the transports, with the 95th Regiment and Artillery, proceeded to Bombay, the remainder to Calcutta, where they joined the division with which Sir Colin Campbell marched to the relief of Lucknow. Having left instructions for the rest of the transports to follow, with all despatch, Captain Jenkins* sailed for Calcutta in the 'Madras,' embarking from Algoa Bay five hundred men of the 13th Light Infantry, commanded by Lord Mark Kerr. On his arrival he was received with the utmost kindness by Lord Canning, who approved and confirmed all the steps he had taken. After a brief stay at Calcutta, Captain

* The following letter from Mr R. W Rawson, Colonial Secretary to the Government of the Cape, to the Secretary to the Bombay Government, under date the 25th of August, 1857, expresses the thanks of the Governor of the former colony —"As the 'Madras' will leave Simon's Bay to-morrow for the purpose of embarking the head-quarters of H M 's 13th Light Infantry at Algoa Bay, his Excellency feels it due to Captain Jenkins, I N., and to Mr Kennelly, I.N., to request that you will inform his Excellency the Governor of Bombay that nothing could surpass the zeal and energy with which both these officers have executed their mission, and that their exertions in forwarding the dispatch of the troops, in the embarkation of which they have been concerned, are deserving of the highest thanks and praise."

Jenkins sailed for Madras, and, having fulfilled a mission from the Governor-General to Lord Harris, proceeded to Bombay where, on his arrival, on the 19th of October, he was appointed Commodore of the Persian Gulf Squadron.

Captain Jenkins was admirably qualified for the task he had performed thus successfully. Animated by a high sense of duty, great urbanity, which no amount of opposition could ruffle, coupled with a pertinacity that would take no denial, the Government could have made no better selection, in any branch of the public service, for the difficult task of convincing Governors, soothing the susceptibilities of Military and Naval chiefs, and, hardest of all, conciliating Members of Council and legislators, such as those of Mauritius and the Cape, whose political antagonism to the Government and party animosities, were held with a fervour, and, occasionally, expressed with a warmth such as is unknown in the Parliament of these islands, but is not without a parallel among our lively neighbours across the Channel. This rivalry was specially heated between the English and French factions at Mauritius, but the imperturbable suavity and calm pertinacity of Captain Jenkins overcame all obstacles, and not only the Council, but the merchants of the Island, vied with each other in offers of assistance, the latter actually attending in person at the wharf, and superintending the despatch of the coal for the use of the 'Pottinger.'

It was the same at the Cape, where Captain Jenkins personally addressed the Parliament, and so effective was his appeal, in which he earnestly pleaded for our hardly-pressed countrymen and countrywomen in India, and invoked the powerful name of the Sovereign, that, with a unanimity hitherto unknown, and which tended to heal a breach between the Governor and Legislature, they voted the loan of the whole of the money in the treasure chest, and placed the entire resources of the colony at his disposal. The following were the words expressed by the Parliament, as reported by Sir George Grey: —"We trust that the Governor will support the honour of our Sovereign and dignity of this colony, by such energetic measures as will prove to the world the strong union of all for our Sovereign."

Captain Jenkins did not shrink from responsibility,* but used the authority reposed in him freely, in some instances not scrupling to exceed it in a manner that called forth the surprise

* Writing semi-officially to Lord Dunkellin, Military Secretary to Lord Canning, from the Cape under date the 11th August, detailing the steps he had taken, Captain Jenkins says:—"This may be rather beyond my authorised power, but I feel that I am serving a Government that will appreciate its servants not flinching from any responsibility, and I do not do so. Should the Government hereafter deem that I have been too zealous I am prepared to bear the blame, though I trust in being honoured with its further confidence and approbation."

of Lord Canning, who, however, loyally stood by his representative, whose steps in chartering ships, purchasing horses, employing agents, and incurring liabilities, were duly authorized, and his accounts, amounting to a very large sum, were passed in the lump, without audit or explanation as to items. Lords Canning and Elphinstone, as well as Sir James Higginson and Sir George Grey, united in applauding Captain Jenkins' conduct of a difficult mission, and, finally, the Secretary of State for India wrote, on the part of Her Majesty, a special letter of thanks. The following is the letter, signed by Sir Charles Wood, on the part of the Queen, and dated "India Office, 11th of June, 1870:—The excellent service performed by you during the Mutiny and disturbances in India in 1857-58, while proceeding to the Cape and the Mauritius for reinforcements, has been brought to the notice of the Queen, and I have been commanded to convey to you the gracious approbation of Her Majesty, of your conduct during that critical period."

The late Sir George Edmonstone, then Secretary in the Foreign Department, wrote on the 5th of October, 1857:—"The Governor-General in Council highly recommends the energy and good judgment with which you have executed the mission entrusted to you. The steps taken by you for diverting the passage of the troops who were proceeding from England to China and Australia, to British India, are approved." Mr. (now Sir) Henry L. Anderson, Secretary to the Bombay Government, conveyed "the commendation of Government for the tact, energy, and judgment, with which he had performed the duty assigned to him," and Lord Elphinstone, in his Minute of the 18th of August, 1859, expressing thanks to such officers as had rendered eminent service to the Government during the rebellion in Western India, mentions, in the following terms, the opportuneness of the arrival of the troops from Mauritius and the Cape:—"No one on this side of India is likely to have forgotten the relief which was experienced when the 33rd Regiment and Captain Bolton's Company of Royal Artillery arrived at Bombay. We had just heard of the Mutiny of the 27th Native Infantry at Kolapore; the state of the Southern Mahratta country was daily becoming more critical; the European troops in the garrison of Bombay were less than three hundred strong. At this moment the arrival of an entire European Regiment and of fifty Artillerymen, was of incalculable value. It enabled us to send off the whole of the European troops in garrison to Kolapore and Belgaum. The arrival of the 33rd was followed (about a month afterwards) by that of the 89th from the Cape of Good Hope, which was immediately despatched to Guzerat, which, up to that time, had been almost without European troops. Other regiments and batteries of Artillery were, subsequently, sent from the Cape of

Good Hope, some of which, if I am not mistaken, had the honour of forming part of the force which relieved Lucknow."

Captain Jenkins was indebted for his success, to the cordial co-operation of the Governments of Mauritius and the Cape, no less than of their Excellencies Sir James Higginson and Sir George Grey—who actually placed at his disposal his own carriage horses for the service of the Artillery; also to the assistance afforded him by Captain Sir William Wiseman, R.N., commanding at the Cape in the absence of the Admiral, Commanders Cresswell and Purvis, R.N., Dr. Snell, of the 65th Regiment, whom he engaged at Mauritius as his Private Secretary, and who was useful, owing to his local knowledge of the Cape, Lieutenant Robinson, I.N., who was left in charge at Mauritius, Acting-Master Kennelly, who displayed great intelligence and activity, and, finally, to the Company's agents at the two colonies, who carried out his instructions, and afforded every assistance in their power.

On the 16th of August, 1857, the 'Assaye' proceeded to the Mauritius, Commander Adams being furnished with a letter to the Governor, Sir James Higginson. At this time the garrison of Port Louis was scarcely more than sufficient for pressing necessities, as the French residents manifested signs of disaffection, and the Imperial Government was intriguing for acquisitions in the Red Sea. The Governor, who had already sent to Bombay a regiment and some Artillery at the request of Captain Jenkins, now demurred to depriving himself of the services of the 4th King's Own, which had just arrived. He, therefore, informed Commander Adams that he did not think the General in command of the troops—the late General Murray Hay—could spare a man, but the Captain of the 'Assaye' having shown that officer the urgency of the case, succeeded in inducing him to order the embarkation of a wing of the Regiment in a transport. The 'Assaye,' meantime, having coaled, proceeded to Bombay, where she arrived on the 17th of September. After this, she was employed cruising down the coast to pick up transports, with troops from England, which she signalled off the outer light, and either took them into Bombay or to Kurrachee, whence they were pushed on to the Punjaub by Sir Bartle Frere.

The city of Bombay had its time of trial in this memorable year (1857), and there were many citizens who found relief when, the Presidency being, at times, almost denuded of troops, they could turn their eyes to the steam-frigates lying in the harbour, as a sure place of refuge, while the timid hearts welcomed the appearance of Jack ashore taking sentry duty in the Dockyard, where he was handy for an emergency, though, in the "piping times of peace," they had nothing but expres-

sions of disgust at the honest fellows chartering all the buggies on the Apollo Bunder, which, loaded inside and outside to an extent that betokened imminent danger of a break-down, were driven to some of those haunts in which the soul of Jack delights.

That was an anxious day in October, at Bombay, when Drill Havildar Syud Hoossein, of the Marine Battalion, and Private Mungal Guddrea, 10th Regiment Native Infantry, who had been tried on the 13th of October, 1857, for sedition, were blown away from guns at a public parade on Bombay Green. The prisoners were convicted on the following charge:—"For having, on or about the night of the 3rd of October, 1857, attended a seditious meeting, held in a house in a part of the town of Bombay called Sonapore, and at that meeting, they, the said Drill Havildar Syud Hoossein and Private Mungul Guddrea made use of highly mutinous and seditious language, evincing a traitorous disposition towards the Government, tending to promote rebellion against the State, and to subvert the authority of the British Government.—The above being in breach of the Articles of War." Every preparation was made by the Military and Naval Authorities to meet any contingencies which might arise during the progress of the executions. The wing of H.M.'s 95th Foot, stationed in the town barracks, was ordered to the parade-ground about four o'clock in the afternoon, and Captain Bolton's half battery of Royal Artillery from the Fort, occupied a semicircular position to the left of the 95th. The Ordnance Department, with four guns loaded with canister and grape, took up a position in front of the 95th, and a body of three hundred seamen from the 'Assaye,' 'Akbar,' and others of the Company's vessels in harbour, armed with muskets and cutlasses, were ranged alongside the guns to afford them protection The two prisoners, under an escort of the 95th Regiment, were brought from their cells in the Fort, about four o'clock, and stood firm and erect in the midst of their guards. About half-past four, the 10th Native Infantry, the Marine Battalion, and the 11th Native Infantry, were marched on to the parade-ground, and drawn up on the right and left of the square. Hundreds of Europeans and many thousands of natives gathered together in the rear to witness the tragedy about to be enacted. The prisoners, after being stripped of their uniforms, were lashed to the muzzles of the guns, the signal was given, and in a moment the ground was strewed with fragments of their bodies. The shuddering spectators dispersed in silence, and the ghastly sight, doubtless, left an indelible impression on many dark-skinned traitors there present, hatching incipient treason.

The surviving members of the European community in Bombay will, probably, not soon forget how much they owed to the

Indian Navy during the earlier months of the Mutiny, when, owing to the despatch of troops to Kurrachee to proceed thence up-country, the protection of the Presidency was mainly left to the ships of the Service lying in Bombay Harbour. At that time of alarm and distrust, large bodies of seamen * were kept prepared to land at a moment's notice whenever the pre-concerted signal was made, while strong detachments of blue-jackets were employed night and day doing duty ashore. The Government slept the sleep of security, happy in the knowledge that the Service, from Commodore Wellesley downwards, was equal to the occasion; and it is certain that the Bombay Marine Battalion, whose traditions pointed to a service of nearly a hundred years in the Indian Navy, knew well that Jack ashore was no less formidable than Jack afloat, and that his officers were not likely to err on the side of leniency if brought into contact with mutiny and sedition. These experiences were, doubtless, communicated to their brethren on shore, who would form an estimate of the prowess of the British seaman, not less complimentary to him than that held by the Pandies on the Bengal side who dreaded the kilted Highlanders much, but still more feared the sailors, who, they believed, carried 12-pounders slung over their shoulders like carbines. But though the Government appreciated the prompt and energetic readiness with which the officers of the Service undertook duties foreign to their employment, yet the Lieutenants in command of Detachments at Bombay and Surat, were subjected to the great injustice of receiving less pay than the Captains of the revolted regiments, with whom they ranked! On the other side of India, the officers employed ashore were paid according to their relative military rank, and were thankful for this recognition of services rendered to the State.

Thus, in Bengal, Lieutenants, or Acting-Lieutenants, commanding Detachments received 400 rupees a-month, and other Lieutenants 300 rupees, while officers of the same rank serving on shore in the Western Presidency only received, in addition to their regular pay of 145 rupees a-month, 3 rupees batta per diem.† Midshipmen, who in all cases performed the duties of Subalterns of Infantry and Artillery, and mates of less than

* In addition to the men-of-war's men from the Company's ships, Lieutenant H. Carey, first of the 'Assaye,' which lay guard-ship in the harbour, was placed in command of a large body of volunteer seamen from the merchant ships. It was his duty to drill these men, and in the event of an outbreak, at a preconcerted signal, to collect them and take charge of the dockyard, relieving the Naval Brigade who were to move out and join the troops.

† The accompanying are abstracts of the Service Orders making these regulations, which were as unjust as they were opposed to common sense.—

"8th December, 1858, No. 2689

"The officers and others of the Indian Naval Brigade serving on shore in Bengal were granted pay and allowances at the following rates Lieutenants in command of detachments 400 rupees per mensem being 300 rupees per month as

three years' standing, with whom they ranked, also received, in addition to their pay of 50 and 80 rupees respectively, only 3 rupees batta a-day, their pay amounting in the aggregate to 140 and 170 rupees per mensem, considerably less than an ensign's, a sum totally inadequate to enable them to meet their expenses on shore in a style becoming an officer and gentleman.

In July, 1858, two Detachments, forming a Naval Artillery Brigade, were embodied from the crews of the ships of the Indian Navy, to be stationed respectively at Bombay and Surat. Each Detachment consisted of three officers and eighty petty officers and seamen; that quartered in the Fort of Bombay was under the command of Lieutenant J. Wood, First-Lieutenant of the 'Assaye,' and the Surat Detachment was commanded by Lieutenant J. Sedley.* This Naval Artillery

salary, including table money and batta, and 100 rupees per month as command allowance To all other lieutenants, 300 rupees per month, including table money and batta. To the other ranks the usual batta for detached duty instead of war batta, in addition to their pay." "Government General Order, 7th July, 1858, No 127, and Government Letter, 24th February, 1859, No 299 The officers and men of the Naval Brigade formed for service at Bombay and Surat were granted the usual batta for detached duty in addition to their pay, but were refused the rate of remuneration granted to the Bengal Brigade" By Resolution of the Governor-General in Council, of the 4th of August, 1841, published under date the following 24th of September, the following rates of batta to officers and men of the Indian Navy, were authorised in supercession of those formerly existing —

	Per diem
Captain	Rs 12 8 0
Commander .	7 8 0
Lieutenant, Surgeon, and Purser	3 0 0
Midshipman and Clerk .	3 0 0
Warrant Officers	3 0 0
Petty Officers and Seamen . .	0 4 0

* The following was the Government Order:-

"Formation of Naval Artillery Brigade, Bombay Castle, July 7th, 1858. No 700 The Right Hon the Governor in Council has been pleased to direct the formation, from the officers and seamen of the Indian Navy, of a Naval Artillery Brigade, to be composed of two companies, (a third may be afterwards added), of the strength noted as follows, and to be stationed in the garrisons of Bombay and Surat —For Bombay, one lieutenant, two midshipmen, eighty-one petty officers and seamen For Surat, two lieutenants, one midshipman, one gunner, one assistant apothecary, eighty petty officers and seamen With followers provided by the Commissariat, in the same proportion as to European soldiers. The officers and men of the Naval Brigade will receive, whilst employed on shore, batta according to the rates laid down in the Naval Regulations; the officers will also receive the house rent of their rank when not provided with public quarters, and the allowance for servants as on board ship, the men will be quartered as soldiers of the army. Rations will be supplied by the Commissariat on the same scale exactly as furnished on board ship. The Naval Brigade is to be considered as under the authority of his Excellency the Commander-in-chief of the army, for all purposes of service, and the naval officers in command of companies, will be guided by the orders they may receive from the military officer in command of the stations in which they are quartered; but they continue to be subject at the same time to their proper Commander-in-chief in all questions relating to interior economy and naval discipline. The men of the Naval Brigade will not be brought on the Army Returns, but be borne in a supernumerary list on the books of the 'Akbar;' and their pay and accounts will be arranged by the purser of that vessel, under the directions of the Commander-

Brigade did not remain long in existence, and indeed it had no *raison d'être*, for, as European troops kept pouring into the country in a manner that suggested to the minds of the discomfited rebels, the idea that the sea vomited forth transports filled with white soldiers, there was no lack of Artillery to supply its place. Accordingly, in December, 1858, the Bombay Detachment returned on board ship, and that stationed at Surat was broken up early in May, 1859. being for the last three months, under the command of Acting-Lieutenant Bewsher, Lieutenant Sedley having been appointed to the command of the 'Clive,' which sailed on the 2nd of March for Zanzibar.

On the 31st of August, 1858, the Bengal Regiments stationed at Mooltan broke out into open Mutiny, and Lieutenant G. T. Holt, of the Indian Navy, stationed there as Senior Naval Officer,* under the orders of Captain Daniell, commanding the Indus Flotilla, whose headquarters were at Kotree, was enabled to do good service to the State. On the forenoon of that day, the 62nd and 69th Regiments of Bengal Native Infantry, and a Company of Native Artillery, broke out into open mutiny, and, after a severe action, were driven back with slaughter by the Bombay Fusiliers, detachments of European Regiments, and a troop of Artillery, which were stationed to guard this important post. At the time of the outbreak, Lieutenant Holt, with his wife and child, was living a mile out of cantonments, having with him only a small guard of the Bombay Marine Battalion, who proved faithful to their salt. On learning what had occurred, Lieutenant Holt, with great presence of mind, sent a pressing order by a ferry-boat to all the ferries for a distance of 150 miles down the Chenaub to remove all boats to the opposite side of the river, and thus prevented the mutineers crossing, or the neighbouring people from joining them. This ferry-boat, which was flat-bottomed, reached Mithenkote, 150 miles from Mooltan—at the junction of the five rivers, Sutlej, Chenaub, Jhelum, Ravee, and Indus—in twelve hours, having left the orders at each ferry for the withdrawal of the boats, a result she was enabled to accomplish owing to the wind blowing strong down the river at this time of the year, and the current running at the rate of seven or eight knots, while from her draught of only a few inches, she was enabled to take short-cuts in the bends of the river. Lieutenant Holt, then, with the small guard of the Marine Battalion, defended his house against the rebels for two hours, and eventually succeeded in making good his retreat to cantonments with his family, though, unhappily, Mrs. Holt received such a shock

in-chief of the Indian Navy. His Excellency the Commander-in-chief of the Army, and the Commander-in-chief of the Indian Navy, are requested to issue all subsidiary orders that may be required."

* Lieutenant Holt was also Assistant Magistrate and Port Officer at Mooltan.

from the horrors she witnessed during the desperate defence of their house, that she died from the effects within six weeks. After leaving his family in the Hospital, the previously arranged refuge for the non-combatants in case of an outbreak, Lieutenant Holt joined the troops, and participated in the operations that led to the utter extermination of the rebels.*

The Commissioner of Mooltan specially recommended Lieutenant Holt and the Marine Guard, for the Mutiny Medal, direct to the Supreme Government of India, who granted the decoration, which was the more welcome as the gallant officer made no claim for it.

We have referred to the mutinous conduct of Havildar Syud Hoossein of the Marine Battalion, which met with such condign punishment on Bombay Green, but the taint of sedition was confined to this man, and the good service rendered by the Marine Battalion on this occasion was worthy of all praise. According to the Regimental Records, it appears that "the Detachment of the Battalion on duty at Mooltan, consisting of a naique and seven men, with a small Detachment 11th Regiment Punjaub Native Infantry, was engaged in defending the Treasure Chest, when the Bengal Regiments broke out into open mutiny at Mooltan, and killed twenty-six of the mutineers, for which gallant conduct the naique was promoted to havildar, the privates were promoted to naiques, and the havildar and a lance-naique were awarded the Third Class Order of Merit."

The arduous duty of transporting troops and stores during the Mutiny between Kurrachee and the different stations of the Punjaub, had been conducted by the officers and men of the Indus flotilla, under the superintendence of Captain Daniell, at Kotree. In June, 1860, Commander Macdonald proceeded to take over charge of the Indus flotilla, when the Supreme Government published a notification expressive of the satisfaction of the Governor-General in Council at the manner in which the officers and men of the flotilla, and other public departments, had accomplished their arduous duties during the

* The following was the strength of the revolted regiments at Mooltan on the morning of the 31st August, 1858, with the number killed, and otherwise disposed of, up to 20th September.—

Total number in cantonments on the morning of the 31st August .		1498
Killed in the attack	169	
Captured and shot	53	
Killed and thrown into canal		
Did not join the mutiny .	175	423
Escaped from cantonments .		1075
Found dead . . .	2	
Drowned . . .	106	
Killed in action . .	193	
Captured . . .	617	918
Balance not accounted for .		157

past three years.* In the following year, on the occasion of Brigadier Colin Troup, C.B., vacating the command at Mooltan, he addressed to Lieutenant Holt, the Senior Naval officer at that important station, a letter of thanks for the "ready and efficient assistance" he had always received from him.†

Monday, the 1st of November, 1858, is remarkable in Indian annals as the day on which was proclaimed throughout India, the assumption by Her Majesty of the direct rule of our Eastern Empire, thereby consummating, by a solemn public Act, the extinction of the Government of the East India Company.‡

* "To the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Military Department.—Sir,—The Government of India has recently had before it an account of the transport of the families of soldiers from Kurrachee to Peshawur and elsewhere in the Punjaub Owing to the judicious arrangements made by the authorities, both civil and military, and the great care and attention paid to the comfort and wants of the families by the officers of the Indus Flotilla, and those in whose immediate charge they were placed, this difficult task was carried out with complete success The approbation of the Government of India has been conveyed, through the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjaub, to the functionaries of that province who are concerned, and I am now desired to request that the Government of Bombay may be moved to make the cordial approval of the Governor-General in Council known to the officers of the Sind Commission, of the Indus Flotilla, and of the Commissariat Department, who afforded such material aid in carrying out the measure. (Signed) R J H Birch, Major-General, Secretary to the Government of India. Council Chamber, Fort William, 15th of June, 1860"

† The following is a copy of the letter of Brigadier Troup, dated Mooltan, the 5th of April, 1861:—

"Sir,—Being about to quit Mooltan to assume the command of the Fortress of Agra, I cannot leave the station without conveying to you my sincere thanks for the very ready and efficient assistance I have at all times received from you in your department during the two years I have been in command at Mooltan, but, more especially during 1859-60, in carrying out the arrangements required for the passage to Kurrachee of the men of the Bengal Army, who took their discharge under the operation of Government General Order, No 883, of the 20th of June, 1859, and which alone enabled me to embark the whole of them without a single complaint having been made against any one of them.

"Believe me it will afford me great satisfaction to hear of your welfare, for, from my intimate association with you for the last two years, I feel assured you will always strive to the utmost to perform your duty, with credit to yourself and with satisfaction to the State"

Soon after, Lieutenant Holt resigned his appointments at Mooltan, and arrived at Bombay on the 11th of October. He joined the flagship 'Ajdaha,' and on the 22nd of November, was appointed to the command of the 'Berenice,' Lieutenant Child succeeding him at Mooltan. In 1876 Commander Holt was appointed one of H.M.'s Nautical Assessors to the Board of Trade.

‡ The following final despatch of thanks by the Court of Directors, to their servants in India, is of historical interest, but following their habit of ignoring their Navy to the last, no mention whatever was made of this the earliest of their established Services —

"Public Department, No. 147, of 1858. Our Governor-General of India in Council,—We have the satisfaction of transmitting to you, for promulgation in such manner as you may consider suitable, the copy of a Resolution unanimously passed by the General Court of the East India Company, held on the 30th ult., expressing the thanks of the Court to the servants and officers of the Company of every rank, and in every capacity.

"We are, (Signed) F. CURRIE,
"J EASTWICK.
"London, September 1st, 1858.

"Extract Minutes of a Special General Court of the East India Company, held

The whole of the officers of the Indian Navy in port attended in full dress at the imposing ceremony of the Proclamation in front of the Town-Hall at Bombay, amidst an indescribable scene of enthusiasm on the part of the vast crowd there assembled, while the ships, gaily decked in flags, from truck

at their house in Leadenhall Street, on Monday, August 30th, 1858 A Proprietor, adverting to the fact of this being the last occasion of the meeting General Court before the severance of the connection of the East India Company with the Government of India, and moving the Court, it was resolved unanimously —'That the East India Company on surrendering, at the bidding of Parliament, those powers connected with the Government of the British territories in India, which it has long exercised as trustee for the Crown, desires to return its warmest thanks to its servants and officers of every rank and in every capacity for the fidelity, zeal, and efficiency with which they have performed their several duties, and offers to them its best wishes for their future prosperity'

"To those who are natives of India, the East India Company has the satisfaction of being able to give the fullest assurance, that in Her Majesty Queen Victoria they will find a most gracious mistress, not unmindful of their past services under that authority which has hitherto had the honour of representing British sovereignty in India, and ever ready to reward loyalty to the British Crown The East India Company is convinced that the members of the Home Department of the Company's Government will maintain the high reputation which that department now enjoys, and will continue, when enrolled in the direct service of the Crown, to command the esteem and confidence of their official chiefs, and of the public Of its fellow-countrymen employed in India, under the Company's Government, whether as civilians or soldiers, of those, especially, whose duty has recently subjected them to trials of unexampled severity, and who have done their duty so admirably as to win for them the praise and sympathy of their Sovereign and their country, the East India Company is proud to say, that their past conduct affords the strongest security that the Crown will possess no servants abler, none more devoted, than those who have been trained by the Company, and without in any manner arrogating to itself what is due to men, some of whose names are honoured in every region of the civilised world, the East India Company trusts that in the page of impartial history it may be recorded as having presented, in the career which it has opened, both to the members of its own Civil and Military services, and to the gallant troops of Her Majesty and her royal predecessors, a field for the exercise of the highest qualities of the statesman and the soldier In the humble hope that the Company's rule will prove to have been in the hand of Divine Providence, an instrument of good, and even of the highest good to India, the East India Company earnestly prays that it may please Almighty God to bless the Queen's Indian reign by the speedy restoration of peace, security, and order, and so to prosper Her Majesty's efforts for the welfare of her East Indian subjects, that the millions who will henceforth be placed under Her Majesty's direct, as well as sovereign, dominion, constantly advancing in all that makes men and nations great, flourishing, and happy, may reward Her Majesty's cares in their behalf by their faithful and firm attachment to Her Majesty's person and Government"

The Supreme Government, in recording the above Resolution, added —

"The Right Honourable the Governor-General, speaking not only for the Government of India, but for all of every class who have acted under that Government, desires to record an assurance of the respectful thankfulness with which these parting words of goodwill and approval will be received by the vast community of the Indian Civil and Military Services The Governor-General is satisfied, that amongst all, there is but one common feeling of acknowledgment of the just, considerate, and liberal treatment, which has ever characterised the great Company which has now ceased to govern the British territories in India. By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General"

to taffrail, "rainbow fashion," fired salutes, and illuminated in the evening. But the booming of their cannon was the death-knell not only of the good old Company, but of the Naval Service which had watched over its cradle, and now paid the last honours at its obsequies, while the fluttering of the bunting from every masthead and yard-arm, was emblematic of the fate of the gaily-bedecked Hindoo widow, as she ascends the funeral pyre at the lugubrious ceremony of the Suttee * Similar observances were held at Calcutta,† Madras, and the capitals of the provinces.

* The "Bombay Gazette" describes the celebration as follows —"The booming of cannon, the strains of martial and national music, and the cheers of the multitude, after the reading of the Royal Proclamation on Monday, the 1st of November, showed unmistakably that an event of deep interest to our community had just been communicated These were signals that the sceptre of Indian Government had been taken from the lifeless hand of the Company, after a long and famous career, and consigned to that of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland Notwithstanding the brevity of the notice given, for which, we understand, the Bombay Government was in no way responsible, the official arrangements for promulgating in the Town-Hall the new reign of things with dignity and *éclat*, were highly creditable to all concerned The "powers that be" were represented in the persons of the Governor, high naval and military officers, and legal functionaries, and the sanction of religion, learning, and commerce was given to the proceedings by the presence of several spiritual pastors, members of the polite professions, and the mercantile community The natives far outstripped the Europeans in demonstrative enthusiasm, they mustered in great force at the Town-Hall, but their loyal manifestations were observable everywhere from an early hour of the day, in the shape of preparations for the decoration and illumination of their houses After the proclamation had been made, the motley stream of people were directed to the great centre of attraction —the Esplanade No stranger who has once seen this pride of Bombay, under even ordinary circumstances, will soon forget it Few towns in the world can boast anything grander than the view of the Fort from the Money School at sunrise, noon, or sunset. Let the distant reader then imagine how much this magnificent spectacle must have been enhanced when the entire range of diversified architecture, from point to point, was lit up with millions of lights, and an endless succession of rockets, Roman candles, and other triumphs of the pyrotechnic art The men-of-war of the quondam 'Indian Navy,' now to be incorporated with the Royal Navy, was decorated in their best, from 'morn till dewy eve,' and at times gave out from the iron throats of their guns intonation of their joy at the change, and in the evening they were illuminated from stem to stern, and from deck to high topgallant mast. We do not for one moment imagine that the chiefs, the officers, and the men of the Indian Navy, forgot their late paymasters the Company. In the evening, next to the men-of-war, the illuminated ships, 'Fearnought,' and 'Ellen Bates,' were the great sources of attraction in the Bay To an advanced hour of the night the throng of carriages and pedestrians on the Esplanade, and the other favoured spots for witnessing the sights, proved how universal and lasting was the interest taken by all classes of the community, rich and poor, of every shade of complexion and creed, in the great incident of the day"

† The following was the Order issued by Mr. Cecil Beadon, Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, of the celebration at Calcutta —"Monday next, the 1st of November, having been fixed by the Right Honourable the Governor-General for proclaiming the assumption by Her Majesty the Queen of the Government of the British territories in India, it is hereby notified that this event will be proclaimed at four p m. of that day, on the north steps of Government House. At the same time and place a proclamation by Her Most Gracious Majesty to the chiefs, princes, and people of India will be read. All Civil, Military, and Naval officers of Her Majesty and of the East India Company, are requested to attend, and all classes of Her Majesty's subjects are invited to be

The policy of ignoring the Indian Navy was continued to the last, and not only was no mention made of the Service in H.M.'s Proclamation, but the Court of Directors, in their letter of thanks to their servants and officers, omitted all reference to their naval officers and seamen, an act of seemingly studied neglect which aroused feelings of resentment in their hearts, as equally with their military brethren they had borne the burden and heat of the day, by assisting in rearing the fabric of empire during the past two centuries.

In the latter part of 1859 the Indian Navy assisted in some operations undertaken for the suppression of the Waghers, a piratical race who, from time immemorial, had made their haunts in the Peninsula of Okhamundel, on the coast of Kattywar. The last occasion in which the Service had been engaged against these freebooters was in 1820, when assisting a strong column of troops, which, under Colonel Hon. Lincoln Stanhope, stormed the fort at Dwarka.

In 1858 the Waghers seized the strong fort in the Island of Beyt, and, on the 3rd of April, repulsed, with the loss of six killed and twenty-six wounded, including three officers, a force of two companies of the 10th Native Infantry and some men of the 16th Native Infantry and Marine Battalion, which, while proceeding from Kurrachee to Surat, in the 'Prince Arthur,' landed and attempted to carry the fort by escalade. The Waghers evacuated the place the same night, but, encouraged by the impunity which they enjoyed, owing to the British Government being engaged in the suppression of the Mutiny, in 1859 they reoccupied both the Island of Beyt and the strong fort at Dwarka, the Guicowar's soldiers offering no resistance, and levied large imposts from the thousands of pilgrims who flocked from all parts of Hindostan to worship at the shrines for which they were famous—the great temple at Dwarka, dedicated to Krishna, being held in special veneration.

In September, 1859, the Bombay Government fitted out an Expedition of which the military portion consisted of H.M.'s

present on this occasion All the troops of the Presidency will be paraded, and all the ships-of-war in the river will be dressed in honour of the event The illuminations in honour of the assumption of the Government of India by Her Majesty the Queen will take place on the evening of Monday, the 1st of November next Directions have already been given for the illumination of all public offices, buildings, and ships, and the President in Council again invites all loyal subjects of Her Majesty to join in celebrating the event." The proceedings at Calcutta were tame, but passed off well. At four o'clock the royal proclamation was read on the steps of Government House by Mr Beadon Directly the Home Secretary had finished reading, Mr Halliday, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, taking off his hat, commenced to cheer, which was taken up by a dense crowd of Europeans and natives, gentlemen and servants, baboos and up-countrymen. As soon as it was dark the streets and roads became thronged with people. The illuminations were excellent, but the fireworks on the following night were a failure; altogether the celebration was not equal to that at Bombay.

28th Regiment, a Company of Artillery, a Detachment of Sappers, the 6th Native Infantry, and two hundred men of the Marine Battalion, the whole under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Donovan, of H.M.'s 33rd Regiment. The Indian Navy furnished the Naval contingent, consisting of the 'Ferooz,' Commander Cruttenden, senior naval officer; 'Zenobia,' Commander Tronson; 'Berenice,' Lieutenant Twynam; 'Victoria,' Lieutenant Chitty; 'Clyde,' Lieutenant Nixon; and 'Constance,' Lieutenant Dickson; with the 'Lady Falkland' to carry the mails. On the 29th of September the squadron sailed from Bombay for Beyt, escorting the transports 'South,' 'Ramilies,' and 'Empress of India,' conveying the troops. Lieutenant A. D. Taylor, the eminent surveyor, who was familiar with the Kattywar coast, was specially appointed to the 'Ferooz,' to assist in the navigation of the Gulf of Cutch.

The force arrived off Beyt, at the entrance of the Gulf, on the 3rd of October. The following day was spent in reconnoitring, and the boats of the squadron—two from the 'Ferooz,' two from the 'Zenobia,' and one from the 'Victoria'—under the command of Lieutenant Chitty, were employed cutting out the native craft lying in-shore, while the ships took up a position within eight hundred yards of the south side of the fort. On the morning of the 5th of October, the 'Ferooz,' 'Zenobia,' 'Victoria,' 'Clyde,' and 'Constance,' opened fire on the fort, a very strong and compact work, having lofty, massive towers, mounted with guns, and presenting an imposing appearance from the sea. The castle was bombarded all day, but, during the night, there was a cessation of firing. On the morning of the 6th, the bombardment was resumed with redoubled energy, and at length it was resolved to attempt the storm of the fort. Accordingly, at two p.m. the troops were landed, under a heavy fire from the enemy, the disembarkation being effected under protection of the guns of the squadron; the boats' crews, with field-pieces, also landed and co-operated with the troops, whose advance they covered with their fire. The attempt to capture the place by escalade failed, owing to the very heavy fire poured upon the assailants from the curtains, which had been extensively loopholed. The face of the wall, in which was a great gap, caused by the bombardment, was protected with a *chevaux de frise* of prickly pear, and it was resolved, after some considerable loss had been experienced, to withdraw the troops and continue the bombardment. At this juncture a white flag was hung out, and the chief offered to surrender the fort on condition of the garrison being permitted to march out with their arms. The commanders, however, demanded an unconditional surrender, upon which the flag was hauled down, and the ships recommenced the firing. Soon after dark the Waghers evacuated the fort, which was occupied on the following day.

A correspondent of the "Bombay Gazette" says:—"It was a marvel that the garrison had so long sustained the terrible fire poured into the place. The body of the chief, who must have fallen soon after the recommencement of hostilities, was found amid heaps of dead. The walls, which are amazingly strong, are earthworks, of from 18 to 40 feet thick and 30 to 40 feet high." During the bombardment, the 'Ferooz' alone fired one thousand four hundred rounds of shot and shell. In the unsuccessful attempt to assault the fort, the troops lost Lieutenant McCormack and thirteen men of H.M.'s 28th Regiment, and Ensign Willaume and nine men of the 6th Native Infantry, killed; also two officers and thirty-three men of the 28th, ten men of the 6th, and two of the Marine Battalion, wounded. On the capture of the fort the Sappers were employed in levelling it with the ground

Captain Nasmyth, Field Engineer of the Okhamundal Field Force, gives the following particulars of the strength of the walls of the fort at Beyt, and of the length of the ladders which, it was incorrectly said, were too short for scaling purposes:—"The height of the wall to the top of the parapet on the face selected for escalade, varied from 19½ to 21 feet, and at the extreme end 24 feet; there was a hole at the point chosen, knocked through the parapet at 17 feet from the ground, and a gap beyond it at 16 feet from the ground. The ladders, as they were carried forward, were as follows:—Two pieces, 36 feet long; two ditto, 27 ditto; four ditto, 24½ ditto."

Where all behaved well it is, perhaps, invidious to particularise, but we should fail in our duty were we to omit all mention of the conspicuous gallantry displayed by the Second-Lieutenant of the 'Zenobia.' Mr. G C. Parker commanded on the occasion the field-piece party from his ship, and landed with the troops. The enemy's fire was very heavy, and Lieutenant Parker received a wound, but continued to direct his men; a second bullet smashed the hilt of his sword. He was specially thanked by Colonel Donovan, in a despatch addressed to Captain Cruttenden, and the latter officer wrote:—"The gallantry and coolness with which Mr. Parker worked his gun, under a heavy and very destructive fire, was most conspicuous, and excited the admiration of all, and, moreover, was most useful in covering the withdrawal of the troops after the first fruitless attempt to take the place by escalade."*

The 'Zenobia' arrived at Bombay with the wounded officers and men on the 11th of October, and returned on the 14th, to take part in the reduction of Dwarka, for which a second

* On the abolition of the Service, Lieutenant Parker was appointed Assistant-Superintendent and Post Officer at Carwar, and since June, 1873, has filled the office of Master-Attendant at Kurrachee, in succession to Commander E. Giles, I.N.

column of troops, under the command of Colonel Scobie, marched by land. The squadron also was reinforced by the sloop-of-war 'Clive,' Lieutenant Sedley, which arrived from Zanzibar on the 3rd of October, and proceeded to Dwarka, off which all the ships-of-war and transports, with Colonel Donovan's force, were assembled on the 18th of October.

A correspondent of the "Bombay Gazette," gives the following interesting account of the operations that ensued for the reduction of this important stronghold:—

"In order to make Colonel Scobie's force, which was supposed to be about five miles inland, aware of our presence, the 'Ferooz' steamed in abreast of the town, and fired eight shells into it, this being the preconcerted signal, and then anchored to the north-west, nearly opposite to Roopon Bunder, which is about two miles* to the northward of Dwarka. This is the only place where the troops could effect a landing, on account of the surf which runs all along the coast, with the exception of a few sheltered places. But there is rather an imposing looking fort there, and we noticed horsemen riding between it and the town, evidently making preparations to defend it; so the 'Clyde,' gun-boat, towing the 'Ferooz,' 'Berenice,' and 'Zenobia's' first cutters in charge of Lieutenant Wilson,† anchored off it, and commenced firing, which was kept up for some time, when the boats' crews landed, rushed up to the fort and took it, much to the surprise of everybody, as it was expected to have been decided in the usual Wagher style, and the Colonel commanding the field-force stated that he would not have landed there with less than a thousand men: so this was a feather in Jack's cap. On the afternoon of the next day, the 20th ultimo, the troops disembarked, and, in conjunction with Colonel Scobie's force, formed a circle round the land side of the town. I forgot to mention that, as soon as the Jacks had taken the fort, Lieutenant Nixon, commanding the 'Clyde,' landed a 24-pounder howitzer, which afterwards harassed the enemy a good deal, disabling a gun they brought to the front, killing two, and wounding a good many. The first thing to be done was to disable the guns, of which they appear to have a good many, and a 10-inch mortar. The artillery have gradually got their batteries to work, and for the last three days the 'Ferooz' and 'Zenobia' have been shelling the town. At first the military big-wigs were cautious about going to work, lest they should fire over into the troops on the other side; but, after seeing the practice that was made at Beyt by the ships, they ought to

* More accurately, one and a-half miles from Dwarka, of which it is the Port.

† After the abolition of the Service, Lieutenant C. P. Wilson was one of the most efficient assessors of the Board of Trade, in which he now holds the responsible position of one of the three "Professional Members of Harbour and Marine Departments."

have had more confidence; however, they appear to have recovered. The firing from the ships is heavier than the whole of the shore batteries put together. H.M.'s sloop 'Clive' arrived on the 25th, when a naval brigade was formed, consisting of three lieutenants—Lieutenant Sedley commanding, Lieutenant Crockett from the 'Ferooz,' and Lieutenant Hall from the 'Zenobia'—nine midshipmen, and one hundred and twenty blue-jackets. These landed on the 26th, and the next morning at once took up a position about a hundred and fifty yards from the outer fort and temples, taking possession of a square look-out tower. They were not long left in peace here, for the enemy commenced a heavy fire of musketry, and after a short time brought a gun to bear on them. Before dark they had two officers, Lieutenant Hall and Mr. Midshipman Pulman, and four men wounded They had brought a 12-pounder fieldpiece up with them, but it became disabled after a few rounds; so they had no means of silencing the enemy's gun, and there was no cover for them beyond that afforded at the back of the square tower, the single walls of which were too thin to resist round shot, and there was barely room for one hundred and thirty men. However, Lieutenant Sedley was determined to hold the position at all hazards, as it was an important one.

"That night the Waghers made a sortie in two parties, one in front and one round by the beach under the high ground on which the town stands. They rushed on, yelling like fiends, but were repulsed with great loss—killed one seaman and wounded five others. The man who was killed was almost cut in two and otherwise frightfully mangled. The number of the enemy killed is not known, but they were three hours carrying away their wounded. There must already have been a great number killed, as every night large fires are seen burning their dead. Yesterday two more wounded were added to the Naval Brigade casualties, in trying to take possession of an advanced fort. When I say trying, it was taken; and before you could make that popular exclamation 'Jack Robinson,' a midshipman was climbing up to the top of the temple, and in five minutes more the Union-Jack was flying where the Wagher flag had been. The breastworks the enemy had built up were knocked down; the party then retired, as the place was too large and in too crumbling a state to hold, and there was a heavy fire of musketry on them. The batteries are hard at work as I write, and the ships will open fire again in a few minutes. On the evening of Sunday, the 30th, the Waghers made a sortie on the sailors' battery, but were repulsed with severe loss. Early on Tuesday morning they evacuated the fort, cutting their way through the pickets of the 28th Regiment, severely wounding one officer and three men. They

passed close to the 28th camp, but that corps could do nothing towards intercepting them, owing to the darkness."*

* The great feature in Dwarka is the temple of Krishna, or Dwarkanath, "the Lord of Dwarka," built on an eminence 168 feet above the sea level, and surrounded by a fortified wall (which likewise encircles the town), from which it is, however, separated by a lofty partition wall, through which it is necessary to pass to see it to advantage It is described as consisting of three parts—the Munduff, or Hall of Congregation, the Devachna, or penetralia (also termed Gabarra), and the Sikra or Spire The Munduff is square, measuring 21 feet internally, and five distinct storeys high, each storey is colonnaded, the lower being 20 feet in height, and of the same square form to the last, where the architraves are laid transversely to form a base for the surmounting dome, whose apex is 75 feet from the pavement Four massive pillars on each face of the square, form the foundation of this enormous weight, but these being inadequate to sustain it, intermediate pillars to each pair have been added, to the sacrifice of all symmetry. A colonnaded piazza surrounds the lowest storey, of about 10 feet in breadth, from which to the north, south, and west, portions are projected, likewise colonnaded Each storey of the Munduff has an internal gallery, with a parapet 3 feet in height, to prevent the incautious from falling These parapets, divided into compartments, had been richly sculptured The Sikra or Spire, constructed in the most ancient style, consists of a series of pyramids, each representing a miniature temple, and each diminishing with the contracting spire, which terminates at 140 feet from the ground There are several distinct storeys before this pyramidal spire greatly diminishes in diameter Each face of each storey is ornamented with open porches surmounted by a pediment supported by small columns Each of these storeys internally consists of column placed upon column, whose enormous architraves increase in bulk in the decreasing ratio of the super-imposed mass, and although the majority at the summit are actually broken by their own weight, yet they are retained in their position by the aggregate unity The entire fabric whose internal dimensions are 78 feet by 76 feet, is built from the rock, which is of sandstone of various degrees of texture. It has a greenish hue, either from its native bed, or from imbibing the saline atmosphere, which, when a strong light shines upon it, gives the mass a vitreous transparent lustre Joined by a colonnade to this temple is a smaller one, dedicated to Deoki, the mother of Krishna, and at the opposite angle of the great temple is another, still smaller, dedicated to Krishna under his title of Madhu Rae, or the "Prince the Intoxicator" The Goomtee, a small rivulet which flows by the group, is considered especially sacred, but it is so shallow that it does not reach the ancle The site of the temple was once insulated, but the sea having thrown up a sandbank across the channel, this sacred spot is now connected with the mainland About ten miles from Diu Head is Muldwarka, or ancient Dwarka, where Krishna met his death, and where, according to tradition, stood the ancient temple, which was swept away by the sea

Considerable excitement prevailed at Bombay among the Hindoos on a report that the great Hindoo temple of Dwarka had been desecrated and despoiled by the British forces, but this was denied by Colonel Donovan, who wrote to the following effect to Lord Elphinstone, explaining what took place after the capture of the fort Referring to a plan of the fortress which accompanied his letter, showing its strong casemated, loop-holed arrangements, with the relative position of its temple, Colonel Donovan observed that the fort defences could not have been destroyed without serious injury to the temples Seeing that this was unavoidable, that officer took prompt measures for the preservation of idols, the gold and silver ornaments, and other valuables belonging to the temples. The idols he had at once made over to the priests, but as he could not determine who were the proper parties to receive the jewellery and valuables, he had them conveyed on board the 'Feroze' for better security These precautions were all the more necessary, as the European soldiery, who could alone have prevented the excesses of the natives of Beyt and camp followers, which would assuredly have attended the destruction of the fort, had been sent back to the shipping to avoid exposing them to a similar temptation. Some ornaments of trifling value, Colonel Donovan stated, were appropriated by the men

In some minor points the above account requires supplementing. The boats of the squadron that captured the fort in such gallant style, on the 19th of October, were commanded by Lieutenants Wilson and Hall; in addition to the officers mentioned as employed on shore at Dwarka, Midshipman Greig had charge of the 'Clyde's' 24-pounder, and Mr. Parker participated in the operations with the force of blue-jackets forming the Naval Brigade under Lieutenant Sedley, which consisted of one hundred and fifty (and not one hundred and twenty) petty officers and seamen, their services being necessary, owing to the military force not being large enough to invest so extensive a place. The sailors' battery was traced out one night with a piece of tape by the Engineer officer, and, on the following night, the Naval Brigade constructed it, mounted the guns, consisting of two 32-pounders from the 'Clive' and six 12-pounder howitzers, and opened fire on the following morning, a piece of smartness not often surpassed we should say. All these guns, with stores, sandbags for the batteries, and ammunition, had to be dragged up a stony place covered with prickly pears, one mile and a quarter from the point of debarkation. On the Monday evening preceding the evacuation, the enemy were observed burying their dead, who lay scattered over the ground in considerable numbers, and the Waghers either carried away or buried their treasure, as little loot was discovered.

The 'Ferooz' and 'Zenobia' arrived at Bombay on the 13th of November, towing the transport 'Empress of India' with troops and three baghalahs with stores, and soon the remainder of the Okhamundel field-force returned, with the exception of the 6th Native Infantry and the Sappers and Miners. It was certainly a regrettable circumstance that the Waghers succeeded in stealing away from the fort without being observed by the 28th, close to whose pickets they passed, as they retreated to the Burda hills, and it required a second force to take the field in order finally to subdue them The officers and men of the 'Ferooz,' 'Zenobia,' 'Clive,' 'Victoria,' 'Berenice,' 'Clyde,' 'Constance,' and 'Lady Falkland,' engaged in the

of the force before order had been restored, after the occupation of the fort, but he trusted that when the Hindoos are made aware that their idols are safe, that enough treasure has been preserved to enrich any temples which they may hereafter erect, and that their enemies, the Waghers, will not be in a position to molest them again, they will feel that they have received all the consideration which, under the circumstances, was possible He did all in his power to preserve and respect property, and permitted no one to approach the temples outside the fort One of these had been plundered by the Waghers before they retreated, but none were disturbed by the men of his force. In conclusion, he observed, that if the Hindoos will convert fortified castles into places of worship, and then surround them by strong fortresses close up to their very walls, and out of which they can neither keep their own nor our enemies, they must expect to find that their temples cannot be preserved inviolate.

operations against the Waghers,* received the war batta of their respective ranks, and the following orders from the Governor in Council and the Secretary of State for India, were published to the Service by Commodore Wellesley:— "The Commander-in-chief has much pleasure in publishing to the Service the following extract of a letter to his Address from the Secretary to Government in the Political Department, No. 5009, of the 26th of November, 1859:—'The Right Hon. the Governor in Council has read the report of Commander Cruttenden with much gratification; and I am desired to request you will be pleased to express to that officer, and to the officers and men who served under him in the Okhamundel Expedition, the high sense which his Lordship in Council entertains of the gallantry and zeal exhibited by all, and especially by the Naval Brigade under Lieutenant Sedley, in the operations against Beyt and Dwarka.'"

"Commodore's Office, Bombay, the 11th of August, 1860:— Adverting to Government Order, dated December last. the Commander-in-chief, Indian Navy, has much gratification in publishing the subjoined copy of a letter from the Acting Chief Secretary to Government, dated the 6th instant, No 3111, in the Political Department, stating that the commendation bestowed upon Commander Cruttenden, and the officers and men of the Indian Navy, who were employed in the operations before

* Lieutenant G C. Sconce, Second-Lieutenant of the 'Feroox,' writes as follows of this little campaign against the Waghers —"The 'Feroox' and 'Zenobia' bombarded Beyt for, I think, three days, firing also occasionally during the night, the 'Feroox' alone expended about fifteen hundred shot and shell. The Engineer in charge, thinking the breach practicable, the troops were ordered to land, and a warm reception we got, both in landing and storming the fort, for we were driven back with the loss of about two hundred killed and wounded in an hour's work. There were not troops enough, and the place was not surrounded, so the Waghers bolted during the night, getting to the mainland in boats, and then on to Dwarka, where we followed with the troops a few days after. In the meantime, a large field-force had marched to Dwarka, investing it to the southward When we came up, before the troops could be landed, a boat Expedition was sent to effect a landing and clear the jungle, which was done by the 'Clyde' and boats of the 'Feroox' and 'Zenobia,' under Lieutenants Wilson and Hall, as soon as they had secured a small fort, the larger boats were sent off to the squadron, and the troops landed the same evening, the blue-jackets returning on board at once A Naval Brigade was landed at Dwarka, commanded by Lieutenant Sedley, with Lieutenants Crockett and Hall, and several midshipmen. Lieutenant Nixon and Mr Shuttleworth also did good service with the rocket brigade The 'Feroox' and 'Zenobia' bombarded Dwarka for some days, with special instructions not to fire at the mosque, and when the Waghers found the place too hot for them, they attempted to cut through the Naval Brigade, but being there defeated, they passed on to the Marines, who were also on the alert, but going further along the line, where the sentries were not so close, they got away through the 28th Regiment, and, not being followed till next morning, escaped into the boggy ground of the Gulf of Cutch. In the Naval Brigade we had several men killed and wounded. It was a great shame the Government refused the mutiny medal for Beyt, for it was well known that many of the rebels were there aiding and abetting the Waghers, who were very devils to fight."

the fortress of Beyt, has met with the concurrence of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.—'No. 3111 of 1860. Political Department. From H. L. Anderson, Esq., Acting Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, to Commodore G. G. Wellesley, C.B., R.N., Commander-in-chief Indian Navy, dated the 5th of August, 1860. Sir,—With reference to your letter of the 19th October last, No. 1030, I am directed by his Excellency the Governor in Council to intimate to you that, in a despatch dated the 1st of March last, No. 9, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India has informed this Government that he entirely concurs in the commendation which has been bestowed on the officers and men of the Indian Navy employed in the operations before the fortress of Beyt, more particularly Commander Cruttenden and the other officers mentioned. In making this intimation to you, I am desired to request that the sentiments of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India may be communicated to Commander Cruttenden and the other officers alluded to.'"

In February, 1859, the 'Ajdaha' was converted into the flagship of the Commander-in-chief, in place of the 'Akbar,' which had been receiving-ship since 1855, and was sold at auction for the sum of 41,600 rupees to the same native firm who bought the 'Queen.' Ever since her introduction into the Service, the 'Ajdaha' had been one of the Company's hard bargains. When carrying the mails she was constantly breaking down; and on the last occasion when she went through this favourite performance she nearly carried down with her a portion of H.M.'s 69th Regiment, which she was conveying, during the Mutiny, from Aden to Bombay, and who were transhipped to a Peninsular and Oriental steamer. The 'Ajdaha' was one of those contract steamers built in England, like the 'Cleopatra' and others, which were a constant source of expense to Government, and passed far more of their time in the docks at Bombay than the ships that were built there by the famous Parsee shipbuilders. In this connection we should not omit to chronicle the demise, on the 2nd of November, 1860, at the patriarchal age of eighty-five, of Nowrojee Jamsetjee Wadia, the head of this firm, under whose superintendence so many of the ships of the Indian Navy had been constructed, including the 'Hastings,' the sloops-of-war 'Clive,' 'Amherst,' 'Elphinstone,' and 'Coote,' the brigs 'Euphrates' and 'Tigris,' the schooners 'Mahi' and 'Constance,' besides many fine frigates and ships of the line for Her Majesty's Service. Mr. Nowrojee was the head of the Wadia, or Lowjee, family, and was looked upon as the chief of the Parsee community at Bombay, where he occupied the position of President of the Parsee Punchayet. At an early age he entered Bombay Dockyard, and, in the year 1822, succeeded his father, Jamsetjee Bomanjee,

as master-builder, which responsible situation he held for a period of twenty-two years, and, in 1844, retired upon a handsome pension allowed by Government as the reward of his meritorious and faithful services during fifty-four years. In testimony of respect for the memory of the deceased, Commodore Wellesley closed the dockyard; all the Parsee shops in the fort were also closed, and the flags of the vessels in harbour hoisted half-mast high.

In May, 1859, Captain J. W. Young, C.B., became Assistant-Superintendent on the death of Captain Powell, for whom he had been officiating since June, 1858. Captain Powell was a fine seaman, and had seen much service, and commanded the Indian Naval Brigade at the siege of Mooltan in 1848-49.

On the occasion of the wreck in Back Bay, near Bombay, of the ship 'Natalie,' during a heavy gale of wind, on the 23rd of July, 1859, Lieutenant Sconce, and other officers of the Service, with some boats' crews of volunteers, succeeded in rescuing a great portion of the ship's crew. Commodore Wellesley issued a Squadron Order, expressive of the "high sense he entertained of the courageous energy displayed by those officers and seamen of Her Majesty's Indian Navy in port." employed on the occasion.

On the 1st of November, 1859, the Master-Attendant and Conservator of the Port, having been relieved from all duties connected with the Dockyard and Indian Navy, and placed under the Commissioner of Customs, Captain Barker, I N., who filled that post, was reappointed, with Mr. Atkinson* as First-Assistant and two subordinate officers; the Pilot establishment was also placed under his orders. Captain Young, Assistant-Superintendent, was also, on the 11th of November, appointed to the new office of Dock-Master, in addition to his other duties,

* Mr. Atkinson, on account of failing health, almost immediately retired from the office of First Assistant to the Master-Attendant, which he had held for many years, and died on the 24th of January, 1860 This officer entered the service in 1817, and served through the first Burmah war He was chief officer of the 'Palmurus' in 1827, Commander of her in 1828, and in the following year commanded the 'Thetis,' and in 1830 the 'Nautilus' Transferred in 1831 to the Master-Attendant's department, he gradually rose to the post of First Assistant. On the 9th of January, 1860, a Government Order notified that Mr. Atkinson was permitted "to retire with a good service pension of Rs. 300 per mensem, from the date on which he ceased to hold office in the Master-Attendant's department" In squadron orders, Commodore Wellesley made the following generous reference to Mr Atkinson's services —"In publishing the subjoined Government General Order notifying that Mr H. Atkinson, late First Assistant Master-Attendant, has been permitted to retire from the Service, the Commander-in-chief cannot omit alluding to the very valuable services which this officer has rendered in the Naval Department during a period of upwards of forty years The high testimonials which he bears from every officer under whom he has served are a lasting record of the fidelity and zeal with which he has invariably fulfilled his duty, and he retires on a pension higher than that to which he is entitled, but which has been granted in consideration of his long and excellent service."

with Lieutenant Nixon, First-Assistant, and Acting-Master Kennelly, Second-Assistant and Agent for transports. At the same time, Commander Grounds, in addition to his duties as gunnery officer, assumed command of the 'Ajdaha,' now receiving-ship in place of the 'Akbar,' Captain Young being relieved of the command of the flag-ship on the new distribution of duties. In May, 1860,* Captain Frushard, now senior officer of the Service in India, was appointed to the command of the flag-ship.

* Commodore Wellesley, under date the 17th of January, 1860, issued the following rules for the guidance of officers commanding vessels of the Indian Navy in their relations with seniors of the Royal Service —"Whenever an officer commanding a vessel of H M.'s Indian Navy falls in with a vessel of the Royal Navy commanded by an officer superior in rank to himself, he is invariably to wait upon such superior officer without loss of time and pay his respects to him, communicating generally on what Service he is employed Whenever any vessel or vessels of H M 's Indian Navy, may be in company with vessels of the Royal Navy, the senior officer of which is superior in rank to the senior officer of H M 's Indian Navy present, the time of such superior officer is to be kept, and his routine with regard to hoisting colours and firing the morning and evening gun, is to be invariably observed and followed."

CHAPTER XII.

1860—1863.

Death of Captain S. B. Haines; his Character and Services—The Indian Navy in the China War of 1860—War Medals gained by the Indian Navy—Gallant Conduct of Lieutenant Cookson at the Kooria Mooria Islands—Movements of the Ships of the Indian Navy during 1861-62—Reduction of the Indus Flotilla and Marine Battalion—The Government and the House of Commons on the Future of the Service—Departure of Commodore Wellesley and Appointment of Captain Frushard—Reduction of the Indian Navy—Commander Adams and the Affair of H M S 'Penguin'—Orders on the Abolition of the Service—The Hauling down of the Flag—Conclusion

ON the 16th of June, 1860, died at Bombay Captain S. B. Haines, an old and distinguished, and, until the year 1854, a valued servant of the Government. Captain Haines bore an unblemished character during his long and distinguished career, first as one of the most accomplished of that scientific band of surveyors for which the Service was so famous, and, after the conquest of Aden, as its first Governor for a period of fifteen years. Captain Haines was the first to point out the advantages of the "Gibraltar of the East," both as a coal depôt and Military station. He carried on the negociations that led to its sale, and was present at the capture as Political Officer. Under the title of Resident he was a power in those regions, where his firmness taught the Arab tribes to fear the British power, while his sagacity and moderation rendered his name one "to conjure with" among the lying, treacherous Sheikhs and rulers on both sides the Straits of Babelmandel. For his many services the Court of Directors presented their old and valued servant with a sword of the value of 200 guineas. But Captain Haines was no man of business, and while he was always soliciting the Government to send him accountants, having no staff for the purpose, he took little account of the expenditure and the balance in the treasury. In an evil hour the Government, which had turned a deaf ear to his solicitations, sent an officer to count the cash, when it was found that there was a very large deficiency. Neither Captain Haines nor his Assistant, Commander Cruttenden, could account for this deficiency; and, though no one who knew either of those officers, whose cha-

racter for integrity was unimpeachable, attempted to accuse them of peculation, Captain Haines was of course responsible, and he was therefore sent under arrest to Bombay, and brought to trial by Government, but acquitted by two juries.

But they had not yet done with him, and, gaining a verdict in a civil suit, he was thrown into a debtor's prison, the Government turning an obdurate answer to the friends of an old officer whom they had rewarded in happier times, and there he lingered for six years, notwithstanding that he offered to make good the deficiency with his private fortune (not accumulated savings), and also proposed to sacrifice his pay. But the Government turned alike a deaf ear to his offers, to the prayers of friends—who pointed out that he was being slowly killed by the miserable place in which he was confined—and the urgent remonstrances and recriminations of the press; and it was not until the 9th of June, 1860, a few days after the arrival of Sir G. Clerk, the new Governor of Bombay—whose first act was this Christianlike deed of charity and justice —that this old and distinguished officer was released from prison. But it was too late, and he died on the day week of his release, a signal instance of ingratitude and criminal harshness.*

* "Allen's Indian Mail," of the 6th of August, 1860, had the following article on the career and character of Captain Haines —"A dark chapter in the history of the Bombay Government has at length come to a conclusion A gloomier page, indeed, will scarcely be found anywhere, except, perchance, in the records of Neapolitan misrule A mere debtor—if, indeed, he were that—has been for nearly six years confined in jail, in a deadly climate, at the suit of the Government he had served with pre-eminent zeal and ability What more could have been done to him had he actually been found guilty of the fraud and embezzlement which were so strenuously charged against him? Compare the measure of vengeance heaped upon the unfortunate officer whose remarkable talents had for upwards of thirty years been entirely devoted to the service of his country, with the mitigated punishment meted out to the fashionable, but fraudulent, banker whose whole life had been a systematic hypocrisy. The one, twice acquitted of all criminality by a jury of his countrymen amid the acclamations of an excited and sympathising audience, is, nevertheless—on a charge of debt, because the Government had been too careless, or too penurious, to appoint a proper treasurer and book-keeper—thrown into prison, and, after six years' detention, only released to die, while the other, convicted, amid universal groans and execrations, of robbing the widow and the orphan, is set free after a brief imprisonment, despised for having been detected, rather than for the crimes he had committed. But the former was prosecuted by a Government, conscious that it was itself most to blame, while the latter was brought to trial in the name of the laws he had violated, and not to gratify the resentment of those whom he had ruined and despoiled It was in the year 1835 that Captain Haines was first employed in that long series of marine surveys which attracted the favourable notice of his superiors. Through his unflagging industry and perseverance the entire sea-coast of Southern Arabia was clearly laid down in the charts, and the value of Aden as a coaling and naval station demonstrated beyond dispute. At the time when the overland route was being established, the Arab tribes had been guilty of great cruelty to the crews of vessels wrecked upon that inhospitable shore, and their chief was only brought to his senses by the vigorous measures adopted by Captain Haines. The result was the complete surrender to the East India Company of the fort of Aden, and so fully aware were the Court of Directors of the nature of the services rendered by that officer that they presented him with a

Captain Haines was followed to the grave at Colaba by his numerous friends and brother officers, including Captains Young, Frushard, and Barker.

In 1860 an Expedition was despatched from the three Presidencies to bring to terms the Emperor of China, whose forts on the Peiho had inflicted terrible loss on a British squadron of gunboats, which was proceeding up the river in terms of the treaty concluded at Tientsin. Between the 16th and 19th of February in that year the following ships of the Indian Navy sailed from Bombay to China with troops:—The 'Assaye,' Commander Adams; 'Dalhousie,' Commander Hopkins; 'Prince Arthur,' Commander Twynam; and 'Victoria,' Lieutenant Wood. The following vessels were also employed in Chinese waters:—

sword of honour, and appointed him Political Agent. This was in 1839 For the next fourteen years Captain Haines identified himself with the strange settlement entrusted to his control He was virtually a dictator His power no one disputed, for no one denied that it was justly and wisely exercised Under his fostering care the trade of the place trebled and quadrupled, while the fierce barbarians around were not less conciliated by his liberality, than overawed by his firmness. No man was then more honoured by the Court, not one of their many able and conscientious servants was held in higher regard. But Captain Haines, though an excellent administrator, was an indifferent book-keeper Probably he knew nothing about double entry, and was no better acquainted with finance than financiers usually are with navigation As the commerce of the place, however, increased, so did the necessity of having a properly-trained and experienced official to superintend the treasury Repeatedly did the Political Agent urge his worshipful masters to place the financial department upon a larger and securer footing. It was all in vain They were busied about many things and had no time to spare a thought upon the burning rock of Aden, or its overworked Government At last, in the early part of 1854, they suddenly bethought them that it was time to look into his accounts, and waxed furious on discovering that they had fallen into arrears, and that a considerable deficiency had arisen. This Captain Haines at once undertook to make good by the sacrifice of his private fortune, and by large deductions from his pay. Their anger at their own shortcomings was not thus to be allayed. Nothing short of extreme measures could now satisfy them, if they had hitherto failed in their duty as supervisors, they would not do so as the detectors and pursuers of delinquents. Their own error should be expiated, but Captain Haines must be their scapegoat. So that gallant and distinguished officer was carried off to Bombay with every mark of indignity, as though his guilt had been already proved, and being taken before the senior police magistrate, was finally committed to the sessions on a charge of embezzlement and malversation. Twice was he placed in the felon's dock on two separate indictments, and twice was he triumphantly acquitted by two distinct juries. But the Government was not thus to be baffled The deficiency amounted to £28,000, for the recovery of which a civil suit was instituted, and as Captain Haines was quite unable to pay so large a sum, he was mercilessly committed to prison For nearly six years did that meritorious officer languish in a debtors' jail, his spirit broken and his health hopelessly undermined, but his persecutors never relented or turned a pitying ear to the many applications that were made in his favour. Once indeed he was removed for a few months, under strict surveillance, to a private house, to avert the scandal of his death in jail. But no sooner was he pronounced out of immediate danger, than he was again incarcerated at Mazagon. Lord Elphinstone lost a noble opportunity of doing a righteous and merciful deed, and when Sir George Clerk, obeying the dictates of his own generous nature, threw open the prison gates, it was already too late, and he barely anticipated death, the only true friend of the oppressed. Captain Haines had passed away to 'where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest;' but the memory of the persecution he endured will not lightly be forgotten or forgiven."

The 'Ferooz,' Commander Tronson; 'Zenobia,' Lieutenant Chitty; 'Berenice,' Lieutenant Robinson; and 'Coromandel,' Lieutenant R. G. Hurlock,* who assumed temporary command in Calcutta in November, 1859, on his services being no longer required in Bengal. The 'Coromandel' proceeded to China, towing a transport with the 3rd Buffs, in the teeth of a strong north-easterly monsoon, for which Mr. Hurlock received the thanks of the Government of India and Commodore Wellesley; she also towed three transports, with artillery on board, from Madras to Singapore, and proceeded to the seat of war in China, under the command of Lieutenant C. H. Walker.

A portion of the Expedition first rendezvoused off King-Tang, opposite the town of Chin-hai, at the mouth of the Ning-po, and, on the 21st of April, the fleet proceeded to Ting-hai, the capital of Chusan, which was occupied without opposition. The rendezvous at the seat of war was Talien-wan, on the western shore of the Gulf of Pecheli; and here assembled the immense fleet of seventy ships of war, including the Indian Navy Squadron, under the Commander-in-chief, Sir James Hope, and one hundred and twenty transports, carrying the army of fourteen thousand men, under the command of Sir J. Hope Grant. On the 9th of July the 'Ferooz' arrived at Talien-wan from Calcutta, with Lord Elgin, Her Majesty's special Envoy to the Court of Pekin, where his brother, Mr. Bruce, was Minister; and, on the 26th, the vast armada sailed for the general rendezvous agreed upon with the French Commanders, General Montauban and Admiral Page, twenty miles south of the Peiho.

On the 28th of July, the Expedition, including thirty-three French sail, carrying seven thousand soldiers, was assembled, and, on the 30th, the combined fleets weighed and stood in for the shore, anchoring about nine miles distant. Owing to the bar at the mouth of the river Pehtang, only the gunboats were able to enter, and, on the 31st July, the first troops were landed from the launches towed by the gunboats, the flotilla being led by the 'Coromandel,' commanded by Lieutenant C. H. Walker, having on board Sir James Hope and Sir J. Hope Grant, with their respective Staffs. Mr. Bowlby, the "Times" correspondent, who soon after met with a terrible death at the hands of his Chinese captors, describing the disembarkation, says:—"The Takoo forts lay within three miles on the port-quarter, looking sullen and threatening, but giving no other signs of life than a Tartar flag, which waved from the largest battery. In our rear were the combined fleets of England and France, while far ahead the blue flag of Admiral Hope streamed

* Lieutenant Hurlock was relieved by the late Lieutenant C H. Walker, an excellent officer and seaman (with whom he remained as First-Lieutenant), and in December, 1860, on that officer proceeding to England sick, Commander Batt, who had returned to duty with his health restored after two years' residence in England, assumed command of the 'Coromandel.'

from the 'Coromandel,' as she led up to Pehtang. Soon after two o'clock, the gunboats anchored about two thousand yards from the fort." On the 21st of August the Takoo forts, which were distant three miles from the mouth of the river, were either stormed or surrendered, the British loss being seventeen killed and one hundred and sixty-one wounded, and the French one hundred and thirty The fleet lay off the Pehtang* until the return of the troops in November, when they were embarked, and the ships returned southward.

The 'Assaye,' in May, 1860, was directed by Sir James Hope to proceed to Singapore, where Commander Adams performed the duties of Senior Naval Officer, with his usual judgment and success, as appears from the following extracts of letters from his superior officers. Sir James Hope writes to him from Tientsin on the 12th November, 1860:—"I hope to have the pleasure of writing to you before your final departure; in the meantime let me express to you the sense I entertain of the zeal with which you have carried out all my wishes at Singapore." Sir Robert McClure, also, under date, Singapore, 25th of December, 1860, expressed his obligations to him in terms peculiarly acceptable from an officer of his distinction and high professional reputation:—"In case I do not see you before sailing, accept my sincere wishes for your success, and my high appreciation of your conduct as an officer, while conducting the duties of Senior Officer here, also for the ready co-operation you have given me when required."

The 'Zenobia,' after conveying troops, was sent to the Philippine Islands, to look after a transport which was supposed to have put into Manilla. The 'Zenobia' met with a typhoon on the way down, when her safety valves became unseated and the paddle boxes were partially washed away; indeed, the safety of the ship was in a great measure attributable to the capacity and seamanlike conduct of the commander, Lieutenant Chitty.

In January, 1860, Lieutenant Templer, then at Calcutta, his Detachment, (No. 3) stationed at Chuprah, having been disbanded, was appointed by the Supreme Government agent for transports and proceeded in charge of the transports 'Walmer Castle,' 'Octavia,' and 'Mars,' with the 99th Regiment, to Hong Kong, and then to Chusan, after the occupation of which he was sent by the Admiral to Nagasaki, where his management of the coal depôt during a period of eight months met with the approval of the Commander-in-chief.

Sir James Hope during the course of the war found opportunities for inspecting all the ships of the Indian Navy engaged

* While lying at Pehtang, the 'Coromandel' was sent on a cruise round the Gulf of Pechelı, in search of some missing transports, and visited the Meatow Islands. In January, 1861, on the conclusion of hostilities, Commander Batt brought the 'Coromandel' round to Bombay.

under his command, and, in every instance, expressed himself highly pleased with the discipline and smartness of the crews and the creditable condition of the ships. The 'Ferooz' specially received his commendation, and, after inspecting her crew, (who, almost to a man, stood six feet in their stockings, and were in the prime of life, her First-Lieutenant, while shipping seamen at Calcutta, making these the qualifications for engagement,) the Admiral said that he had never seen so fine a body of seamen out of H.M's yacht.

Lieutenant Chitty, commanding the 'Zenobia,' enjoyed, in an especial degree, the confidence of the Admiral, who showed himself superior to all petty feelings, by taking the unprecedented step of placing two of H.M.'s gunboats, commanded by lieutenants, under his orders, and upon the commanding officers remonstrating at being compelled to serve under an officer of their own rank, belonging to the Indian Navy, Sir James pointed to the acknowledged ability and lengthened experience of Lieutenant Chitty as the best passports to command. Lieutenant Chitty proceeded to Swatow, accompanied by H.M.'s gunboat, 'Grasshopper,' in order to obtain the release of the second-master and four seamen of H.M.'s gunboat 'Weasel,' taken prisoners by the Chinese. An attack was made by Lieutenant Chitty, with the boats of the 'Zenobia' and gunboats, and the object sought to be obtained was accomplished without loss.

The China War Medal* was the last gained by the Indian Navy as a Service, though some officers, after the abolition, received the medal for Abyssinia. A brief notice here would be appropriate as to the War Medals gained by the Service during its long and eventful career.

These decorations were not bestowed until within a comparatively recent date, though Elizabeth, Charles, and Cromwell bestowed medals on such Military and Naval leaders as especially distinguished themselves. Medals were also struck commemorating victories, as Portobello and Culloden, but the East India Company was the first to inaugurate the system of awarding them to officers and men alike. It was in the year 1784 that the Company struck the Deccan Medal, in two sizes, the larger being for the officers, and the smaller for the rank and file; again, in 1792, they distributed silver medals, inscribed, "For services in Mysore, A.D. 1791-92;" and, in 1796, large silver

* The following Order relating to the China medal was published from the Commodore's Office, Bombay, on the 9th of July, 1861 —"With reference to the General Government Order of the 6th ult., granting medals for services in China, the Commander-in-chief directs that the Commander of each vessel of the Indian Navy, which was employed in the operations which terminated in the capture of the city of Canton, on the 29th of December, 1857, and also in the operations which have recently terminated in the capture of the city of Pekin, and the restoration of peace, shall submit a roll, in duplicate, of the officers, seamen, and others, who may be entitled to the decorations."

medals were given for services in Ceylon, in 1795-96. As the ships of the then Bombay Marine were engaged in all these operations, and some officers, as the late Sir John Hayes, served both ashore and afloat, the Service participated in the award of these honourable distinctions. Passing over the medal awarded for the storm of Seringapatam, in 1799, a large portion of the Service gained the next medal awarded by the Company, that given in 1801, for the Egyptian Campaign. The Bombay Marine also received the medal for the conquest of Mauritius, in 1810, and of Java,* in the following year. They did not, of course, participate in the Nepaul Campaign, in 1816, but a large portion of the Service received the medal awarded for the Burmese War, of 1824-26, which is suspended from a crimson ribbon, with a blue edge. On the obverse, is the white elephant of Ava crouching before the British lion, behind which is the Union Jack unfurled, and behind the elephant the drooping flag of Burmah. On the reverse the troops are advancing towards a pagoda, enclosed within a stockade, while a steamer and flotilla of gunboats are attacking from the Irrawaddy. In the foreground Sir Archibald Campbell is directing the operations.

The Company instituted medals for Ghuznee, Candahar, Jellalabad, and Cabul, there being no less than five varieties for the Afghan War of 1839-42; but though the ships of the Indian Navy were engaged at the capture of Kurrachee and the occupation of Kharrack, obviously they could not lay claim to any of these decorations. For the medal struck by the Home Government, in commemoration of the first China War of 1840-42, the Service could show an undeniable claim, as the 'Atalanta,' 'Sesostris,' 'Auckland,' 'Medusa,' and other vessels, took a prominent part in the hostilities. The China Medal, like all those issued during the present reign, bears, on the obverse, the head of the Queen, and, on the reverse, a palm tree, against which is placed a shield, bearing the arms of England; also cannon, anchor, flag, and the motto, "*Armis exposcere pacem.*" *Exergue*† (or at the foot of the medal) is the word "China," and the date "1842." The ribbon by which it is suspended, is crimson, with yellow edges.

Captain Nott and the officers and men of the Indus flotilla were awarded the Scinde War Medal, which has, on the obverse,

* It was not until the 1st of June, 1847, that the Home Government granted war medals to those officers and men of the Army and Navy who had served "during the wars commencing in 1793, and ending in 1814." Clasps were added for the most memorable battles and sieges, "Java" being included for both services. The Naval war medal bears on the obverse the Queen's head, and on the reverse, Britannia seated on a sea-horse, holding a trident in her right hand, and an olive branch in her left.

† *Exergue*, which is derived from two Greek words, signifying "out of word," is the small space beneath the base line of a subject engraved on a coin, and usually contains an inscription of the date, place, or other subsidiary matter of the coin or medal.

Her Majesty's bust, and, on the reverse, the words, "Meanee," 'Hyderabad," with "1843," the whole enclosed within a wreath of laurel, and surmounted by the crown, the ribbon with which the medal is suspended being of rainbow pattern. The Company gave stars for the battles of Maharajpore and Punniar, which constituted the brief Gwalior Campaign of 1844; and a medal to the "Army of the Sutlej," (*Exergue* "Moodkee," 1845) with clasps for the sanguinary actions of Ferozeshah, Aliwal, and Sobraon, with all of which the Indian Navy had no concern. It was not so, however, with the second Sikh War, when the small but efficient Indian Naval Brigade worthily earned the Punjaub Medal, with a clasp for Mooltan. This decoration, which has a blue ribbon with yellow edges, bears, on the reverse, a representation of the Sikh Army laying down its arms before Lord Gough, who sits on horseback, while in the background are the British troops, with a group of palm trees

The Company, having received Her Majesty's assent to a proposal to grant a general "India Medal," with clasps, to the surviving officers and men who had been present at the battles and sieges fought during the first quarter of this century, published an order from the India Office, dated the 25th of February, 1851 by which Burmah was included in the India Medal. An order was, accordingly, issued to the Service, dated 19th of May, 1851, by which it was granted to the survivors of the Burmese War, with a clasp inscribed "Ava," the ribbon being a pale blue. The reverse of this medal has a figure of Victory seated, holding, in her right hand, a laurel branch, and in her left, a victor's wreath; at her feet is arranged a trophy of arms, behind which rises a palm tree; and above the group are the words, "To the Army of India." *Exergue* 1799-1826.

The Supreme Government, in a General Order dated the 23rd of January, 1854, intimated the grant of a medal to the officers and men of the Naval and Military forces engaged in the Burmese War of 1852-53, who, under the notification dated the 30th of June, 1853, and published in a General Order of the 5th of July, were authorised to receive the donation batta. This medal had a clasp for "Pegu," and was worn with a ribbon of alternate scarlet and blue stripes. On the obverse is a figure of Victory, crowning, with a laurel wreath, a nude figure of a soldier seated, and having, in his right hand, the Roman *gladius*, his left holding the sheath. *Exergue*, 1852, and a lotus flower. A large proportion of the Service received this medal, and also that for the Persian War of 1856-57, which was similar to the preceding, except that the clasp was inscribed "Persia."

The Victoria Cross, "for valour," was instituted on the 29th of January, 1856, and though this much-coveted distinction has occasionally been conferred in such a way as to create dissatisfaction, no one can call in question the right of the

two recipients of the Indian Navy—Mr. Mayo, who, at a critical moment, charged a loaded field-piece "twenty yards in advance of his men," and Mr. Chicken, who killed five rebel Sepoys with his own hand before he himself was cut down.

The Mutiny Medal, which was very generally gained by the Service, has, on the reverse, a figure of Victory, with a laurel wreath in either hand, that in the right hand being extended, and a shield on the left arm. Beside the figure is a lion. *Exergue*, 1857-58. The medal, which is suspended from a red and white striped ribbon, is inscribed with the word, "India." The medal for the operations in China, which began in 1857, and ended with the capture of Pekin in 1860, is the same as that granted for the war of 1842 (with the exception of the date), and clasps were given for "Canton, 1857;" "Taku Forts, 1860;" "Pekin, 1860;" "Fatshan, 1857;" and the "Taku Forts, 1858." The 'Auckland,' for her services in 1857, and the Indian Navy squadron of ships engaged in 1860, were awarded this medal. After the New Zealand War of 1866, which, as far as the Maories are concerned, will probably be the last, a medal was issued for all the operations between 1845 and 1866, to which the survivors of the action at Kawiti's pah, including the 'Elphinstone's' crew, were entitled.

Medals have been granted in 1868 and 1874 for the Abyssinian and Ashantee campaigns, and the Indian Government have very properly issued an India General Service Medal, with clasps for the "North-West Frontier," "Umbeyla," "Bhootan," and "Looshai;" but it is not a little hard on the survivors of the Expeditions undertaken against the Ras-ul-Khymah pirates in 1809 and 1819, and against the Beni-Boo-Ali Arabs in 1821, that no similar distinction has been conferred upon them, though for these "little wars" British regiments bear the words "Arabia" and "Beni-Boo-Ali," on their appointments, and more lives were lost in them than in the Ashantee, Abyssinian, Looshai, and Bhootan campaigns put together. Though we are far from subscribing to the popular opinion that a long "butcher's bill" is the great test of merit as to generalship, for the reverse is often the case, yet unless there has been blundering, and in these instances none can be attributed to the leaders, it is certainly mortifying to the few survivors—as one of them lately told us—that they should be denied the India General Service Medal, which is awarded to those who were engaged in the insignificant campaign against the Looshai tribes.

During the month of June, 1860, the 'Punjaub,' Commander Foulerton, visited Muscat, with Brigadier Coghlan and the other members of the Muscat-Zanzibar Commission, which was appointed by the Indian Government to inquire into, (and report to the Governor of Bombay, the arbitrator,) the matter in

dispute between the rulers of Muscat and Zanzibar On her way the 'Punjaub' visited Hullaniyah, in the Kooria-Mooria group, one of the stations of the Red Sea and Indian Telegraph Company, and landed supplies for the staff of that Company, who had only remaining one barrel of biscuit and quarter of a barrel of salt pork. On the 12th of June, the 'Punjaub' arrived at Muscat, where she found the 'Elphinstone' and 'Mahi,' and, after the Brigadier and his associates had obtained the necessary information, and Mr. H. Rassam was installed as Acting British Agent* with the Imaum, Syed Tooweynee, the 'Punjaub' sailed again for Bombay on the 20th.

During the year 1860, the 'Semiramis,' Commander Balfour, 'Clive,' Lieutenant Sedley, and gunboat 'Clyde,' Lieutenant Dickson, were employed under the orders of the Supreme Government, chiefly at the Straits Settlements, and Andaman Islands, then under Major Haughton, whose rule, firm but kind, extending over a period of three years, was of such incalculable value to that penal colony, then struggling from infancy to its present vigorous state of adolescence In November, the 'Semiramis' and 'Clive' returned to Bombay, and the former sailed on the 19th December, with Sir George Clerk, for Sedasheghur, (of which Commander Fraser, in the 'Falkand,' was engaged making a survey) as the Governor wished personally to inspect that port and judge as to its capabilities for the cotton trade.

About the same time the gunboat 'Clyde' was recalled from her station at the Andaman Islands, and proceeded to Bombay, and the steam-sloop 'Lady Canning,' commanded by Lieutenant James, which had been placed under the orders of Major Haughton, was handed over to the Bengal Marine, and Lieutenant James and his officers and men returned to Bombay, the Royal Navy taking over the duties in the Bay of Bengal.

Before the close of the year 1860, the ships employed in the China Expedition began to arrive at Bombay. On the 15th of December, the 'Zenobia' Lieutenant Chitty, returned, and, on the 20th, the 'Victoria,' Lieutenant Wood, who, two days after his arrival, commissioned the new gunboat 'Hugh Rose,' a sister vessel, as to size and armament, of the 'Clyde.' On the 5th of January, 1861, arrived from China, the 'Dalhousie,' Commander Hopkins, and the 'Berenice,' Lieutenant Robinson; on the 18th, from Singapore, the 'Assaye,' Commander Adams, and, on the 25th, the 'Coromandel,' Commander Batt, who, on his return from Europe, had proceeded round to the eastward to relieve Lieutenant Walker This officer, on the 14th of February, took command of the 'Prince Arthur,' in place of Commander

* In the following May, Lieutenant M W Pengelley, I N., was appointed Political Agent at Muscat, as a reward for his meritorious services as second in command of the Land Transport Corps during the Persian War, but was succeeded by Major Malcolm Green in 1862.

Twynam, whose health failed him. The 'Ferooz,' Commander Tronson, with Lord Elgin on board, arrived at Hong Kong from the seat of war on the 8th June, 1861, and, after proceeding to Canton on the 12th, his Lordship sailed in her on the 21st, for Manilla, thence proceeding to Batavia, where his visit was one of the means of the introduction into India of the chinchona plant, a project in which he was greatly interested. From Java the 'Ferooz' proceeded, with Lord Elgin, to Galle and Suez, thence returning to Bombay

During the month of June, 1861, Lieutenant Cookson, then in command of the schooner 'Constance,' performed an act of conspicuous gallantry in rescuing Europeans from the island of Jibleea, one of the Kooria-Mooria group, who would have starved to death had not relief been brought to them, as all their supplies were consumed, and communication with the island was impossible, owing to the stormy season having set in. These men had been left on Jibleea when the merchant ships, employed in removing the guano, had sailed in disgust at the small extent of the deposit and the impracticable nature of the coast for shipping purposes.* It was blowing heavily at

* The Kooria-Mooria Islands were ceded by the Imaum of Muscat to the Queen in 1856, and by license, which appeared in the 'London Gazette' of the 15th of July in that year, three merchants were permitted to remove guano therefrom for a period of five years In 1836 Captain Haines, I N , carefully surveyed the Kooria-Mooria Islands, and completed a chart of the Bay and entire group, which was published by order of the Directors He also remained for some little time at Hullaniyah, the largest island of the group, "mixing," he says, "with the inhabitants and becoming intimately acquainted with every particular relating to their locality" From what he ascertained on the spot he stated that the Imaum of Muscat had no sovereign rights whatever In his Journal, written in 1836, Captain Haines says, that "besides the boats occasionally touching at Hullaniyah, this island is sometimes visited by a boat belonging to the Khalfan family of the Maharah tribe (for an account of which family see De Lacy, "Chrestomathie Arabe," Second Edition, Vol 3, p 357), who claim the Kooria group as their hereditary property"—and then follow the names of the three principal members of the family "These chieftains," he says, "reside at Gharir, and their periodical visits to the islands are made for the purpose of claiming any ambergris the inhabitants may have collected, as well as to obtain from them whatever money they may happen to have received in exchange for salted and dried fish, in return for which the natives are frequently rewarded with a small quantity of tobacco, dates, or coarse cloth" Captain Haines, on learning of the intention to station "a small vessel of war" to protect the guano fleet, expressed his opinion, that owing to the stormy weather and the dangers of the open anchorage, "her own security would engage her principal attention" He says in his Journal that in 1836 some of the islands were covered with myriads of birds of the garnet species, but with respect to the supply of guano, he wrote, on the 3rd of May, 1857, in the "Bombay Telegraph and Courier," on learning of the scheme for its collection, "I look for further disappointment to the sanguine projectors." And Captain Haines was right in his anticipations, for at a meeting of the masters of thirty-nine vessels, held at the Kooria-Mooria Islands on the 14th of January, 1858, resolutions were passed to the effect, "that the three islands, Haski, Jibleea, and Ghurzood, are not covered with guano, as stated by Ord, Hindson, and Hayes, the lessees, that the quality is not anything like Ichaboe and Upper Peru, that the sea is often very rough, and several ships have lost anchors; that there are no safe harbours for ships on the island of Jibleea, within half a mile of which no ship can lie, that sufficient labour is not pro-

the time of the arrival of the 'Constance,' with a tremendous surf running, and Lieutenant Cookson, who was aware that an attempt, made by a merchant ship a few days before, had failed, and that the position of the poor fellows was desperate, stripped off his clothes, and fastening a line round his waist, swam ashore through the surf and brought the men off to the boat, all three being more dead than alive. With characteristic modesty, this gallant officer, on his arrival at Bombay, made no mention of his act, but it nevertheless came to the knowledge of Commodore Wellesley, who, in a letter to Government, dated the 17th of June, reporting the return of the 'Constance,' says:—"Although Lieutenant Cookson, commanding the 'Constance,' with a modesty which does him credit, has refrained from alluding, even in his official report, to the difficulty he experienced in rescuing these two men, I cannot avoid bringing to the notice of your Excellency in Council, what I have learned from other sources, viz., that after remaining two days at anchor off Jibleea, the 'Constance' during that time lying exposed to bad weather and a heavy sea, without being able to communicate with the shore, Lieutenant Cookson swam on shore with a line from a boat, by which means he hauled the two men into the boat, and there is no doubt that he nearly lost his own life in doing so. Such conduct, I cannot doubt, will entitle him to the commendation of your Excellency in Council." Government, in acknowledging Commodore Wellesley's letter, on the 8th of July, stated that "the Governor in Council is much obliged by your having brought to his notice the manner in which Lieutenant Cookson effected the rescue of the men who had been abandoned on Jibleea Island, by Messrs. Ord & Co., lessees of the Kooria-Mooria Islands. His Excellency begs that in conveying to Lieutenant Cookson the thanks of the Government for his successful execution of this duty, you will express to him the high sense which they entertain of his bravery and skill, with which, at much personal risk, he effected the rescue of the Europeans, left by their employers on the uninhabited island of Jibleea."

Commander Cruttenden sailed, on the 4th of May, 1861,* in

curable from Aden, that the statement of the dryness of the climate is false; and that the meeting considers that the lessees should forfeit the amount of license"

* The following movements of ships of the Service during the year are of sufficient importance to be recorded.—Sir George Clerk, being desirous of communicating personally with the Guicowar of Baroda and the chiefs of Kattywar, as he had with some in the Southern Mahratta country, on his return from Sedasheghur in the 'Semiramis,' proceeded in the 'Victoria,' Lieutenant Sedley, on the 12th of January, 1861, to Surat, and thence, accompanied by Sir William Mansfield, to Kurrachee, returning to Bombay again in that ship on the 27th of February. The 'Victoria' also took up to Kurrachee Commander Balfour, on his appointment as Superintendent of the Indus flotilla, in place of Captain Macdonald, and the command of the 'Semiramis' was assumed by Commander

the 'Zenobia,' as Senior Naval Officer, for Aden, calling on his way at Muscat, with the Reverend G. P. Badger (the eminent Arabic scholar, and Persian interpreter to Sir James Outram during the Persian War), one of the Muscat-Zanzibar Commission, who conveyed to the Imaum, Seyyid Tooweynee, the decision of Sir George Clerk, the arbitrator in the dispute between him and his brother, the ruler of Zanzibar. On the 11th of May, also, the 'Semiramis,' Commander Worsley, sailed for Zanzibar, to make known to Seyyid Madjid, the decision of the Governor of Bombay, by which he was directed to pay 40,000 dollars yearly to his brother with two years tribute in arrears. Commander Worsley sailed on his return to Bombay, on the 1st of July, when he left Seyyid Madjid at the point of death, and arrived on the 17th of July, after a very stormy passage In consequence of the apprehended demise of the Sultan, the 'Semiramis' again left for Zanzibar on the 12th of August, with Major Lewis Pelly, (appointed to officiate for Colonel Rigby, H.M.'s Consul,) and Seyyid Burghash, whose rebellion against his brother had been overcome by the gallantry of Commander Adams and the officers and men of the 'Assaye,' as already detailed. The 'Semiramis' was nearly lost on the 20th of September, when she grounded on one of the reefs of Pomoni Bay, on the south side of the island of Johanna, one of the Comoro group With the assistance of H.M.'s ship 'Ariel,' she was got off again in about two hours, but Commander Worsley—finding that she had sprung a bad leak, which the pumps were unable to keep down, and the starboard engine being disabled, and the water eventually putting out the fires—hauled her up on the beach. Eventually, the 'Semiramis' was floated off, and her guns were hoisted out, when the leak was temporarily patched up, after which, escorted by the 'Zenobia,' which arrived from Aden to her assistance, she proceeded first to Zanzibar, and thence to Aden.

Worsley On the 4th of February, the 'Clive, Commander Drought, sailed for the Persian Gulf, and that officer hoisted his broad pennant as Commodore of the Persian Gulf Squadron from the 2nd of March, the day on which he received his promotion to the rank of Captain, on the retirement of Captain Macdonald. On the 22nd of April, 1861, Commander Cruttenden was appointed Senior Officer at Aden, and to the command of the 'Zenobia,' thus superseding Lieutenant Chitty, whose good service was, however, recognised by his appointment to the command of the 'Victoria.'

The Persian Gulf squadron consisted at this time of the 'Auckland,' 'Elphinstone,' 'Falkland,' and schooners 'Mahi' and 'Georgiana.' On the 9th of April, 1861, the 'Falkland,' Commander Cruttenden, arrived at Bombay, and her Captain, on being appointed senior officer at Aden, took command of the 'Zenobia,' and Commander Fraser was appointed to the 'Falkland.' The 'Elphinstone,' Lieutenant Brooman, arrived at Bombay on the 30th of April, but sailed again for the Gulf, under the command of Lieutenant Etheridge, on the 8th of June. The 'Mahi' also returned from the Gulf on the 28th of January, and on Lieutenant Whish being appointed to conduct the survey of the Punjaub rivers in place of Lieutenant C. Forster, Lieutenant Lewis was placed in command of her.

On the 4th of May, 1862, the 'Semiramis' arrived at Bombay. It would be impossible to speak in too high terms of the skill and resource which was displayed by Commander Worsley and his officers, in rescuing their ship when the officers of the 'Ariel' pronounced her to be a total loss.

As it was decided that the paddlewheel steam-frigates, 'Assaye' and 'Punjaub,' should be converted into screws, they sailed for London—the 'Punjaub,' Commander Foulerton, on the 8th of February, and the 'Assaye,' Commander Adams, on the 31st of March But they were put out of commission on their arrival in England, and the Indian Navy list "knew them no more," though as sailing ships in the mercantile marine they maintained their reputation as swift sailers.

On the 6th of October, 1861, the 'Ferooz,' Commander Tronson, proceeded to Suez for the newly appointed Governor-General, Lord Elgin; and, on the 12th of March, in the following year, his Lordship landed at Calcutta under a salute of twenty-one guns from the 'Ferooz' and Fort William. On the 19th of March the 'Ferooz' again sailed with Lord Canning, who arrived in England on the 26th of April, only, however, to die on the 17th of June, when his great services, which had been rewarded with an Earldom and the Garter, received the final recognition of a public funeral in Westminster Abbey, where, within twelve months, his two greatest lieutenants in the pacification of India, Lord Clyde and Sir James Outram, were also laid to rest. On the 24th of April, 1862, the 'Auckland,' Commander Fraser.* arrived from Beypore with Sir Bartle Frere, Member of the Supreme Council, who was appointed Governor of Bombay; and, on the same day, Sir George Clerk, the late Governor, embarked for Suez on board the 'Dalhousie,' Commander Hopkins, under salutes from the 'Ajdaha,' 'Clive,' and 'Auckland,' thus closing an Indian career of remarkable success and usefulness On the 14th of August, 1862, the 'Semiramis' proceeded to Aden to relieve the 'Zenobia,' and Commander Adams, who had assumed command of that ship, and the duties of Senior Naval Officer from the 8th of July, shifted his pennant to the 'Semiramis' on the 30th September, when the 'Zenobia' returned to Bombay under command of Lieutenant F. Gardiner, and was finally put out of commission.

By a Royal Warrant of the 27th of May, 1862, published at Calcutta by the Supreme Government, under date the 29th July, a new Table of Precedence, a matter always of prime importance in India not only among Native princes, but with society at large, was promulgated to the services Civil and Military. In this Warrant the Commander-in-chief of the Indian

* Commander Fraser, hitherto commanding the 'Falkland,' exchanged with Commodore Drought, of the 'Auckland,' which arrived from the Gulf on the 7th of April.

Navy was given precedence immediately after the Commanders-in-chief at Madras and Bombay, whose place was next to the Commander-in-chief of H.M.'s Naval Forces in China and the East.

The question of the position of the Indian Navy,* which, since the accession to power of Lord William Bentinck, had been one of constant recurrence before the Court of Directors, once again "came up for consideration," and when, in consequence of the serious annual deficits of Indian finance, large reductions were made in the Civil and Military services, it became a question whether the Indian Navy should be abolished or reduced, for an amalgamation with the Royal Navy was opposed by the Admiralty, and, indeed, was impracticable. The Government of India, true to the policy enunciated by Lord William Bentinck and Sir Charles Metcalfe, acting on the recommendation of Mr. Laing's Finance Commission, wrote a despatch recommending a very large reduction in the Indian Navy; but, though a decision was of urgent necessity, not only on economical grounds, but also as regarded efficiency, as the Service, if left with its obsolete types of paddle steam-frigates and sailing sloops, would be utterly unfitted to cope with the navies of Europe, the India Office hesitated to pronounce its doom, doubtless being awake to the gravity of a step by which a body of highly trained officers would be dispersed beyond power of recall. Thus we find that, on the 31st of May, 1861, Sir Charles Wood, in reply to a question from Sir George Bowyer, stated that no decision had yet been arrived at, but that the despatch of the Supreme Government was "under consideration;" and a question put in the Upper House on the 21st of June, by Lord Ellenborough, met with a similar reply from the Duke of Somerset, then First Lord of the Admiralty. The first step towards the disintegration of the Service was taken in April, 1861, when Government ordered the reduction of the detachments of Marines serving on board the ships of the Indian Navy, and also of the Marine Battalion itself, which for nearly a century, had been associated with the Service.

A letter, dated Mahableshwur, the 2nd of April, 1861, from the Adjutant-General of the Army, was received at the

* The Marine Department of Bengal which had been successively under the authority of two distinguished officers of the Indian Navy, Captains Rogers and Rennie, was finally remodelled in 1861. By these changes, which were confirmed by the Order of the Governor-General in Council, of the 12th of July, in conformity with the resolution of May the 15th, published in the "Government Gazette," the office of Superintendent of Marine was abolished, and Captain Rennie became the "Controller of Marine Affairs and Secretary to the Government of India in the Marine Department." The dockyards and inland flotilla were transferred to the Government of India, while the Master-Attendant's office, the Pilot establishment, and all purely local establishments remained under the Government of Bengal, with which the head of those establishments was placed in direct communication.

headquarters of the Corps, on the 5th of April, forwarding a Resolution of Government, dated the 26th of March, 1861, directing the reduction of detachments on board sea-going vessels, and also the strength of the Battalion to one subahdar-major, seven subahdars, eight jemadars, eight colour-havildars, thirty-two havildars, forty naiques, six hundred privates, eight bheesties, and twenty-four boys. By a subsequent order the Battalion was allowed to have fifty privates as supernumeraries; total, six hundred and fifty. The following General Order, dated the 29th of July, 1861, was published on the Battalion being incorporated with the Line regiments:—"In consequence of the reductien of the 29th, 30th, and 31st Regiments, N.I, and the 2nd Regiment of Jacob's Rifles, and in assimilation with the plan adopted in Bengal with the sanction of the Supreme Government, the Regiments of Native Infantry of the Bombay Army will be designated as follows:—The Marine Battalion is brought into the line of Native Infantry Regiments, and is designated the 21st Regiment Native Infantry, or 'Marine Battalion.'" This concludes our record of the services of the Bombay Marine Battalion,* which, from its formation in 1777, down to the date of the abolition of the Indian Navy, gained all its honours on board the ships-of-war of the Service. It was a graceful and gracious, as well as a well-earned, compliment on the part of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, on the occasion of his recent visit to India, to present new colours to the Marine Battalion, and to accept the old colours, to be hung up in Marlborough House. The Indian Navy has ceased to exist, but the officers of the Service still surviving have learnt with satisfaction and pride this acknowledgment of good work by a Regiment, whose entire service was rendered afloat on board ships under their orders and without the aid or intervention of any Marine officers.

A few months later, Government also directed that the Indus Flotilla should be reduced to six steamers and six flats—the establishment in 1858 consisting of fifteen steamers and ten

* In 1865 Dr Livingstone, having, with the sanction of Government, called for volunteers to accompany him on his exploring expedition to Central Africa, forty men of the Regiment offered their services; two non-commissioned officers and ten men were selected, and the entire party left Bombay for Zanzibar in January. In the following March, the Regiment furnished a party under a subahdar, afterwards increased to one hundred and two rank and file, to proceed on service on board H M.'s steam-ship 'Coromandel,' Lieutenant Carew, I.N., bound for the Persian Gulf and Muscat. This detachment returned on the 6th of June, 1866, leaving small parties on board the gunboats, 'Hugh Rose,' and 'Clyde.' A detachment, consisting of one subahdar, one jemadar, one colour havildar, four havildars, six naiques, and seventy-four privates, proceeded with the pioneer force to Abyssinia in 1867, and, on their return, the detachment received great praise from Lord Napier of Magdala, and Brigadier-General Merewether, for the zeal and intelligence displayed in the execution of the various duties entrusted to them. The detachment lost twelve privates by sickness.

flats. This branch of the Indian Navy had done good service since its institution at the time of the Afghan War, more particularly during the Scinde Campaign, when its conduct met with the approval of such high authorities as Sir Charles Napier and Major Outram, and during the Indian Mutiny, when the Supreme Government expressed its thanks in highly laudatory terms. The "Indus Steam Flotilla and Punjaub Railway Company" took over certain of the Government steamers and flats, Government taking shares in the Company as payment.* On the 26th of September, 1861, Lieutenants Child and Brooman were, respectively, appointed Deputy Superintendent of Boats and Government Freight Agent at Mooltan and Kurrachee, of which latter port Lieutenant Giles† had been the Master-Attendant for some years; and, on the 23rd of April following, Lieutenant James was also appointed to fill the same posts at Kotree, the headquarters of the Indus Flotilla and now the station of the central division of boats. Finally, in August, 1861, the last remnant of the Flotilla ceased to exist. On the 9th of that month, Lieutenant Giles arrived at Kotree from Kurrachee, and Captain Balfour hauled down his pennant and made over to that officer the few remaining vessels, which were to form a civil department under the orders of the Commissioner of Scinde. In this year the superintendence of the Indus Steam Flotilla, a purely commercial company, was entrusted to Captain John Wood, I.N., the intrepid explorer of the sources of the Oxus, in 1838; and that

* See reply of Sir Charles Wood to a question of Colonel Sykes in the House of Commons on the 10th of March, 1862.

† Lieutenant Giles gained the Albert Medal—as did also Mr Shuttleworth, I N, for gallantry in saving life at Bombay—which was presented to him at Kurrachee on the 4th of April, 1871, by Sir William Merewether, the energetic and able Commissioner of Scinde The presentation took place with great *éclat*, before a crowded audience, the band of H M 's 66th Regiment being present. Sir William Merewether, in eulogising the services of Commander Giles since the year 1839, when he joined the Service, of which he was always considered one of the smartest representatives, and paying a compliment to the Indian Navy, which, he said, "has given a long list of brave and distinguished officers," added :—"For more than fourteen years now has Captain Giles most ably conducted the management of the port of Kurrachee, and I am sure all who have ever visited it, will bear the fullest testimony to his unvarying kindness and consideration, while their confidence in approaching their journey's end was greatly increased by the knowledge that so experienced an officer and thorough sailor held the keys to admit them." Captain Giles earned the Albert Medal for the great bravery displayed by him in saving the crew of the ship 'Alnea,' which had struck on the Kurrachee bar, driven before the full force of a south-west monsoon. In making the presentation Sir William Merewether said :—"Captain Giles, I esteem it a high honour that the duty has been entrusted to me of presenting you this much prized decoration, the reward for distinguished gallantry in saving life at sea. I congratulate you most heartily on this just recognition of your humane and gallant conduct, and I wish you many years of continued honoured life to wear the order." Captain Giles also received the medal of the Royal Humane Society for great gallantry in rescuing the crew of the ship 'Juha' in 1857.

officer—who, on the 31st of October, 1835, had the proud satisfaction of being the first to unfurl the flag of his country on the classic waters of the Indus from the deck of a steamer—was so successful in his management that, in 1870, a year before his death, he had under his orders, in the highest state of efficiency, a fleet of steamers earning for their owners a net profit of £22,673 10s. for the first six months of that year, a success attributable entirely to his able and energetic management, and unsurpassed by any guaranteed undertaking in India.

At this time, also, the Dockyard establishment was reduced one-third, and it became known that the Service was doomed, the chief question at issue between the Indian and Home Governments being as to the scale of pensions to be awarded to the officers. The Secretary of State for India objected to those recommended by the Indian Government; but Lord Canning pleaded for justice, if not liberality, to gentlemen who were entitled by the Act of Parliament of the 2nd of August, 1858, to remain under the existing terms of their covenants.

The following clauses of this Act, by which Her Majesty assumed the direct Government of India, entitled, "An Act for the better Government of India," more especially guaranteed them this right:—"LVI. The Military and Naval Forces of the East India Company shall be deemed to be the Indian Military and Naval Forces of Her Majesty, and shall be under the same obligations to serve Her Majesty as they would have been under to serve the said Company, and shall be liable to serve within the same territorial limits only, for the same terms only, and be entitled to the like pay, pensions, allowances, and privileges, and the like advantages as regards promotion and otherwise, as if they had continued in the service of the said Company. Such forces, and all persons hereafter enlisting in or entering the same, shall continue and be subject to all Acts of Parliament, Laws of the Governor-General of India in Council, and Articles of War, and all other laws, regulations, and provisions relating to the East India Company's Military and Naval Forces respectively, as if Her Majesty's Indian Military and Naval Forces respectively had throughout such acts, laws, articles, regulations, and provisions been mentioned or referred to, instead of such Forces of the said Company; and the pay and expenses of, and incident to, Her Majesty's Indian Military and Naval Forces, shall be defrayed out of the revenues of India." "LVIII. All persons who at the time of the commencement of this Act shall hold any offices, employments, or commissions whatever under the said Company in India shall thenceforth be deemed to hold such offices, employments, and commissions under Her Majesty as if they had been appointed under this Act, and shall be paid out of the revenue of India;

and the transfer of any person to the service of Her Majesty shall be deemed to be a continuance of his previous service, and shall not prejudice any claims to pension, or any claims on the various Annuity Funds of the several Presidencies in India, which he might have had if this Act had not been passed."

On the 14th of March, 1862, Sir Charles Wood, replying to a question in the House of Commons, of Sir J. Elphinstone, said:—"It was impossible to state what were the intentions of the Government in regard to the Indian Navy," and, he added, "the Indian Government had not complied with the instructions sent out to them, as they 'took a different view of the matter,' which would necessitate a further communication from him." It was generally understood in India that the Service was only awaiting its *coup de grace*, and furloughs were freely granted to officers to proceed to England, while others, applying at the India Office, to return to duty, were given extensions of leave A third time, on the 22nd of May, Sir H. Willoughby questioned the Secretary of State for India as to the position of the officers, and, after eulogizing their services and high scientific attainments, expressed his anxiety that the guarantees conveyed in the 56th clause of the Act of Parliament, should be observed, as "the faith of the Legislature was pledged." Colonel Sykes also paid a high compliment to the officers, and their consistent advocate, Sir J. Elphinstone, deprecated the abolition of the Service, in the public interests, and, instancing the admirable manner in which, during troublous times, they had preserved the peace of the Persian Gulf, added:—"The officers had an intimate knowledge of the usages and customs of the tribes of the Persian Gulf, and were by that means, and by the semi-diplomatic character which they possessed, enabled to preserve the peace of the country."* On this occasion Sir Charles Wood

* The following circumstance, which took place early in 1873, affords a striking comment on the common-sense view taken by Sir J Elphinstone, of the folly of abolishing a Service whose officers, from their knowledge of the languages and habits of the maritime population of the East, could never have committed the egregious blunder of confounding peaceable fishing-boats with slavers, and treating their crews accordingly —"It appears," says the "Times of India," "that H.M.S. 'Thetis,' on her way down the Red Sea saw a fleet of mother-of-pearl fishing boats from Hodeida, which were at once supposed to be slavers running away. The boats, which were accordingly sent in chase of them, found the vessels just anchored, and some 'big, bulky Sidis' among their crews. This being considered clear proof of their alleged crime, all the fishing boats, sixteen in number, were forthwith burnt, the crews landed in a desert island, and about thirty Sidis carried off as rescued slaves to Aden. There was no one, it seems, to explain matters on the spot, but apparently at Aden the mistake was discovered. The 'Dalhousie' was at once sent off to Asab Bay, to convey the luckless Arabs to Hodeida, but meanwhile they had been rescued by some of their own boats, or had succeeded in crossing to the mainland on rafts, in preference to remaining without food or water on the desert island. One man is said to have been drowned in crossing, another had been shot, a third burnt, and so on. This is not the first time of late years that peaceful fishermen have been mistaken for

was prevented by the rules of the House from making a reply; but when, on the 5th of June, he was again pressed for an answer by Sir H. Willoughby and Sir M. Farquhar, he said:—"The position of the officers of the Indian Navy was unchanged, that no steps had yet been taken in relation to that Service, and that nothing, in fact, had been done. He hoped, too, that all arrangements which it might be necessary to make, would be effected without in any degree infringing on the guarantee given to the public servants in India when the transfer of Government was about to take place. He must, however, be permitted to put a different interpretation on the guarantee from that which the Hon. Member for Hertford (Sir M. Farquhar) had given it. When an army or a regiment was reduced, the effect was to diminish, to a certain extent, the prospect of the junior officers. But if the guarantee referred to were taken to extend to all advantages which every officer might obtain by promotion, the Indian Army and Navy must be kept up for the next twenty years. It would be necessary to preserve them for that length of time, if all the advantages which their existence might confer on the officers who had entered them perhaps only six months ago, were to be preserved to those officers in all their integrity. He entirely admitted that full and fair consideration should be given to the case of those officers whose prospects would be injured. It was his anxious desire, and that of every Member of the Indian Council, that the claims of officers in the Indian Service should be considered in that way; but when a regiment was reduced in England the officers whose services were no longer required were put on half-pay, and he could never admit that the House had bound itself to keep up the Army and Navy of India, so that no injury should be done to the prospects of the youngest officer throughout his life." To this it might be replied that there was no such thing as half-pay in the Indian Navy, and the right to full-pay pensions was just one of the "privileges" that was specially guaranteed by the wording of the Act. Also temporary half-pay was a widely different thing from permanent loss of profession and such injury to prospects as is involved in abolition.

On the 12th of June, 1862, Commodore Wellesley proceeded to England to advise the Government on the scale of pensions to be awarded to officers of the Indian Navy, and on other

regular slavers, their property destroyed, and themselves subjected to wanton outrage, or placed in imminent peril of their lives." Such incidents, as these the writer in the Bombay journal not unreasonably remarks, "proclaim trumpet-tongued the necessity for the reconstitution of an Indian Marine. In the days of the Indian Navy, our officers in these seas generally knew what they were about. They managed to learn Arabic enough to help them in avoiding scrapes arising out of zeal untempered by experience, and if they ever chased the wrong vessel, they discovered their mistake before any serious harm had been done to innocent people."

points connected with the abolition of the Service. The period of five years for which Commanders-in-chief were appointed, expired on the 7th of July, so it was understood that he would not return. Commodore Wellesley, the last, and in many respects, the best, of the Commanders-in-chief of the Indian Navy, quitted Bombay for England to the regret of the Service. His incumbency had been an eventful one, and the Mutiny in India entailed a considerable expansion of the Service; but Commodore Wellesley and the officers under his command were equal to the occasion, and there was no sign of weakness under the unusual strain. The success which attended the administration of the departing Commander-in-chief was, in no small measure, due to a happy admixture of firmness, tempered with consideration for the feelings of those under his command, and he infused a high tone among the officers, who responded with loyalty to the requirements of their chief.

The following Order was published by the Governor in Council: "Bombay Castle, the 10th of September, 1862. No. 144. —The period of service of Commodore George Wellesley, C.B., having expired on the 7th of July, Captain James Frushard, of H.M.'s Indian Navy, is appointed Commodore commanding H.M.'s Indian Navy from that date and until further orders. The Hon. the Governor in Council, in notifying to the Service the termination of Commodore Wellesley's command, desires that officer to accept the cordial thanks of Government for the admirable judgment and disinterested zeal with which, during the five years of his command, he has discharged the duties of Commodore and Commander-in-chief of the Indian Navy, and continually afforded to Government the advantage of his experience and advice on the numerous subjects on which he has been consulted. During Commodore Wellesley's tour of command the Indian Navy was constantly employed, especially in the late war with China. At the close of that struggle the whole Naval force, under Rear-Admiral Sir J. Hope, K.C.B., including seven ships of the Indian Navy, received the marked commendation of the Lords of the Admiralty. Although in this Service Commodore Wellesley had no personal share, the Indian Navy felt then, as on all occasions, the influence of his just and impartial command, and its discipline, and, therefore, the credit it won, was in no small degree due to the admirable spirit of which Commodore Wellesley afforded to every officer and man so distinguished an example. His Excellency in Council takes this opportunity of directing the publication of the following letter, addressed by Commodore Wellesley to Captain Frushard, the senior officer of H.M.'s Indian Navy:— 'London, the 3rd of July, 1862. Sir, The period of my service as Commander-in-chief of H.M's Indian Navy will expire on the 7th instant, and I have received intimation from Her Majesty's Secretary of State that I shall not be required to

return to India. In bidding farewell to the Navy over which, during the last five years, I have held the chief command, I cannot but express my regret at the termination of my connection with so honourable and valuable a Service, for the members of which I shall always entertain sentiments of the highest regard and esteem. Without particularising the occasions on which the Service has distinguished itself in an especial manner during this period, I can say without flattery that the duties required of it have invariably been well and faithfully performed, and the condition of the vessels such as to reflect the greatest credit upon both officers and men, and to merit my warmest approbation. To the secretary and members of my office establishment and to the officers of the dockyard, I would desire to express my best thanks for the cordial assistance I have always received from them, and for the satisfactory manner in which their respective duties have been conducted. I request you will do me the favour to make known these sentiments to the Service at large.'"

Captain Frushard, Senior Officer of the Indian Navy, hoisted his broad pennant as Commodore and Commander-in-chief on board the 'Ajdaha;' and Captain Young, C.B., was directed by Government Order to continue "to conduct the duties of Assistant Superintendent and Dockmaster, and to superintend the duties more particularly connected with the Dockyard and Steam Establishment." With the departure of Commodore Wellesley, in June, the Service entered upon its last phase, that of dissolution.

The 'Ferooz' and 'Semiramis,' which arrived from Suez and Aden on the 4th of May, were retained in commission, the former being intended for the Governor-General's personal use, and the latter to relieve the 'Zenobia' at Aden, until the arrangements regarding the introduction of ships of the Royal Navy were complete. The 'Victoria,' from Aden on the 30th of May, was condemned to be sold, but continued to be employed until the abolition of the Service, under the command of Lieutenant Chitty; the 'Auckland,' Commander Fraser, which arrived from the Laccadive Islands on the 13th of May, was converted into a "harbour defence vessel." Other ships, temporarily retained in commission, were the 'Berenice,' Lieutenant Searle; the 'Lady Canning,' Lieutenant James, employed at the Andaman Islands, where, in July, she captured some escaped convicts; the schooners 'Georgiana,' Lieutenant Yates, in the Persian Gulf, 'Mahi,' Lieutenant Gardner, and 'Constance,' Lieutenant Trollope, both at Aden; and the gunboats, 'Clyde,' Lieutenant Sedley, and 'Hugh Rose,' Lieutenant Wood. The 'Prince Arthur,' 'Dalhousie,' and 'Coromandel,'*

* The 'Coromandel,' Commander Batt, arrived at Bombay from the eastward on the 7th of August, 1863, and sailed on the 2nd of September, under command

were retained as troopships, though with Lascar crews; the 'Clive,' Commander Adams, then in Bombay harbour, was put out of commission; and the 'Elphinstone,' 'Tigris,' and 'Falkland,' were recalled from the Persian Gulf, and the gunboat 'Clyde,' was sent to relieve them. These sailing ships, which had done such good service to the State, the three former for nearly forty years, and whose names will recall to all the officers of the old Service, the recollection of many happy days passed within their wooden walls, with associations of shipmates now no more, were condemned to be sold, with masts and gear all standing, being considered, like their late officers, of no further use. The only other ship unaccounted for was the old 'Euphrates,' which had completed her last duty as a surveying ship, and was also put out of commission.

The following Government Order was published to the Service, referring to these arrangements: "Marine Department, Bombay Castle, July 15, 1862.—Resolution.—His Excellency the Governor in Council is pleased to order the following arrangements in respect to the disposal of the vessels of the Indian Navy. 2. As directed by the Government of India, the following vessels will be kept ready in commission as transports, and manned with Lascar crews as in Bengal:—the 'Dalhousie,' the 'Coromandel.' 3. The undermentioned vessels being placed out of commission, will be kept as transports out of commission, with a harbour establishment as hereafter shown:—'Semiramis,' 'Berenice,' 'Zenobia.' 4. As one vessel is to be kept always ready in a state of preparedness to go to sea, the 'Ferooz' will be allotted for this duty, having a full transport Lascar crew, and equipped as when required as a yacht for his Excellency the Governor-General. 5. The 'Auckland' is a very strong vessel, teak-built but very slow, and her accommodation for troops is bad. The 'Victoria' also is slow, and has not good accommodation. 6. The 'Victoria' may, therefore, be sold; but the 'Auckland' might be kept as a floating battery for Bombay, or Kurrachee harbour. She would require no crew beyond what is sufficient to watch her, the nature and extent of which should be submitted by the Commander-in-chief of the Indian Navy. 7. The following harbour establishment is sanctioned:—One lieutenant commanding, one gunner or boatswain, one syrang, one tindal, twenty-five lascars, one engineer, ten stokers, one lieutenant's servant, one cook, one warrant officer's servant, one engineer's servant, one topass. 8. The

of Lieutenant Carew, for Chma; the 'Dalhousie,' Commander Hopkins, had been also trooping to the eastward and to Kurrachee, whence she returned on the 19th of March, and on the 5th of September sailed for Chma, under command of Lieutenant Pengelley. The 'Prince Arthur,' Lieutenant Walker, which had arrived at Bombay on the preceding 29th of November, having been employed carrying troops to New Zealand, sailed for Singapore on the 21st of July, under the command of Lieutenant Bn

sailing vessels mentioned below, being no longer required, may be sold, the guns and Government stores fit for future use having first been landed. The ships should be sold with masts and rigging all standing, under arrangements to be made by the Commander-in-chief, Indian Navy:—'Elphinstone,' 'Clive,' 'Falkland,' and 'Tigris.' 9. The 'Prince Arthur,' steam transport, has been ordered to Alguada reef. She will be supplied with a native crew, and be sent round under an Acting-Master, with mates as required. 10. The 'Clyde' and 'Hugh Rose', gunboats, have been set apart for the police of the Persian Gulf and Mekran Coast. The 'Clyde' is in the Gulf, and the 'Hugh Rose' is on her way to Bombay, from which in turn, and after overhaul, she will relieve the 'Clyde.'"*

On the 27th of August, 1862, the 'Falkland,' Commodore Drought,† arrived from the Persian Gulf, and during the month

* The smaller vessels were disposed of as follows —"The 'Goolanar' to be steam yacht for the harbour, &c The 'Pleiad,' steam despatch vessel, may be placed at the disposal of H M 's Consul at Zanzibar The 'Snake' to remain harbour boat, and the 'Lady Falkland' to be employed in the harbour defence works The Controller is requested to submit a statement showing the cost of establishment retained for the future, contrasted with that existing previous to the commencement of reduction" In 1873, when arrangements were made for the resumption of the Indian Marine Surveys, under the superintendence of Commander Taylor, I N, the survey flotilla, which was ordered to consist of one steam tender, three brigs, two schooners, and five steam pinnaces, included the gunboat 'Clyde,' of 300 tons and sixty-horse power, and the Indian Navy schooner, 'Constance.'

The following is a list of the sea-going vessels of all classes at the disposal of the Bombay Government in 1875-76 —The steamer 'Comet' still employed on the Tigris, the 'Constance,' schooner the gunboats 'Hugh Rose' and 'Clyde;' the 'Dalhousie' and 'May Frere,' steam despatch boats; the steamer 'Quantung,' under the orders of the Political Resident at Aden, and the two turret-ships 'Magdala' and 'Abyssinia,' for the defence of Bombay. Of these the five first named belonged to the Indian Navy. The Bengal Government had under its orders for local service, three steamers and one sailing vessel, eight river steamers, four pilot vessels, and five light vessels.

† Commodore Drought resigned the Service on the pension of his rank from the 11th of October, and the following commanding officers also proceeded to England:—Commander Balfour, of the Indus Flotilla; Worsley, of the 'Semiramis,' Cruttenden, of the 'Zenobia,' Tronson, of the 'Feroox;' Fraser, of the 'Auckland,' Batt, of the 'Coromandel,' and Hopkins, of the 'Dalhousie.' Lieutenant Etheridge, who received his promotion to the rank of Commander by the retirement of Captain Drought, was appointed to the command of the 'Coromandel,' in succession to Lieutenant Carew, and remained until the abolition of the Service, as did Lieutenant Pengelley, who succeeded Commander Hopkins in the 'Dalhousie.' All the officers on unemployed pay were borne on the books of the flagship 'Ajdaha,' and the Government were glad to give furloughs to such as chose to avail themselves of it under the following conditions, conveyed in their Resolution of the 15th of July, and published for general information under date, Bombay, the 7th of August.—1. Passage-money at the rate of Rs. 1,070 will be granted to all officers proceeding to England. 2. The actual expense of the passage of officers proceeding to other places than England will be disbursed by Government. 3. In the event of any officer who may have been permitted to proceed to England under the sanction above quoted, being ordered out again, the expense of his passage to India will be borne by the State. 4. Those officers who may remain in the Government service will have to refund the homeward passage-money granted under paragraphs 1 and 2, in such manner as may

the 'Elphinstone,' Lieutenant Etheridge, and the 'Tigris,' Lieutenant Clarkson, also returned from Bassadore.

In the latter part of September, 1862, Commodore Lord John Hay, commanding H.M.S. 'Odin,' arrived at Calcutta to make arrangements, in concert with the Supreme Government, for the employment of H.M.'s ships on the Eastern coasts of India in consequence of the projected abolition of the Service. On the 1st of March, 1863, he arrived at Bombay, in the 'Odin,' to make similar arrangements regarding the Western seas, and sailed for England on the 17th of that month. Bombay had already been visited by the officer appointed by the Admiralty to command the East India station under the orders of the Admiral Commanding-in-chief H.M.'s ships and vessels in Eastern waters; this was Commodore Montresor, whose ship, the 'Severn,' fifty-one guns, arrived from England on the 13th of January, 1863, when that officer proceeded on shore and visited Commodore Frushard at his official residence; on the following day the latter returned the visit, when he was saluted with eleven guns from the 'Severn'—the 'Ajdaha,' in return, saluting Commodore Montresor's broad pennant with nine guns.

Sir J. Elphinstone, in his speech of the 22nd of May, expressed apprehension that "if the Service was abolished, he was afraid we should have trouble in India," and, referring more particularly to the admirable manner in which peace was maintained in the Persian Gulf by the officers of the Indian Navy, owing to their familiarity with the languages and customs of the people, added that "he was perfectly convinced that if it were placed under charge of Her Majesty's Navy, and that officers were sent there who were not cognizant of the habits and usages of the tribes," we should soon be involved in difficulties. The gallant officer's prognostications were soon verified (though not as to the *locale*) by an event that happened near Aden, where one of H.M.'s ships got herself involved in difficulties with the Soomalies, who massacred an officer and fourteen men, so tragic an event never having occurred since our conquest of Aden in 1839, from which date the dealings of the officers of the Indian Navy with neighbouring tribes became of a character requiring a combination of caution and firmness.

On the 1st of September, 1862, a cutter and whaleboat of

produce the least inconvenience to each individually 5 The time spent in England will be allowed to reckon towards pension and retirement. 6. Officers proceeding to Europe will be allowed to draw the ordinary furlough pay of their substantive rank. 7. Officers serving afloat who have been, or who may hereafter be, thrown out of employment consequent on reductions in the Service, will, while on leave or unemployed in India, be permitted to receive the pay and emoluments (such as pursers' eighths, servant's wages, provision money, watch money, &c.) of their last appointments for the period of six months, or until further orders are received from the Secretary of State."

H.M.'s gunboat 'Penguin,' Lieutenant McHardy, cruising off Cape Guardafui, were detached under command of Sub-Lieutenant Fountaine, to intercept slave vessels between the river Juba,* or Govind, and Kwyhoo Island. The details of their tragic end never were actually known, as not a soul of the two boats' crews escaped, but what is certain of their movements is soon told. The boats proceeded to the northward, and being in want of water, the crews landed at Ras Mabber, or Cape Stand Off—so called because the Arab navigators run out from this point with the south-west monsoon, in order to round Ras Hafoon, or the "Surrounded,"—situated in Lat. 9° 29′ N.; Long. 50° 50′ E. The county from Ras-ul-Khyle, or Moro Cobir Point (Serpent's Head), in Lat. 7° 43′ N., Long. 49° 45′ E., round by Ras Ahseer, or Cape Guardafui, to Bunder Ziadeh, is in the possession of the Mijjertheyn tribe of Soomalies, a savage and treacherous race who require delicate handling; and it would appear that a party of them suddenly attacked the sailors, who, being taken by surprise, were forced to retreat to the cutter, leaving the whaler high and dry on the beach. The crews escaped with their lives, but they were not equally fortunate in their next meeting with the natives. On the 26th of September they touched at a place called Baraida, about fifteen miles from Cape Guardafui, when the Soomalies again treacherously attacked them, and the commanding officer and thirteen seamen were killed or drowned while attempting to escape to the boats. One man, being a strong swimmer, succeeded in getting clear, and, on landing, was kindly treated by a Chief, who sent him, with a guard of four men, to Bunder Ullooleh, near a Cape of the same name; but as the party were passing the village of the murderers, some of them overpowered the guard and killed the unfortunate seaman.

A vague rumour of the massacre reached Aden, and Major-General Honner, C.B., Acting Political Resident, in the absence of Brigadier Coghlan, on the 21st of October despatched the 'Semiramis,' Commander Adams, having on board Captain Playfair, the able and experienced Assistant Political Resident (now Her Majesty's Consul General for Algeria), to Maculla, to which port Lieutenant McHardy had proceeded, after vainly searching and enquiring for his men along the coast up to Cape Guardafui. Commander Adams arrived at Maculla on the 23rd of October, and a few hours later the 'Penguin' came in, when Lieutenant McHardy addressed an official letter to Commander Adams, detailing his proceedings in search of his missing boats. The Maculla Chief, on an application being made to

* This place, referred to in our account of the survey of Lieutenant Christopher, is also memorable as the scene of the massacre of one officer and two boats' crews of H.M.'s ships 'Dædalus' and 'Leopard' by the treacherous

him, stated that the scene of the massacre was on the opposite coast, near Ullolleh, upon which the 'Semiramis,' taking the 'Penguin' in tow, proceeded to Bunder Muryah, where she anchored on the 25th of October. Here the 'Penguin' remained, and Commander Adams, taking with him Lieutenant McHardy, and having secured the services of a man to point out the exact scene of the massacre, proceeded to Baraida, where, on the 26th of October, and again on the following morning, he sent on shore a strong armed party under Lieutenant McHardy, and Acting-Lieutenant Morland of the 'Semiramis,' accompanied by Captain Playfair, to explore and seek out traces of our murdered countrymen.*

* The following is Lieutenant McHardy's report to Commander Adams:—"Having by your orders landed in command of the party despatched from H.M.'s ship 'Semiramis,' to search for evidence of the massacre of the boats' crews of H.M.'s steam gun-vessel 'Penguin,' I have the honour to make the following report:—On landing yesterday afternoon, we separated a short distance and traversed the beach, hoping to find some of the bodies, we soon had proof, by finding some remnants of the unfortunate mens' clothing, that we were at the place of the massacre, that numbers of huts had recently been removed was apparent, by the remains of fires and fresh goats' dung. Captain Playfair accompanied us on shore with the old Soomalie that, at his request, you brought from Bunder Muryah. Soon after we came across the first traces of our murdered countrymen, I observed this old Soomalie making off Lieutenant Morland called to him to stop. As he did not comply, I ran after and stopped him, and put him in charge of the interpreter (Jums) Following this Soomalie separated me a little from the more advanced of our party; when I came up with them, I learnt that a piece of our cutter had been found burning, close to a small hut, which Captain Playfair immediately set fire to One of your men who had searched further from the beach than the rest, informed me that he had seen two huts, and a Soomalie run out of one of them; on receiving this information, myself and Lieutenant Morland expressed our opinion to Captain Playfair that it was imperative they should be burnt, as we had already fired one He agreed; and we proceeded to the spot where the man stated he had seen them, and there we found five wretched huts all containing some of the property of the murdered men or gear of the boats Amongst the things found were a small pair of parallel rulers and a camel's hair pencil that had belonged to Sub-Lieutenant Fountaine, which had certainly not been in the water, this proves that the boat was not capsized in the surf, as some of the Soomalies have stated. We set fire to the five huts, and then returned on board as it was dark; on our way the old Soomalie again tried to get away from us This morning, by your orders, I landed with the same party, with the exception of Captain Playfair, who did not accompany us to make further search for the bodies; we came across three more wretched huts, about two miles inland, which we burnt; they all contained something that had belonged to our boats. Just after setting fire to these huts, a Soomalie was observed a few hundred yards ahead, we gave chase, and shortly afterwards heard the report of a musket or rifle, I think it was the latter. We proceeded in the direction of the sound, which was the same as the Soomalie had taken, until we observed fifteen Soomalies on top of the hill on one side of a deep ravine, while we were about half way up the hill on the other side of the ravine; they were unfortunately not within range of our muskets, and to have attempted to reach them over such ground as it was, would have been madness." Lieutenant McHardy then details the steps he took to induce one of them to point out the spot where the bodies were buried, but all his attempts were vain. He adds:—"The interpreter told me there were seventy Soomalies on the hill, although I only saw fifteen; he also stated that there were a much larger number just the other side of the hill. Endeavours to induce one of the Soomalies to trust himself with us failed, and I reluctantly ordered a return to the

The 'Semiramis' returned to Muryah on the 29th of October, to await the arrival of the Mijjertheyn Sultan. That Chief, who, it appears, had warned the murderers that the British Government would exact ample reparation, arrived on the 2nd of November; and, on the following day, Captain Playfair, accompanied by Lieutenant Commanding McHardy, Acting Lieutenant Parker, Midshipman Chapman, and a large armed escort of seamen, had an interview in a tent, pitched to the right of the fort, when, says Commander Adams in his report to Commodore Frushard of the 16th of November, the following terms were agreed to:—"The Sultan to be allowed ten days, during which time he would catch as many of the murderers as he could (not less than twenty), to be delivered up to us; restore all the plundered property he could collect, and apologise on the quarter-deck for the insult offered to the British flag and atrocity on Her Majesty's sailors."

Leaving the 'Penguin' moored off Muryah, at the request of Captain Playfair, Commander Adams proceeded to Bunder Cassim, and other ports, in order, as he says, to show our flag along the whole extent of coast belonging to the Sultan, west of Bunder Muryah. Having visited Bunder Cassim on the 5th, and examined several guns, apparently 24-pounders, which were said to have been saved from the wreck of a vessel a great many years ago, he weighed about nine a.m. of the 6th, and returned to Muryah, steaming about one to one and a half miles off shore. On the 10th, taking the 'Penguin' in tow, the 'Semiramis' sailed to Ullooleh, and anchored in company; on the 13th, the day appointed for delivering the murderers, the Sultan and his followers arrived about noon, when Captain Playfair and Lieutenant McHardy visited him. "About 1.15," says Commander Adams, "they returned with the Sultan's Minister, when Captain Playfair informed me, that the Sultan had not fulfilled the conditions, as he had only eight of the murderers, that the previous day he had a long investigation, and satisfied himself that of a large number he had caught, only the eight above-mentioned were concerned in the massacre; further he had only succeeded in recovering two rifles, a pistol, and a sword, which being at some other village was not given up. As Captain Playfair said he should protest against proceeding to extremities, I urged as the ultimatum, that the murderers should be executed by the Sultan, in lieu of being hung by us, in the presence of the ships' companies; that

beach, which was obeyed, but clearly only from the force of discipline, for it was very apparent that it was with a heavy heart that every man left the murderers of his countrymen unscathed; but we stood at such a very great disadvantage, owing to the nature of the ground, that an attack would certainly have been unsuccessful. From the information gained by Baleos, it appears that the bodies of those murdered men who were not drowned were burned; we therefore returned on board, thinking any further search useless."

further time should be allowed him to capture more of them, and to recover the plunder, failing in which his villages should be burnt down, to all of which the Sultan finally agreed, but stipulated for six weeks instead of a month."*

The decapitation of the eight Soomalies took place in the presence of six boats' of the 'Semiramis' and one of the 'Penguin; and Commander Adams insisted that these men should be executed by the Sultan, a condition which was carried out, and, doubtless, contributed in the eyes of these lawless savages to vindicate the outraged majesty of the British name. The 'Semiramis' proceeded to Aden, and the 'Penguin' to Zanzibar; but it was understood between the commanding officers that one or both the vessels should return to Bunder Muryah to enforce the execution of the remaining stipulations as to the surrender of the other murderers and the plundered property, and the tender of an ample public apology. On his return to his post at Aden, Brigadier Coghlan, on the 4th of January, despatched Commander Adams, with the 'Semiramis' and 'Penguin,' to Muryah, to ascertain the result of the demands made on the Sultan.

The 'Semiramis,' towing the 'Penguin,' proceeded to Berbera, and thence to Muryah, where they arrived on the 10th of January. He says, in his report to Brigadier Coghlan, dated the 25th of January:—"On Sunday the 18th, about ten a.m., the Sultan, accompanied by a number of horse and foot men, marched into the town, when Lieutenant McHardy and I went

* Commander Adams says in this despatch:—"I cannot omit to state that the Sultan declared that there were only fifteen concerned, that three were killed by the sailors, two had escaped inland, and two in a boat to the opposite coast, and eight he gave to the sword, while the principal instigator, or chief of the tribe (Haji Awadth), declared to Lieutenant-Commanding McHardy and Lieutenant Morland, shortly before he was put to death, that there were only ten. In the interpreter's deposition, taken by Captain Playfair, the said Haji Awadth is reported as having, in the conversation that took place on the hill at Baraada on the 27th of October, said that eighty or ninety were engaged; and I cannot believe that an officer and fourteen British seamen, even supposing the gig's crew's arms to have been abandoned in the boat when they swam to the cutter for their lives at Ras Mabber, could fall a sacrifice to treble the number of Soomalies, seeing the cutter's crew were armed with three revolvers and three cutlasses, seven rifles and sword-bayonets or bayonets, and a 12-pounder rocket-tube, unless by treachery, the more especially that they had not only been warned but knew perfectly well that the whole coast was unfriendly on account of the late proceedings of H.M.'s cruisers in suppression of the slave-trade, besides the warning they had at Ras Mabber, where the gig had been sent for water, and, as before stated, the crew had to abandon her and swim off to the cutter for their lives. The massacre is said to have occurred on the 26th of September; the bodies of those who were not drowned appear to have been burnt with the boat, and one marine's rifle shows two sword cuts, evidently as if he had clubbed it. I waited for Lieutenant-Commanding McHardy's despatches until ten a.m. of the 14th, and returned to Aden this day. The 'Penguin' set out for Zanzibar to pick up her other two boats; and Lieutenant-Commanding McHardy has informed the Secretary to the Admiralty that it is his intention to return to Aden and place himself under my orders, to assist in carrying out such further retributive measures as Government may deem necessary."

on shore to meet him. I called on him to fulfil the Government demands; but it was not without considerable difficulty and much entreaty, and after we had left the shore, that he was persuaded by the elders of his tribe to visit the 'Semiramis,' as apparently the Sultan apprehended treachery; however, accompanied by his nearest of kin and immediate principal followers, he came on board about three p.m., and tendered on the quarterdeck the apology demanded, in the presence of the officers and ship's company, and also promised to deliver up the other two of the murderers, said to be at Baraida, in four days. The Sultan and his followers then visited the engine-room, lower deck, and other parts of the ship, and finally left under a salute of seven guns, apparently highly gratified with his visit and termination of the affair." Two of the murderers were surrendered to Commander Adams on board the 'Semiramis,' on the 23rd of January, and the other demands of the Government having been complied with, the 'Penguin' sailed for the Seychelles, and Commander Adams proceeded to Aden. On the occasion of receiving the Sultan's written apology,* duly signed and witnessed, he succeeded in inducing that chief to give up the slave trade,† a self-imposed act of philanthropy,

* Apology by Mahomed Yusuf, Sultan of the Mijertheyn tribe of Soomalies. —"Praise be to God alone. In the month of Rabee Alaakhir last (the latter end of September, 1862) a number of my subjects at Baraida dared to commit a foul and cruel massacre upon fifteen English seamen. For that inhuman outrage, satisfaction was demanded by the British Government, and eight of the guilty parties I caused to be publicly beheaded in presence of the officers of the men-of-war. I then pledged myself to surrender the four remaining guilty ones, if ever they should come within my power. I now, as in presence of the Almighty God, renew that pledge, and bind myself that I will use my utmost endeavour to seize and deliver to the British Governor, at Aden, the four already mentioned, and also any other person who it may be ascertained took part in the atrocity. And for myself and for my tribe I express my sorrow for the baseness of those of my people who had a hand in that unfortunate affair whose evil conduct has been so contrary to my wish and practice, and also contrary to the friendship which has so long existed betwixt my people and the British Government: and I pray our merciful God to continue sincerity and friendship between us and the English people without interruption."

"Rujab, 1279. True Translation. H. Rassam, Assistant Political Resident. —Given on board H M 's ship 'Semiramis,' I N., off Bunder Muryah, A D. 18th January, 1863.—Mahomed Yusuf.

"Witnesses.—G N Adams, Commander, Indian Navy, Senior Naval Officer, Aden.—J. G. G. McHardy, Lieutenant-commanding H M 's ship-of-war 'Penguin;' Iahmail Sultan Mahmood; Ahmet Sultan Mahmood."

† The following is a copy of the engagement entered into by this chief:—"I, Mahomed Yusuf, Sultan of the Mijertheyn tribe of Soomalies, with a view to strengthen the bonds of friendship existing between me and the British Government, do hereby engage to prohibit the exportation of slaves from the coast of Africa and elsewhere, on board of my vessels and those belonging to my subjects or dependents, such prohibition to take effect from the 23rd day of April, 1863. And I do further consent that, whenever the cruisers of the British Government fall in with any of my vessels, or those belonging to my subjects or dependents, suspected of being engaged in the slave trade, they may detain and search them; and in case of finding that any of the vessels aforesaid have violated this engagement, *by the exportation of slaves from the coast of Africa, whether in or out of*

for which all lovers of freedom, and particularly those who have witnessed the horrors of the East African slave trade, will applaud the gallant officer.

Lord Shaftesbury has related that Lord Palmerston, that most astute and successful of our Foreign Secretaries, often said to him:—"Whenever I want a thing well done, in a distant part of the world; when I want a man with a good head, a good heart, lots of pluck, and plenty of common sense—I always send for a captain in the Navy." Probably Brigadier Coghlan, himself an able and sagacious Political officer, was of the same opinion, and, if so, he was justified by the result. Commander Adams, as the native chiefs knew well, was one of those who would "stand no nonsense;" and Lieutenant McHardy says in his official report to the Admiralty, dated the 13th of November, 1862, that, "had the Sultan refused to execute these eight, or to accept the ultimatum, Captain Adams was quite prepared, provided Captain Playfair turned the duty over to him, to have taken upon himself the responsibility of immediately making an example by blowing all his town down and then blockading his coast until instructions were received from Government."

The Chief Secretary to Government, in a letter addressed to Brigadier Coghlan, expressed the thanks of the Governor in Council to Commander Adams, under date the 7th of March, 1863, as follows:—"I am desired to state that Commander Adams appears to have performed the difficult duty entrusted to him with intelligence and judgment, and I am accordingly to request that you will express to that officer the commendation of Government."

This was the last public service rendered by the Indian Navy before it vanished, "like the baseless fabric of a vision," before the touch of the wand of the Great Magician at Westminster. The *coup de grace* was given in a despatch, dated the 28th of November, 1862, from the Secretary of State for India, decreeing the abolition of the Indian Navy, and it was to the following effect:—

"To His Excellency the Right Hon. the Governor-General of India in Council.

"My Lord. 1. I have received and considered in Council the despatch from your Excellency's Government, No. 3, of the 18th of January last, in the Marine Department. The manner in which Naval and Maritime services can best for the future

my dominions, or elsewhere, upon any pretext whatever, they (the Government cruisers) shall seize and confiscate the slaves, but release the vessel and crew.

"Given under my hand, at Bunder Murjah, the 23rd day of January, 1863" Signed by Mahomed Yusuf, and two of his principal chiefs, in presence of Commander Adams and Lieutenant Brebner, Indian Navy."

be performed on the coasts of India, and in the neighbouring seas, has been very fully discussed in the correspondence which has passed between the Government of India and that of Bombay. Since the receipt of that correspondence I have had the great advantage of personal communication upon the subject with Sir George Clerk and Commodore Wellesley, who have lately returned to England, and I proceed to communicate to your Excellency the final instructions of Her Majesty's Government.

"2. It was stated in my Marine despatch, No. 77, of the 30th of August, 1861, that the defence of India against a serious attack by sea, as well as the Naval services required in the Red Sea and upon the Eastern coast of Africa, will be undertaken by vessels of the Royal Navy. You have represented in the strongest terms that it would not be for the public advantage to maintain the Indian Navy, with its existing organization, but reduced into a smaller service, for the purposes only of protecting the Indian ports, of suppressing the slave trade and piracy in the Persian Gulf, and of transporting troops and stores. I fully appreciate the serious difficulties which would attend such a change, and I have also before me the opinion which has been expressed by Commodore Wellesley, and confirmed by the Government of Bombay, that it would be considered as a degradation, and felt as distasteful by the officers of the Service themselves. These considerations have forced upon Her Majesty's Government the conclusion that the wisest course will be altogether to abolish the Indian Navy as at present constituted, and to provide otherwise for the performance of such duties afloat as cannot advantageously be undertaken by vessels of the Royal Navy.

"3 Such services as are required from ships-of-war in the Persian Gulf will for the future be performed by the Royal Navy. Arrangements for this purpose will be made by the Board of Admiralty, and the Senior Naval officer in the Indian Seas will be placed in communication with your Excellency's Government and with that of Bombay, and instructed to meet, as far as possible, any demands for Naval operations which may be made upon him by either of those Governments.

"4. The floating defences of the Indian ports and harbours remain to be considered, in order to dispose of the purely Naval portion of the duties for which the Indian Navy was intended to provide. The only vessels calculated for harbour defence which now form part of the Indian Navy are two gunboats. It may be desirable to add to their number, as well as to provide iron-plated floating batteries for the defence of Bombay, and possibly, also, for that of other ports of India. These vessels in time of peace will be kept in a state of readiness for service, and, when required, they will be commanded by officers of the

Royal Navy, their crews being raised in India, or, if necessary, sent out from England. All the expenses of these floating defences will, of course, be defrayed out of the revenues of India.

"5. The manner in which the Bengal Marine has answered the purposes of the Government of India proves that there are many Maritime duties which can be performed with efficiency by a temporary Service, fluctuating in numbers as the demand for vessels may increase or diminish; and Her Majesty's Government consider that such duties on the Western coast of India as have hitherto been performed by the Indian Navy, but for which it may not be convenient to employ ships of the Royal Navy—namely, the transport of troops and stores, and other civil duties—can be performed for the future by a local Service, entitled the Bombay Marine, on the same footing as that on which the Bengal Marine has always been, and not under martial law.

"6. I have now to consider the number of vessels which will be required for these duties, and I am of opinion that six steam transports, three sailing transports, and two steam vessels for general service, will be sufficient for such purposes for all India. The names of the vessels which, as far as I am able to judge, are best suited for the several services, as well as the manner in which it seems to me that they should be distinguished, are shown in enclosure No. 1* to this despatch. The four vessels required for the Bombay side of India should constitute the Bombay Marine, and the remaining vessels on the Bengal side should form the Bengal Marine. There is no need for a separate Marine for Madras; the vessels required there for transport services have always been furnished from other Presidencies where there are docks and conveniencies for the repair and fitting of ships, as well as for their lying in safety during the adverse monsoon. One or two of the Government vessels retained on the Bengal side, might be considered as available for the transport service of Madras upon the requisition of the Government of that Presidency, and while detached upon such

* Six steam transports. Late Indian Navy —'Coromandel,' screw, room for five hundred and fifty troops, 'Dalhousie,' screw, room for four hundred and fifty troops, 'Prince Arthur,' screw, room for five hundred and fifty troops. Late Bengal Marine —'Sydney,' screw, room for four hundred troops, 'Australian,' screw, room for four hundred troops, 'Arracan,' paddle, room for five hundred troops Of the preceding, four ready for sea, viz, two on Calcutta and Madras side, and two on Bombay side; and two in reserve Three sailing transports of the Bengal Marine, one ready for sea at Calcutta and two in reserve, viz, 'Sesostris,' room for four hundred and fifty troops, 'Tubal Cain,' room for four hundred troops; 'Walter Morrice' Two steam vessels for general service of Government (of the late Indian Navy,) viz, 'Feroz,' for Calcutta, 1,450 tons, 500 horse-power, carries five hundred and twenty troops on long voyages 'Zenobia,' for Bombay, 1003 tons, 280 horse-power, carries 337 troops.—Total, eleven vessels; four in reserve, and seven ready for sea.

Service they should be under the orders and at the charge of that Government.

"7. I leave it to your Excellency's Government, in communication with that of Bombay, to determine how many officers of different classes are required for the Bombay Marine, all of whom, excepting such as are employed afloat, or have been placed in suitable shore appointments, will have been now discharged with gratuities proportioned to their length of service, in accordance with the instructions conveyed in my despatch, No. 77, of the 30th of August, 1861. If there should be a sufficient number of volunteers from among the present officers of the Indian Navy, fit to command and officer any vessels of the Bengal Marine, which may be required from time to time, they should have the preference over all other candidates, upon the conditions which will be laid down in a subsequent part of this despatch All officers, both of the Bengal and Bombay Marines, should be employed upon the clear understanding that their service is only temporary, and does not entitle them to pensions, for I agree with your Excellency's Government, that, as private enterprise extends in India, it may become expedient still further to reduce the number of vessels in the Service of the Government.

"8 I have next to consider the manner in which the officers of the Indian Navy should be dealt with, who, from no fault of their own, will be deprived of their professional prospects. I have already, in a former Despatch, expressed the high sense which is entertained by Her Majesty's Government of the gallant and meritorious services of the Indian Navy; and now that political and financial considerations have rendered it necessary to abolish that Service, it is my desire to consider the interests of the officers in the most liberal spirit.

"9. I have, therefore, somewhat modified in their favour the scale of pensions which was recommended by your Excellency's Government. The revised scale will be found in Enclosure No. 2* to this Despatch, and it should be brought into operation

* "No 2 Scale of pensions, gratuities, &c, for the officers of different ranks now belonging to the Indian Navy upon abolition of the Service —Captains, eight on the list Captains of seven years' standing in that rank, and all officers who have completed either thirty years according to the old, or twenty six years' actual service in India according to the new, furlough regulations, without reference to their rank, to have the option of retiring upon a pension of £450 per annum, retaining their right to succeed to the senior list pension of £800 per annum in their turn, or upon a pension of £550, giving up their right of succeed-

their turn, or on a pension of £450, without further prospect —Commanders, sixteen on the list Commanders, whose appointment to the Service bears date prior to the year 1831, to retire upon a pension of £450, with nothing further in prospect. Commanders, whose appointment to the Service bears date subsequent to the year 1831, to retire upon a pension of £400 All commanders, on thus

at once. I shall promulgate it to the officers of the Indian Navy who are now at home, and pensions in accordance with it will at once be allotted to them here, leaving for future adjustment any cases in respect to which there may be a doubt as to the amount of pension to which an officer is entitled. Although the Acting-Masters of the Indian Navy are not entitled to pensions under the scale, I shall not interfere with the pensions which the Government of Bombay have granted, subject to my sanction in Council, to ten of those officers who have served for more than fifteen years. The honorary promotions upon retirement should be gazetted at once by the Government of Bombay. I have only further to observe that the names of such officers as accept the highest scale of pension in lieu of the right which they now possess to succeed to the pension of £800 per annum (that is to say, the officers placed in the first category of the pension scale), will be retained in italics upon a general list to be framed, which shall include the four present holders and all the expectants of £800 per annum, for the purpose of regulating the succession. Officers who may select the lower scale of pension, with the prospect of the pension of £800, will only succeed to the latter in their proper seniority, and as they would have done if all the officers entitled to succeed to it had retained their right, and actually succeeded in turn. A copy of this list should be forwarded to me.

"10. I concur with your Excellency's Government, that it may be more acceptable to some of the officers if their pensions are commuted into a capital sum; and I shall be prepared to commute half the value of the pensions of officers of the rank of lieutenant and upwards, and the whole value of the pensions of officers junior to lieutenant. It will be necessary that officers

retiring, will receive the honorary rank of 'Captain' in the Indian Navy—Lieutenants, sixty-eight on the list The twenty-four senior lieutenants on the list, who on their retirement will receive the honorary rank of 'Commander' in the Indian Navy, to retire on a pension of £300 each, the twenty-four next on the list, £250, the twenty next on the list, £200—Mates The twelve senior mates on the list to retire on a pension of £150 each All mates who will have been three years on the list of mates on the 31st of December, 1862, £125 The above officers to receive the honorary rank of 'Lieutenant' in the Indian Navy. All other mates, £100—Midshipmen Each midshipman to retire on a pension of £60—Pursers or Paymasters, twenty-three on the list The six senior pursers on the list to retire on a pension of £300 the six pursers next on the list, £250, the eleven pursers next on the list, £200—Captain's Clerks, twenty on the list. Each captain's clerk to retire on a pension of £60—Acting-Masters and Second-Masters Gratuities All the Acting-Masters who have completed fifteen years' actual service in India, to receive a gratuity on discharge equal in amount to two months' pay for every complete year of service All the Acting-Masters, and all Acting Second-Masters, whether first or second class, of less than fifteen years' actual service in India, to receive a gratuity on discharge equal in amount to one month's pay for every complete year of service, which gratuity shall in no case be less in amount than three months' pay" Other clauses in this Enclosure detailed the pensions to be awarded to "Engineers and Boiler-makers," "Country or Naval-trained Engineers," "Journeymen and Apprentices."

applying for the capitalization of their pensions, shall be examined as to the state of their health by a medical board; and if the medical report is satisfactory, the pensions will be capitalized upon the principal that the lives of the officers are as good as average lives of the same age in England; and the commutation will be calculated at a rate of interest at five per cent., according to the Table which forms Enclosure No. 3* to this Despatch

"11. The officers of the Indian Navy should be invited to volunteer for the Bombay Marine, as well as for employment in any branch of the uncovenanted Service in India. I have no doubt that such employment may be found for many of them should they desire it; and I most earnestly impress upon your Excellency that it is the duty of the Government to provide in this manner for as large a number as can advantageously be so employed. A preference should be given to these officers in filling up all vacancies in maritime appointments such as those of Master-Attendant at the different Presidencies or ports in India, Port officers, Emigration officers, and any situations on shore where the skill and professional acquirements of a Naval officer would be useful. Whenever an officer of the Indian Navy in receipt of a pension, granted to him upon the abolition of that Service, is appointed to any office in India, or under the Secretary of State for India in Council at home, it should be upon the condition that, if the emoluments of the appointment exceed the amount of his pension by one fourth, he shall not receive any portion of his pension while he is so employed. If the emoluments are less than the pension, and a fourth, such portion of the pension only shall be drawn as will make the total sum received annually by the officer equal to the amount of his pension, and a fourth. An officer of the Indian Navy, upon ceasing to hold any such appointment, will receive his Indian Navy pension, and, in addition, the pension, if any, to which he may be entitled under the regulations applicable to his subsequent employment. Officers volunteering for service in India will not be permitted to commute their pensions, or any portion of them, for a capital sum whilst so employed."

There were eight other paragraphs in this despatch in which Sir Charles Wood dealt with points of detail. He directed the Government of Bombay "to take care to discharge the crews of the vessels of the Indian Navy gradually, and so as to prevent more seamen being thrown out of employment than can be absorbed in the merchant service," and also recommended that the marine apprentices, who, for the past sixty years, had been sent out in annual drafts from the 'Warspite,' should be retained until the end of their apprenticeship, or, if they were

* This enclosure is the "Value of an annuity of £1 on a single life according to the Carlisle Table of Mortality, interest being calculated at 5 per cent."

desirous of cancelling their indentures, that they should receive a gratuity upon discharge. The Secretary of State then directed that all officers, including those who proceeded home on furlough and sick-leave, after receipt at Bombay of the Governor-General's despatch of the 17th of April, 1861, "which ordered large reductions and recommended abolition," should be allowed their homeward passage-money; and, after referring to his despatch of the 30th of August, 1861, relating to the future conduct of the Indian Marine Surveys by the Royal Navy, which were to be conducted at the expense of the Imperial Government, directed that the vessels of the Service not required for the transport and civil duties, or for harbour defence, should be sold. In the concluding paragraphs the Secretary of State recommended for the immediate consideration of the Supreme Government and that of Bombay, the details necessary for the economical working of the Dockyards and Marine establishments at the two Presidencies.

Thus, the edict for the abolition of the Service had at length gone forth, and the Indian Navy was a thing of the past. It cannot be said that the step had been taken without much and long-continued cogitation, and the officers had, for a considerable time past, considered themselves as men under sentence; but now that the word "Finis" was irrevocably written in the book of Time, as regards the Indian Navy, the news was stunning, and many voices were raised in the press regretting the extinction of a Service possessing so memorable a history and having the *éclat* attaching to great antiquity and unblemished character.

It is difficult to say who suffered the greater injustice by the abolition of the Service, the captains, lieutenants, or the whole body of junior officers. In the covenants the latter entered into with the Court of Directors, it was specified—"All officers, without reference to the rank they may have attained, after an active service of thirty years in India, under the old furlough rules, or of twenty-six years' service under the new furlough rules (which allowed four years' leave of absence to count as service), were eligible to retire on £360 per annum at once, with the privilege of eventually succeeding to one of the senior list pensions of £800 per annum." As it was through no fault of theirs the Service was abolished, and the retirement was compulsory, it follows that they were all, to the youngest midshipman, entitled to the full pension of £360 on completion of service, and to the reversion of the four senior list pensions of £800 per annum.* This agreement in their covenant, together with all others, was solemnly guaranteed by the "Act for the better Government of India," wherein it is provided

* See Parliamentary "Return of the Pensioned and Discharged Indian Navy Officers," dated India Office, 24th of June, 1864.

that they were "entitled to the like pay, pensions, allowances, and privileges, and the like advantages as regards promotion and otherwise, as if they had continued in the service of the said Company;" and yet the lieutenants received, some £300, and others £250 and £200 a year; the mates, £150, £125 and £100, according to length of service; and the midshipmen, £80 and £60. With these pensions, but with blasted prospects, and no profession, these officers, many being married men with families, were condemned to begin life anew, and, as we know, in many cases, owing to inexperience in business matters, they failed to earn a livelihood, or having capitalized their pensions, lost every shilling It is true that Government offered these "commissioned" officers subordinate appointments in the "uncovenanted" service, such as in the Master-Attendants' and Woods and Forests Departments, but they were accepted in few instances, because attaching to them, irrespective of the retrogression in the social scale, was the utterly unfair stipulation that the incumbents' pensions were to be deducted from their pay during such time as they held these appointments, so that a lieutenant who had served his country twenty years was mulcted of his pension of £300 a year, receiving only the same pay as a newly joined civilian, his past services being thus utterly ignored by the Government.

If it is said that the Captains could not be promoted to Rear-Admirals, because flag rank was unknown in the Service,—though we do not see any force in this argument, for an Order in Council could, we opine, without violating any constitutional principle, have created, say, Captains Frushard, Jenkins, and Campbell, retired Real-Admirals:—but if we allow this was not practicable, the same excuse cannot be advanced for the treatment received by the Lieutenants. It was manifestly only an act of justice, on compulsorily retiring these officers, to give them a step in rank. It is a course that has invariably been pursued in the other Naval and Military establishments of Her Majesty. But the Indian Navy was to form the solitary exception, and thus to the end the Government was resolved to maintain the consistent course of contumely with which the Service had been treated. Only the twenty-seven senior Lieutenants were promoted to the rank of Commander, but why the line was drawn at that number it would have puzzled the officials who drew up the scheme to propound. To instance the case of Lieutenant Sweny. This meritorious and highly scientific officer had been eighteen years in the Indian Navy, of which sixteen had been passed in active service; he had been in independent charge of a survey, and during the Persian War had gained the special thanks of his superiors for the admirable manner in which he piloted the large fleet up the Shatt-ul-Arab, to the attack of the earthworks at

Mohamra; finally, he had gained the special approbation of Her Majesty for his services rendered during the crisis of the mutiny in Western India, when he landed troops on the Malabar coast during the height of the monsoon, an act unprecedented in Indian annals. But, after having held a command for many years, and received the thanks of the Governments of the three Presidencies, Lieutenant Sweny found himself consigned to the career of a civilian with no such cheap, if gracious, acknowledgment of his long and faithful services to the State, as would have been evidenced by the bestowal of the rank of Commander.*

Among the senior officers, the commanders of thirty years service and under, were aggrieved on the more substantial score of their pecuniary prospects, for just as they were qualified by rank and length of service for the few staff appointments to which they were eligible,—Commodore in the Persian Gulf, Senior Officer at Aden, Assistant Superintendent, Captain of the flagship, Indian Navy Storekeeper, Master Attendant and Conservator of the port,—they found themselves placed on the retired list *nolens volens*, and condemned to accept a pension of £450 and £400. These officers, as also some of the Senior Lieutenants who had twenty-three years' service, and were retired on pensions of £300 a year, were all in the prime of life, most of them had families to support, and were in the receipt of at least 700 rupees a month (£840 a year), the command allowance of a steam-frigate. Commanders Foulerton, Adams, and Chitty,† were promised by Sir Charles Wood, the command of three troopships between Bombay and Suez, but the Government nominated to the command of all five troopships, officers of the Royal Navy, on the plea that they could not maintain discipline, as the Indian Navy being abolished, their Articles of War had ceased to have force. The services of Commander Chitty,

* We would have it understood that in instancing the case of Lieutenant Sweny, we have not done so at the suggestion of any one, least of all, of that gallant officer, whom we have never seen, and from whom we have never heard on the subject. We have only selected his case as typical of the consideration which the officers of the Service received at the hands of Government, who, having no further need of their services, dismissed them without regard to the claims of justice. Lieutenants Barker, Duval, Clarkson, Hunter, and others, were equally hardly treated.

† Commander Chitty, after his services in the 'Berenice' during the Mutiny, and in the 'Victoria' at the capture of Beyt and bombardment of Dwarka, was employed in 1859, in command of the 'Zenobia,' in deep-sea sounding in the Bay of Bengal, and selecting a line for a submarine telegraph cable, on the coast of Tenasserim, for which he received the thanks of the Supreme Government. After the China War, in which he gained the commendation of Sir James Hope, Commander Chitty was again employed, in 1861, sounding and selecting a line for a submarine cable between Kurrachee and the head of the Persian Gulf to Bussorah. In the following year he conveyed the Duke of Saxe-Coburg Gotha *from port to port* in the Red Sea, in the 'Victoria,' and finally, was again employed on special service sounding for a line of telegraph on the Mekran coast, for which he received the thanks of the Bombay Government. In 1865 Com-

however, were not lost to the State, as in 1867, he was appointed Agent for the transport of troops through Egypt, a post he has filled during the past ten years with conspicuous ability and success, as has also Captain Cruttenden that of Assistant-Director of Transports at the Admiralty.

That the junior officers,* the Lieutenants, Mates, and Midshipmen, from fifteen years' service downwards, suffered a grievous wrong by the Government casting them adrift on the world, with pensions ranging from £60 to £150 a year, cannot be denied, when it is considered that the sheet anchor of their rights, the 56th Section of the Act 21 and 22 of Victoria, already quoted, specially guaranteed them not only their "pay, pensions and allowances," but also their "promotion as if they had continued in the Company's service"

mander Chitty was employed on special service in Egypt, under the orders of the Secretary of State for India, from whom and H M 's Consul-General in Egypt he received letters of thanks

* The junior officers of the Service found employment in every conceivable profession, and many of the younger men continued at sea as commanders of merchant vessels, or entered the naval services of the United States and the Southern Confederacy, then engaged in their terrible struggle, or accepted command of Southern blockade-runners A gentleman, signing himself "Ex-Lieutenant of the United States Navy," writes, in April, 1877, to the "Times" —"I served afloat with two British officers, one of whom was in the Royal Navy, and showed me his certificates from the commanding officer of one of H M.'s ships, and the other also exhibited his from the commander of H M 's gunboat 'Hugh Rose,' of the Indian Navy, attached to the Persian Gulf squadron I may add that, as the officers served under assumed names, Her Majesty's Government had no knowledge of the matter"

The following (and concluding) chapter in the blockade-running experiences of an officer of the Service, is of interest, as giving some idea of the nature and risk of the duties Lieutenant J Gould Lakes was in command of a swift paddle-steamer called the 'Elsie,' and about May, 1864, was at Bermuda, preparatory to running the blockade to Wilmington, He says —"At Bermuda we took in guns, stores, and hospital supplies for the Southern Army, and made preparations to make a run to Wilmington, situated forty miles up the Cape Bear River, in South Carolina, in this attempt we were successful, after many sharp chases and several narrow squeaks of being captured Unfortunately, yellow fever broke out on board, and we had to remain for one month in quarantine in the river, and here I lost several of my men from this epidemic, which at that time raged to a frightful extent both at Bermuda and Nassau At the end of the month we proceeded up the river, and discharged our cargo, taking on board seven hundred bales of cotton, and several hogsheads of turpentine, and the moon being favourable, (*i e*, no moon shone at all), made preparations for a run to Nassau, Bahamas At this time the risk of running the blockade was very great, as Charlestown, Savannah, Matamoras, and Mobile, had all succumbed to the Northerners, and, consequently, Wilmington was the only port the Southerners had left on their seaboard into which you could run a cargo Off this port the United States concentrated the whole of their Navy On making our dash out one dark night we had first to out-manœuvre the 'Inshore Squadron,' at anchor some two miles outside the bar of the river, and through which we ran the gauntlet, exposed to a galling fire of grape and canister, the intense darkness of the night, and the speed of the vessel, enabled us to pass through this our first danger, without much damage, but the darkness was disagreeably lightened up at intervals by the enemy burning blue and electric lights, which exposed the vessel *to their view, when they* fired into us in right good style, my men lying flat upon the deck. I, with my pilot and chief officer, stood on the platform between the

Compare this scale of pensions with those awarded to the officials of the Marine Department of the India Office, abolished on their duties being consigned to the Military Secretariat. Whereas, for Commodore Frushard, Captain Campbell, and other officers who had served in the worst climates in the world, and in the most perilous of all professions, a pension of £450 per annum, with the prospect of succession to £800. or £550 without such reversion, was deemed sufficient pension, Mr. Mason, the Secretary of the Marine Department, who had never left his native land or been subjected to any risks of life or health, was pensioned off on £1,430 per annum, and his Assistant on £770! But, should the arduous nature of the duties fulfilled by these officials be pleaded in extenuation of the disproportionate scale of pensions, we would observe that the India Office of those days, was notorious for maintaining an unnecessarily large staff of officials, and, in corroboration, we will quote from the sayings of two of the most eminent of the number.

Charles Lamb used to say that he "always left office early to make up for going to it late;" and the late Thomas Love Peacock found his duties at the India Office so wearisome that he thus wrote of them :—

> "From ten to eleven ate a breakfast for seven;
> From eleven to noon to begin 'twas too soon,
> From twelve to one asked, 'What's to be done?'
> From one to two found nothing to do,
> From two to three began to foresee
> That from three to four would be a great bore"

Many of the officers of the Service are decorated with four and five medals, memorials of good and faithful service, but not

paddle-boxes, where I had formed a barricade of bales of cotton, within which we ensconced ourselves, these bales we found in the morning perfectly riddled with grape and canister Where should we have been without this protection? As it was, the funnels were the great sufferers However, we got through the inshore squadron in safety, but the 'Outside Squadron' had got the alarm, and were scouring here, there, and everywhere, on the look-out for us, lighting up the whole horizon with their artificial lights, and firing at us with shell and round shot, as we tore along On we sped, like a poor hare pursued by a pack of hounds, turning and twisting in and out amongst our pursuers, and after over two hours of this hot and exciting work, managed to get away clear of the whole lot, and began to speculate upon a safe voyage to Nassau, for which I steered; but our hopes were disagreeably broken in upon at daybreak, when the look-out reported a vessel in sight, right ahead I altered our course and stood out to sea, but soon after, another vessel was reported coming from that direction Here we were in a pretty fix, the whole of the Inshore Squadron inside of us, two of the enemy's cruisers coming from opposite directions to cut us off, and, to make matters worse, the wind had freshened into a strong breeze, which knocked up a nasty short sea, and the speed of the 'Elsie' was, in consequence, reduced from twelve to seven miles per hour However, we ran for it, but it was no use, as the two steamers gradually neared us, and turned out to be the two fastest vessels the Northerners had, viz, the 'Quaker City' and 'Kingstown State.' When near enough, they both opened fire, and for four hours banged away at our vessel with shot and shell, which passed over and burst over us in a very disagreeable manner, one 32-pound shell passed over the head of the man steering,

one of them enjoys a good Service pension, while as to honorary rewards, which, too often, are the only acknowledgments soldiers and sailors receive for life-long meritorious services, only four officers, of whom but two survive, have been recipients of the lowest class of the Bath, while not one has been deemed worthy to receive the Order of the Star of India, instituted in 1861, two years before the abolition of the Service Contrast this treatment with that accorded to the other Services of the Crown, who, after a war, however brief and uneventful, are rewarded with a free distribution of decorations and promotions, either substantive or brevet. Why was this slur cast upon old and meritorious officers when the "Exalted Order of the Star of India" was conferred upon all branches of the Public Service, soldiers and civilians, as well as Native Princes, some of whom, during the dark and troublous days of the Mutiny, gave only a half-hearted support to the "Circar," which would have been changed into active hostility had a great reverse happened to our arms, or had the siege of Delhi been raised, or the Lucknow garrison left to their fate by Havelock's gallant band? But though we find some "veiled traitors" receiving the ribbon of the Star of India, the gallant seamen who, afloat and ashore, had faithfully served their Honourable and Royal masters, were treated with marked neglect, which, though deeply felt by the Service, reflects discredit only upon the dispensers of these honours. There was, of course, no interest felt in their fate at the Admiralty; and, as to the India Office, they had no friends in office there, and few would stoop to memorialize. It is even doubtful whether the Court of Directors, had they been in existence, or retained a voice in the distribution of honours, would have pleaded in behalf of a Service which existed before the Company had a soldier in their pay, or the British standing Army had an existence. But the officers of the Indian Navy, being no longer required for the service of the State, were cast aside as a rusty tool, and relegated to obscurity, so far as the denial of all honorary distinctions render men nobodies in this country, while the wanton and wholesale destruction of the records of the Service appeared to denote a deliberate intention to erase the very memory of the Indian Navy.

But it is not too late even yet to do an act of justice, so far

alongside of whom I was standing, and the windage knocked his hat off and laid him senseless on the deck At length two 32-pound shells struck the vessel simultaneously on the forepart, bursting in among the cotton and setting fire to the vessel, which I found impossible to get under, and in a few minutes we were in a blaze from stem to stern I then ordered the men to enter the boats, which they did in a most orderly manner, as if nothing had occurred, and we rowed to the nearest vessel, the 'Quaker City,' and gave ourselves up as prisoners We were taken to Fort Beaufort, North Carolina, and my men were afterwards sent to Philadelphia, and I to New York and Boston I cannot complain as prisoners that we were badly treated, biscuit and water was our diet, and meat once a week. Soon after the war came to a close, and I was liberated"

as to confer some honorary distinctions on Captains Campbell, Jones, and Adams, for their services either in the field of diplomacy, as surveyors of the first distinction, or during the Chinese, Burmese, and Persian Wars, and the Indian Mutiny. The Service would be highly gratified were these gallant officers rewarded in the decline of life for services rendered in its prime; and not less would the surviving members hail with satisfaction the award of some further recognition on Captain Renne, who, since he was honoured, twenty years ago, with the C.B. for his achievements in China, Burmah, and Persia, has rendered further good service, as Superintendent of the Bengal Marine during the Mutiny, and in fitting out a squadron of ships for the China War of 1860, for which he received the thanks of Sir James Hope. No officer of the Indian Navy has yet received the Knighthood of a Military Order; and it is not too late to render a gracious and well earned honour on the defunct Service, in the person of one or more officers who have not unworthily borne the mantle of James, of Watson, and of Hayes.

The following is an abstract of the nett annual cost of the Indian Navy during the last ten years of its existence; and when it is considered that these sums include the charges for the Bengal Marine, as the practice was to lump together all the Marine expenses chargeable to the Indian Treasury, it cannot be said that the amounts were excessive:—

1853—54	£358,842
1854—55	409,480
1855—56	434,057
1856—57	468,194

During the Indian Mutiny, when the Service had nearly eighteen hundred European seamen employed in the Naval Brigade on shore, and the Bengal Marine had, also, large numbers up-country, the nett charges for the two Services rose to about one million, but sunk afterwards to the following figures:—

1860—61	£760,000
1861—62	333,000
1862—63	222,000

The average annual cost for the Indian Navy alone, for the last ten years, was, probably, less than £350,000; and the "Times of India," in an article on the 19th of May, 1863, referring to these figures, expressed an opinion which the result has borne out, that "the wisdom of abolition is, we think, open to grave question." The Indian Governments have still charges to meet for the local Bengal and Bombay Marines, and also the annual payment of £70,000 to the Admiralty for the services of H.M.'s ships, and £20,000 for the maintenance of a separate surveying establishment. If we also bear in mind

that from the year 1835 to 1855, a period of twenty years, first a monthly, and then a bi-monthly, communication was kept up by the steamers of the Indian Navy, thus saving to the Government half the sum payable for the Mail contract (£70,000), and that, during the second Burmese War, the steam-frigates of the Indian Navy, which were employed as transports as well as ships of war, are calculated to have recouped to the India House their total cost as well as maintenance; also that, throughout the Persian War and Indian Mutiny, they were engaged in carrying troops and towing transports, thus saving at least their cost to the Government—if all these points are taken into consideration, it will, probably, be found that no Government have been better or more economically served. This, doubtless, the authorities at Westminster, and, still more, the local Governments in India, have discovered, and hence has arisen the oft-repeated cry for a new Indian Navy, now echoed by the Viceroy

On the 12th of March, 1863, the 'Semiramis,' Commander Adams, 'Mahi,' Lieutenant Carpendale, and 'Constance,' Lieutenant Trollope, arrived from Aden, and, in the following month, the Bombay Government caused advertisements to be inserted in the local papers, offering for sale the 'Ajdaha,' 'Semiramis,' and 'Berenice,' "as they at present lie in Bombay harbour." The steam frigates 'Assaye' and 'Punjaub' had been sold in England, the sailing ships, in July of the preceding year, and, more recently, the 'Victoria,' and now the last of the fleet were put up to auction, the Indian Government retaining only the 'Zenobia' and 'Ferooz,' the latter for the service of the Governor-General, with the 'Coromandel,' 'Prince Arthur,' and 'Dalhousie,' as troopships. The Bombay Government now issued the following farewell order:—

"Marine Department, Bombay Castle, the 22nd of April, 1863. No. 22, of 1863. The return of the 'Semiramis,' 'Constance,' and 'Mahi,' from Aden, permits the final abolition of the Indian Navy, as ordered by H.M.'s Government. The reasons for this measure do not touch the high character of that Navy. The services of the Indian Navy have been most varied, honourable, and useful. It has done successful war services in Burmah, China, and Persia, the surveys made by its officers are of widespread utility, and the beneficial results of its suppression of piracy and the slave trade will long endure. The same gradual change of circumstances which led to the conversion of the East India Company's Bombay Marine into the Indian Navy, has now led Her Majesty's Government to rely upon the Royal Navy for all Naval duties in the Indian seas. The extinction of such an honourable Service, and all the prospects to which its officers looked, must be viewed with regret and sympathy by the Government under which they served. These

feelings have been expressed by Her Majesty's Government, they are shared by His Excellency the Governor in Council, and have influenced all the orders for disposal of the officers.

"His Excellency the Governor in Council begs Commodore Frushard and the officers of the Indian Navy, to accept this renewed assurance of the respect with which the Government regards their past service and of its desire to mitigate, as far as possible, the disappointment attending the change in their career.

"At noon, on the 30th instant, the broad pennant of Commodore Frushard will be saluted by eleven guns from the battery at the Apollo Pier. The flag of the Indian Navy, long known as "The Company's Jack," will then be hoisted at the Castle flagstaff, and saluted by twenty-one guns. At the close of the salute the Indian Jack will be hauled down, the broad pennant of Commodore Frushard, and the pennants of all the Indian Naval vessels in harbour will be struck, and the Indian Navy will cease to exist as an effective Service. Commodore Frushard, on landing from the 'Ajdaha,' will receive a personal salute of eleven guns.*"

The passage in this Order, in which it is stated the Home and Bombay Governments felt "regret and sympathy at the extinction of an honourable Service," and then "renewed assurance of the respect with which they regarded its past services," was very acceptable to the officers of the Indian Navy, as a graceful allusion to a disruption of relations that had existed since the period when Bombay was ceded to the East India Company by King Charles II. But, nevertheless, considering the lengthened and varied services rendered by the Indian Navy, this Order is of a very meagre character. Surely someone in authority might have given a more complete list of its "war services" than was conveyed in the mention of "Burmah, China, and Persia." Was there no one sufficiently conversant with the history we have laid before our readers, not to be aware of the magnitude of the services it had rendered to that Company when it was a feeble Corporation struggling against

* By another Order of the same date, the Government directs that, "after the 30th instant, the vessels hitherto belonging to the Indian Navy, will be borne as supernumeraries of the Bombay Marine The present pay and allowances will be continued to the man-of-war crews until discharged The Dockyard establishments will be maintained until further orders Captain Young, C B, the Assistant and Dockmaster, will, as Superintendent of the Dockyard and of the Bombay Marine, take the control of the Docks, vessels and establishments Captain Young will make arrangements for the care of the seamen who are still undischarged. The Examiner, Indian Navy Department, will continue his functions as Examiner, Marine Department. The Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals for the Presidency Division and Indian Navy, will exercise medical supervision of the Bombay Marine, and be called Deputy Inspector-General Presidency Division and Bombay Marine. The Indian Naval Draughtsman will be called Marine Draughtsman."

the rivalry and active hostility of the Portuguese and Dutch? Were the early victories at Surat and Ormuz of no account, or did the lapse of centuries bring oblivion with it? Were the desperate struggles waged with the fleets of the great Mogul, and their successors, the Peishwa of the Mahrattas, forgotten? Was no account taken of the actions with the ships of the piratical fleets which, under Kidd and his compeers, swept the Eastern seas from Madagascar to the Straits of Singapore; of the capture of Surat, when the gallant Commodore Watson fell; of the brilliant achievements of Sir W. James against Angria's fleets and strongholds; of the assistance afforded to Sir Edward Hughes and other British admirals in their struggles with England's traditional foe, and, at a later period, during the Revolutionary War, when the Company's small cruisers victoriously upheld the national honour, and never lowered the British flag save to overwhelming odds? Was it not deemed worthy of record that the ships and officers of the Indian Navy had served with credit at Mauritius, in Java, and the subsequent protracted occupation of the Eastern Islands; and that they had fought afloat and ashore at Ras-ul-Khymah, Beni-Boo-Ali, in Scinde, at the capture of Aden, of Mocha, and Dwarka, in New Zealand, at Mooltan, and during the Indian Mutiny? It was customary whenever a distinguished regiment embarked for England, to embody in a General Order a record of its services; but here an old and honourable Service was finally broken up, and there was no notice whatever of its war services by the Supreme Government under whose immediate eye a large portion of it had been employed in warlike operations since the beginning of this century, while the Government of Bombay considered it had exhausted the record by a reference to "Burmah, China, and Persia." Perhaps we ought not to wonder at such indifference, for had not the now moribund Service from time immemorial experienced similar treatment, and so probably the officers thought, for now, (as ever, with the exception of Sir John Hayes, who had been eager in defence of the honour and interests of the Service he adorned), no voice was raised in protest against such unworthy treatment of an ancient and meritorious Service. And so the Indian Navy, so far as public acknowledgment went, was suffered to pass into oblivion, "unwept, unhonoured, and unsung."

In accordance with the Government General Order, on the 30th of April, 1863, the Indian Navy ceased to exist. At noon on that day, all the officers and seamen of the ships yet in commission, were assembled on board the flagship 'Ajdaha,' and Commodore Frushard read the following Order:—"On this the last day of his authority, the Commodore Commanding desires the officers and men, each and all, of the Indian Navy, to receive his hearty thanks for the manner in which their several

duties have been performed during the past year, during which time circumstances had unavoidably affected the discipline of the Service. A great number of officers and seamen have at different periods been attached to the flagship, as supernumeraries awaiting their discharge from the Service, consequent upon their vessels being put out of commission, and the Commodore Commanding is proud and grateful to be able to state that at no period of its existence, as the Indian Navy, has there been less cause of complaint of officers or men of the Service, and in bidding them farewell, he desires their acceptance of his best wishes for their future welfare. To the different officers of the Dockyard, Captain J. W. Young, C.B., Assistant-Superintendent and Dockmaster, the officiating Indian Navy Storekeeper, the Master Builder, and Chief Engineer and Inspector of Machinery, the Commodore Commanding offers his best thanks for the manner in which their several duties have been performed."

As the clock struck twelve, after the reading of the above Order, a salute of eleven guns was fired from the battery at the Apollo Pier in honour of the Commodore's broad pennant, the "Company's Jack," the distinctive flag of the Indian Navy, was then hoisted at the Castle flagstaff and saluted with twenty-one guns, and as the boom of the last gun sounded, it was hauled down, the broad pennant of Commodore Frushard and the pennants of all the Indian Naval vessels in harbour were struck, and the Indian Navy ceased to exist.* Commodore

* Among officers employed in India after the abolition of the Indian Navy were the following, in connection with the newly-established Bombay Marine, either in the Dockyard or in command of ships —Commander H Robinson (Superintendent), Lieutenants Searle, Crockett, Carew, Morland, Brebner, Hewett, Carpendale, and Dawes Commander Giles, Master-Attendant at Kurrachee, succeeded, in 1867, by Lieutenant Parker, at Kurrachee, in charge of the Persian Gulf Telegraph line, Lieutenant Stiffe, in the Survey Department, Messrs. Girdlestone and Chapman, in Mesopotamia, Lieutenants Bewsher and Warner, and Acting-Master Holland, in Calcutta, in the Master-Attendant's and Dockyard Departments, Lieutenants Philbrick, Warden, and Duncan King, also Messrs Ellis, Bradbery, and C King Master-Attendant at Rangoon, Lieutenant Arnot, at Singapore, Lieutenant H Burn, and at Penang, Lieutenant H Ellis. Among those holding appointments in other countries are Lieutenants H Jackson, and J Wood in New Zealand, Lieutenants Barron and Chester, Police Magistrates in Australia, Lieutenant Leefe in the Fiji, Lieutenant Carey in Madras, and Mr G Lowder in China Those who have followed me thus far will be interested to learn some particulars in the story of the lives of the ships mentioned in the preceding pages, from "the cradle to the grave," so far as we have been able to trace them The 'Assaye' was lost on the Irish coast, and the 'Berenice' was burnt at sea, the 'Punjaub,' under her new name of 'Tweed,' traded between England and Australia, and in June, 1877, was lying, as we were told, in the Hooghly The 'Lady Canning' has been converted into a Seaman's Chapel and Library, and also lies off Calcutta The 'Constance' schooner, launched at Bombay in 1838, after being employed in the Survey Department, was transferred, in 1877, to the Master-Attendant at Rangoon. Still more extraordinary as an instance of longevity, is the fact that the schooner 'Malu,' launched in Bombay Dockyard in 1834, is still employed in the country trade on the Malabar Coast.

Frushard, with some natural emotion, addressed a few words to the officers and men, bidding each and all farewell, and warmly shaking hands with the officers, and some of the petty officers and seamen, who, in return greeted him with three hearty cheers. On landing from the flagship, he was received with a personal salute of eleven guns, and thus passed away the last vestige of power belonging to a Service, which had exercised undisputed sovereignty over the seas from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Singapore

For a period of exactly two centuries and a half, counting from the year 1612, when Captain Best defeated the Portuguese fleet off the bar of Surat, the Naval Service of the East India Company had done its duty faithfully and well, though oftentimes with insufficient means: and the surviving officers, a fast-decreasing band, have the satisfaction of knowing that when, as Keats says, "the daisies are growing over them," their countrymen will admit that they performed their *devoirs* in their day and generation. Raised at a time when the "Company of Adventurers trading to the East" were an uninfluential knot of merchants, first as the Bombay Marine, and then as the Indian Navy, it fulfilled its share in the great task of building up that structure of empire which has excited the wonder and envy of other nations, and of which the first stone was laid on that day in April, 1609, when Captain Hawkins, of the Company's ship 'Hector,' presented himself before Jehangire, in his palace at Agra, the first representative of his nation to stand in the presence of the Great Mogul. The ceremony of hauling down the old flag of the Indian Navy in Bombay harbour was not imposing, but to the thoughtful, or to those conversant with its glorious history during the two and a half centuries of its existence, the scene was eminently suggestive. Such witnesses, as they recalled to mind the names of the long line of gallant seamen, whose services we have sought, however imperfectly, to chronicle in these pages, men who bore triumphantly through the battle and the breeze, the flag now slowly descending for the last time from the masthead, must have murmured to themselves the well-worn apophthegm—old, yet ever new in its application —"*Sic transit gloria mundi.*"

If official recognition was meagre and its expression cold, the same cannot be said of the testimony borne by those best qualified to judge of the merits and conduct of the Indian Navy, and whose goodwill was, therefore, the more valued. The Bombay Press, as representing the community, published valedictory articles, in many cases giving a sketch of the history of the Service, that in the "Deccan Herald" being an admirable summary, while all were equally warm in their eulogiums, and hearty in the farewells addressed to the officers

of the defunct Service. The "Bombay Gazette" wrote:—"The Service has been a hardworking and ill-paid one. It has produced distinguished officers in every part of a naval service—as navigators, warriors, surveyors, diplomatists. It deserves well of its Queen and country, and we trust that it will receive what it has so well merited." The "Bombay Times," also, after a brief sketch of its history, spoke the funeral oration of the Service in the following eloquent terms:—"Though the *esprit de corps* of the Indian Navy has been severely tried during the last two years by the uncertainty of its fate, the Service has maintained its discipline to the last. But not alone in its purely combatant character has it covered itself with honour. In the advancement of every branch of naval science, in arduous and minute surveys, the Indian Navy has been unrivalled. The Officers have done more, in proportion to their numbers, than any other Service in the world. Many of them, from their intimate knowledge of native affairs and character, particularly in Persia and Arabia, have rendered important political services, and filled important political appointments. The Service expires, not by the hand of an enemy, nor from any want of vitality in itself, but in obedience to that highest law which has ever governed its members, the public good. It may, with confidence, entrust its memory to the keeping of those whose defence has ever been its pride as well as duty, and while no tinge of jealousy mingles with its thoughts of that honourable service, to which the guardianship of the shores of our Indian Empire is now confided, its officers proudly believe, and are entitled to believe, that the honour, the lives, and the properties of their fellow-countrymen in India, were as safe in times past in their keeping as they will be in that of their brethren of the Royal Navy. The hauling down of the Indian Jack closes an era in our Indian Empire. Revolution stays here, for there is nothing more to revolutionize. The Service expires too soon for the interest of science, perhaps for the interest of our country, but not too soon for its honourable and lasting mention in our national annals."

The Officers of the Indian Navy, on their part, could reciprocate the feelings of regret on the disruption of ties that had bound their Service for two centuries to the city, whose noble and almost unrivalled harbour will, doubtless, at some future time, render her the Capital of the East. Many were the kindnesses they had received at the hands of her Merchant Princes, and strong the friendships they had formed with her citizens, and the Officers, civil and military, of their old home, the Presidency town of Bombay.

From the retrospect of Indian history, from the time of the formation of the first factory at Surat and the acquisition of Bombay, to the suppression of the great Mutiny, the Indian Navy

may say of its services :— *Quorum pars magna fui.* The page in which is recorded its deeds, forms no inconsiderable portion of that chapter of the history of the British Empire, where may be read the marvellous episode of the conquest of India.

Warren Hastings wisely said :—"We hold India by a thread, but if you draw it too tight it will break." One false step, one ill-judged act, whether political or military, and the tension may cause that thread to snap. The duty of those administering and guarding the great Dependency, not inaptly called "the brightest jewel in England's crown," is to prevent the disruption, by violent means, of the fabric of Empire, reared at such cost of treasure and precious lives, though History warns us that the tenure of an alien power over such a vast and populous country must be insecure and cannot be prolonged. Great and exhausting as is the drain upon the flower of this country's manhood to maintain the occupation of India, it is certain that on the day we lose our hold the sun of Britain's glory will set for ever. So it has been with our ancient rivals for Eastern sovereignty, Holland and Portugal, and the experience of history will not be changed in our favour.

> "But come they must the days decreed by fates,
> My heart trembles while my tongue relates,
> The days when thou Imperial Troy must bend,
> And see thy warriors fall, thy glories end."

We are now at peace with India, but for how long? 'Tis true that "grim-visaged war has smoothed his wrinkled front," and at least it should be a cause for satisfaction that the protection and maintenance of that vast Empire is committed to hearts as brave as those which acquired and held it against all comers, whether from without or from within. To the British Navy, whose blood, shed in countless battles, "the multitudinous seas incarnadine," and which, less than any other martial force known in the history of the world, has experienced the humiliation of defeat, that Indian sister, whose pride it has ever been to emulate its deeds, commits the safe keeping of the seaboard of our Eastern possessions.

Our task is now completed, and to the Officers and Men of the Old Service, who, without stint and ungrudgingly, gave their lives in their Country's service, we would apply, in conclusion, the epigram of Simonides on those who fell with Leonidas :—

> "These won for Sparta fame through endless days,
> When Death's dark cloud upon themselves they drew,
> But dying, died not, for their valour's praise,
> From Hades' dwelling leads them up anew."

APPENDIX A.

INDIAN NAVY LIST FOR 1858.

CAPTAIN GEORGE GREVILLE WELLESLEY, C B., R N,

Commodore and Commander-in-Chief Assumed charge, July 7, 1857

LIST OF THE OFFICERS:

SENIOR LIST (AT HOME).

Season	Names	Date of Commission	Station
1796	Graham, William	April 12, 1824	
1810	Grant, George .	Mar 18, 1827	
1812	Harris, Edward H	April 1, 1835	
„	Sawyer, John	June 18, „	

CAPTAINS (8).

1823	Powell, Fred Thos .	Dec 16, 1848	Assistant-Superintendent
„	Robinson, George	Jan 1, 1851	—
1826	Kempthorne, G B	Aug 26, „	On Furlough
„	Frushard, John James	Mar 9, 1855	Senior Officer, Aden
1827	Jenkins, Griffith, C B	Aug 10, „	Commodore, Persian Gulf
1828	Young, John W , C B	April 29, 1856	On Furlough
„	Campbell, C D	Jan 26, 1857	'Coromandel'
„	Daniell, Edwd W S	Mar 17, „	Commanding Indus Flotilla.

COMMANDERS (16).

1828	Jones, James Felix	Sept 13, 1847	Resident, Bushire
„	Stephens, John	„ 8, 1848	'Zenobia.'
„	Barker, Wm Chas	Dec 16, „	—
„	Macdonald, Archibald	Feb 8, 1850	On Furlough
1829	Gardner, Alan Hyde .	Jan 1, 1851	„
„	Drought, Hen A. M.	Aug 14, „	'Auckland'
„	Rennie, James, C B .	Sept. 1, 1852	'Falkland'
„	Hamilton, Benjamin .	Mar 16, 1854	Forest Ranger, Scinde.
1830	Cruttenden, C J .	„ 9, 1855	—
„	Selby, W B . .	Aug 10, „	Surveyor-General, Mesopotamia
„	Balfour, W.	Dec 8, „	—
„	Grounds, Hen Wm. .	April 13, 1856	Gunnery Officer
„	Nisbett, Andrew .	„ 29, „	On Furlough
1831	Grieve, Alb Moore .	July 3, „	Public Works Department.
„	Manners, F. E . . .	Jan. 26, 1857	—
1838	Foulerton, Alex. .	Mar. 17, „	'Punjaub'

LIEUTENANTS (68).

Season	Names	Date of Commission	Station
1838	Adams, Geo Norris	Feb 23, 1844	'Assaye'
,,	Tronson, James .	June 13, ,,	'Feroze'
1839	Worsley, Miller B .	,, ,, ,,	'Ajdaha'
,,	Batt, Henry	,, ,, ,,	'Zenobia.'
,,	Hopkins, F W .	July 14, ,,	On Furlough.
,,	Stradling, R A .	Aug 2, ,,	'Semiramis'
,,	Constable, C G .	May 4, 1845	Surveyor, 'Euphrates'
,,	Twynam, T S H	Oct 17, ,,	'Victoria'
,,	Fraser, Hugh A .	April 7, 1846	'Tigris'
,,	Peevor, Edmund	Aug 28, ,,	'Lady Canning'
,,	Etheridge, H W	,, 1, 1847	Indus Flotilla
,,	Chitty, A W	Sept 13, ,,	'Berenice'
,,	Giles, Edward	,, ,, ,,	Master-Attendant, Kurrachee
,,	Fergusson, E F T	,, ,, ,,	Draughtsman
1840	Pengelley, Walter M	,, ,, ,,	Naval Assist. to Mil Aud Gen
,,	Sedley, Joseph	,, ,, ,,	—
,,	Walker, Chas H .	,, ,, ,,	On Furlough
,,	Leeds, Rowley W. . .	,, ,, ,,	—
,,	Hellard, Sam B	,, ,, ,,	—
1841	Lloyd, Chas	,, ,, ,,	'Constance'
,,	Way, G Enos Greg	,, ,, ,,	On Furlough.
1839	Crane, Ben H	,, ,, ,,	,,
1841	Robinson, Geo Thos	,, ,, ,,	Agent for Transports
,,	Holt, G T	,, ,, ,,	Indus Flotilla
,,	Taylor, A D	,, ,, ,,	Surveyor, 'Pownah'
,,	Ward, C Y	,, ,, ,,	On Survey, Bengal
,,	Mitchesou, P W	Oct 1, ,,	Naval Instructor
1842	Child, Septimus	,, ,, ,,	On Furlough
,,	Nixon, J G .	,, ,, ,,	'Mahi'
,,	Brooman, C E	Sept 8, 1848	—
,,	James, Henry H .	Oct 9, ,,	—
,,	Lewis, Thos Edwd.	Dec 16, ,,	Bengal
,,	Aylesbury, T Wm	Jan 29, 1849	Irrawaddy Flotilla.
,,	Davies, W H M H	Nov 3, ,,	Bengal
,,	Lithgow, Wm .	Feb 8, 1850	On Furlough.
,,	Gardiner, F. .	Sept. 19, ,,	'Zenobia'
,,	Whish, R W . .	Nov 8, ,,	—
1843	Dickson, W. B	Aug 14, 1851	On Furlough.
,,	Cookson, A A	,, 26, ,,	—
1844	Windus, A T .	Sept 11, ,,	Bengal
,,	Heathcote, J A .	Jan 19, 1852	On Survey, Bengal
1842	Mason, G N P .	July 29, ,,	Harbour-Master, Bushire
,,	Lamb, H .	Jan 12, 1854	On Furlough.
,,	Sweny, Mark A. .	Mar 6, ,,	Bengal.
1845	Barker, W H . .	April 12, ,,	—
,,	Duval, D. L . .	July 25, ,,	Bengal
,,	Clarkson, John W. .	Aug 2, 1854	'Clive'
,,	Hunter, T R . .	Mar 9, 1855	'Akbar'
,,	Searle, W. L. . . .	April 19, ,,	Indus Flotilla.
,,	Wood, J. W C. . .	Aug 10, ,,	'Feroze.'
1846	Carew, G O'B .	Sept. 21, ,,	'Auckland'
,,	Brazier, E J. R. B.	Nov. 27, ,,	'Semiramis'
,,	Douglas, H. . . .	Dec. 8, ,,	On Furlough.
,,	Jackson, Henry .	,, 20, ,,	Bengal
1847	Skottowe, F W. . .	Feb. 23, 1856	On Furlough
,,	Carey, R.	,, 25, ,,	Bengal.
,,	Dyer, W A . .	April 13, ,,	—

LIEUTENANTS *(Continued)*

Season	Names	Date of Commission	Station
1847	Forster, C	April 29, 1856	—
„	Carpendale, T C. R	July 3, „	'Clive'
„	Trollope, J H	Oct 28, „	'Ajdaha.'
1848	Templer, C B	Jan. 2, 1857	Bengal
„	Handley, F	„ 26, „	—
„	De Belin, A	Mar 8, „	'Auckland'
1849	Stiffe, A W	„ 17, „	Assist Surveyor, 'Euphrates'
1848	Harries, Wm H J	June 18, „	On Furlough
1849	Clark, A J	Aug 31, „	—
„	Tozer, M P S.	Oct 13, „	—
„	May, E R	Dec 11, „	On Survey, Madras

MATES (28).

1849	Philbrick, F M	Aug 4, 1854	'Auckland'
„	Hurlock, R G	„ 22, „	'Semiramis'
„	Chester, H M	Oct 12, „	'Clive'
„	Crockett, W T	Dec. 11, „	'Ferooz'
„	Barron, F H B	„ 13, „	'Elphinstone'
„	Leefe, R B	„ „ „	'Victoria'
1850	Williams, R	Aug 28, 1855	—
1848	Dawson, W W.	Oct 26, „	On Furlough
1850	Butt, Edward	Dec 15, „	'Akbar'
1849	Edwards, H J	Jan 25, 1856	'Falkland'
1847	Yates, Wm F	„ „ „	„
1846	Davis, H H	Mar 25, „	'Elphinstone'
1850	Dowell, H J	„ „ „	„
„	Carey, H C	June 16, „	'Assaye'
1851	Sconce, G C	„ 20, „	'Falkland'
1850	Liardet, H M	Aug 14, „	'Akbar'
1851	Lakes, J G	„ „ „	'Assaye'
„	Strong, J	Sept 5, „	'Punjaub'
„	Hewett, G B	„ „ „	—
„	Bewsher, J B	„ 14, „	'Ajdaha'
„	Lewis, G L	Dec 11, „	On Survey, 'Powmah'
1847	Georges, C P	Jan 19, 1857	Persian Gulf
1846	Collingwood, W	Mar 4, „	Assist Surveyor, Mesopotamia.
1851	Seaton, F L	„ „ „	'Lady Canning'
1847	Fendall, P W	„ 18, „	'Assaye'
1850	Burnes, H W H	Aug 22, „	—
1851	Ogilvy, W H	„ 25, „	—
1852	Warden, Fred	Sept 23, „	Bengal

MIDSHIPMEN (88).

1847	Farrer, Chas H.	Aug 14, 1847	On Furlough.
„	Bardin, B	Sept 25, „	„
1851	Rogers, T R	Jan. 25, 1851	'Coromandel.'
„	Moorhead, W H.	June 25, „	On Furlough.
„	Mesurier, H. Le	„ „ „	'Tigris'
„	Ellis, Henry	Dec 7, „	'Victoria.'
„	Dawkins, F	Sept. 15, „	'Akbar.'
1852	Morland, Henry	June 5, 1852	'Akbar'
„	Clarke, B C. S	July 5, „	'Ajdaha.'
„	Burn, Henry	„ „ „	'Akbar.'
„	Plunkett, W	„ „ „	—
„	Wilson, Charles P.	„ 25, „	'Akbar'

MIDSHIPMEN (*Continued*).

Season	Names	Date of Appointment	Station
1852	McMillin, H A	Aug 20, 1852	—
„	Lambarde, T M	Dec 8, „	On Survey, 'Euphrates.'
„	Fawcett, J W	„ 9, „	On Furlough.
„	Bonham, G L	„ 29, „	'Semiramis'
1853	Hall, A H	Jan 20, 1853	'Elphinstone'
1852	Rutherfurd, J O	Nov 24, 1852	'Tigris'
1853	D'Arcy, C V	Feb 27, 1853	'Constance'
„	Law, A N	April 3, „	'Falkland'
„	Hyndman, J L	„ „ „	„
„	Parker, G C	„ „ „	Bengal
„	Bruce, W A.	July 27, „	'Clive'
„	Lowis, J S	Aug. 11, „	On Furlough.
„	Seton, W S	„ 20, „	'Akbar'
„	Brebner, J.	Oct 6, „	'Tigris.'
„	Jones, M H	Nov 27, „	'Elphinstone'
„	Du Boulay, J G.	Dec 27, „	'Akbar'
1854	Beddome, C E	Jan 20, 1854	„
„	Brownlow, H W	Mar 24, „	'Auckland'
„	Brownlow, E M	„ „ „	—
„	Budd, J D	April 3, „	'Zenobia'
„	Gayford, H H	June 20, „	On Furlough
„	Hewison, W F	July 20, „	'Ferooz'
„	Arabin, H J	Dec 31, „	'Falkland'
„	Arnot, W P	„ „ „	Persian Gulf
1855	McCarty, J F	Jan 3, 1855	—
„	Booth, W C	„ 20, „	'Ferooz'
„	Finnis, R F	Feb 4, „	„
„	Lane, C L	Mar 20, „	'Akbar'
1854	Payne, G J F	„ 8, 1854	'Elphinstone'
1855	Ketchen, J	June 4, 1855	„
„	Leishman, W	„ „ „	'Assaye'
„	Agar, J C D	„ 12, „	'Constance'
„	Gabb, T S	„ 19, „	—
„	Estridge, H W	July 16, „	—
„	Greig, J G	„ „ „	'Elphinstone'
„	Wetherall, W A	„ „ „	On Furlough
„	Hewer, H	„ „ „	On Survey, 'Euphrates'
„	Low, C R	Aug 4, „	'Mahi'
„	Cotgrave, H G F	Dec 20, „	'Semiramis'
1856	Wray, C A	Jan 4, 1856	Bengal
„	Armstrong, R S	Feb 20, „	'Clive'
„	Lane, J M	„ „ „	'Punjaub'
„	Brind, W H.	„ „ „	'Zenobia'
„	Burt, T W	„ „ „	'Falkland.'
„	Dodd, G H.	April 4, „	'Mahi'
„	Brown, M A L	„ 22, „	'Clive'
„	Oldham, W. H.	„ 23, „	'Assaye'
„	Loraine, W. C.	May 4, „	„
„	Powell, W J	June 4, „	'Clive'
„	Morgan, J B	July 16, „	'Elphinstone.'
„	Chippendall, H L.	Aug. 5, „	'Ajdaha.'
„	King, D. B.	„ 20, „	'Semiramis.'
„	Marshall, W.	Sept 1, „	'Assaye.'
„	Scamp, R	Dec. 4, „	Bengal.
„	Morison, D. J. G.	„ 10, „	'Assaye.'
„	Foley, H A	„ 14, „	„
„	Wilson, W. T. H	„ „ „	„

MIDSHIPMEN (*Continued*).

Season	Names.	Date of Appointment	Station
1856	Campbell, A W	Dec 21, 1856	'Elphinstone.'
1857	Parker, A H T	Jan 20, 1857	'Assaye'
„	Cuthell, W	„ „ „	Bengal
„	Hannay, H E S	„ „ „	„
„	Mayo, A, V C	Feb 19, „	„
„	Nicholetts, R C	April 7, „	—
„	Clark, B H	May 24, „	—
„	Fry, F W	June 13, „	—
„	Warner, H	July 20, „	—
„	Scott, D M	„ „ „	—
„	Sutton, M J	„ 22, „	—
„	Ketley, A J	Aug 26, „	—
„	Young, A P	Sept 3, „	—
„	Hornby, S H E	„ 5, „	—
„	Leishman, G	„ 12, „	—
„	Capel, R R A	Nov 11, „	—
„	Howe, W H D	„ 29, „	—
„	Dawes, E	Dec 16, „	—
„	Grant, W	„ 20, „	—

The following Midshipmen joined the Indian Navy between the 1st of January, 1858, and the abolition of the Service in 1863

Names	Date of Appointment	Names	Date of Appointment.
1858		1858	
Lloyd, F X	Jan 7, 1858	Williams, A C	Dec 3, „
Rattray, A	„ 18, „	Richmond, G M	„ 30, „
Symons, J E	Feb 2, „	1859	
Edwards, C W A	„ „ „	Williams, A. D	Jan 12, 1859
Smith, S	Mar 6, „	Leckie, J L	Feb 12, „
Paradise, C M.	„ 12, „	Campbell, D	Mar 27, „
Foster, F N	„ 20, „	King, C	May 23, „
Mercer, G D	„ 27, „	Lowder, G G	June 1, „
Mickleburgh, F. H	„ „ „	Willaume, F W T	„ „ „
Pulman, J H	„ 31, „	Rudd, C J	„ „ „
May, W	„ „ „	Roper, J	„ 23, „
Price, J F	May 7, „	Hurd, E T	Aug 2, „
Booker, R W	„ „ „	Daniell, A B	Sept 3, „
Forde, A T	„ „ „	Hooper, H D C	„ 27, „
Chapman, M	„ 26, „	Nicholson, E	„ „ „
Mainwaring, C S.	„ 29, „	1860	
Cheek, G A.	June 11, „	Chalke, H J	Jan 27, 1860
Bishop, E	July 1, „	Wheler, W A	Feb 11, „
Morton, C H E.	„ 10, „	Bradbery, E	May 20, „
Moultrie, G. E	„ 21, „	Eades, J D.	July 8, „
Gower, H L	„ „ „	1861	
Turner, F C	„ „ „	Needham, R C.	April 23, 1861
Lowder, W.	„ „ „	Fuller, A.	Oct 27, „
Boys, H	Aug 27, „	1862	
Beaumont, W J G	Sept 26, „	Barrett, G B	Jan 4, 1862
Fry, R T	„ „ „		
Girdlestone, F B.	Oct 6, „		
Cooke, W W	„ „ „		

PURSERS (20).

Names	Date of Commission	Station.
Ibbs, J. C.	Sept 15, 1839	Accountant, Dockyard.
Tanner, T	April 19, 1841	Indus Flotilla
Bone, F G	May 19, „	Sec to Commander-in-Chief
Keys, John Ant	Oct 29, 1844	—
Betham, Robert Geo	April 21, 1846	Deputy Marine Paymaster
Beyts, Jas C	Oct 29, 1848	On Furlough
Bennett, Robert	May 1, „	—
Williams, Henry	Jan 12, 1853	'Auckland'
Connolly, Thos C	July 21, „	'Akbar'
Cole, Chas J D	„ 23, „	On Furlough
Hewett, Thos Douglas	„ „ „	'Elphinstone.'
Barker, Samuel	„ „ „	—
Osborn, Lushington	„ „ „	'Semiramis'
Ford, Louis J F C	„ „ „	'Zenobia'
Johnston, Wm	July 23, 1854	'Assaye'
Wilson, Lindsay	April 25, 1855	'Ajdaha'
Ingle, George	June 15, „	'Ferooz'
Mignon, R J.	„ 28, 1856	'Akbar'
Jones, Parry	Sept 15, „	On Furlough
Litchfield, E S	Aug 12, 1857	—

CAPTAIN'S CLERKS (24).

Mignon, E A S	July 19, 1854	'Clive'
Damell, C C B	„ 28, „	'Falkland'
Handley, J.	Sept 6, „	'Mahi'
Damell, F W	„ 9, „	'Tigris'
Noble, R	„ 20, „	'Punjaub'
Antram, J P	Jan 25, 1855	'Constance'
Williams, M B.	Feb 3, „	'Lady Canning'
Farley, H W	Mar 20, „	'Auckland'
Ussher, W H	June 12 „	'Punjaub'
Barrett, H	Oct 4, „	'Semiramis'
Beaumont, W C	Nov 22, „	'Falkland'
Strange, C	Dec 28, „	'Victoria'
Shuttleworth, A T	„ „ „	'Ferooz'
Ellis, H W W.	Mar 9, 1856	'Punjaub'
Ellis, R H M	„ „ „	'Elphinstone'
Gliddon, S A	April 20, „	'Akbar'
Eaton, H T	May 15, „	'Ajdaha'
Jackson, C R	Aug 5, „	On Furlough
Dunn, J M	Sept 26, „	'Akbar'
Williams, St L	Nov 19, „	„
Robinson, H	Dec 21, „	'Semiramis'
Edwards, F R	„ „ „	—
Finlinson, A S	Oct. 31, 1857	—
MacGee, J W.	„ „ „	—

The following Captain's Clerks joined the Indian Navy between the 1st of January, 1858, and the abolition of the Service in 1863

Wilson, S	Feb. 11, 1858	Ingle, M F	Mar 4, „
Whiting, C. J	May 6, „	Luskell, J. G	Aug 4, „
Arnot, A K.	Sept. 26, „	Smith, K M	Nov 5, „
Preyre, L. J L.	Nov 23, „	Harrison, J V	Feb 3, 1860
Phelps, R C H	„ 26, „	Maury, A G	„ 27, „
Fotheringham, I	Dec. 3, „	Smart, T D	April 13, „
Pendlebury, A.	Feb 3, 1859	Hilliard, W E J	Dec 20, „

SHIPS OF WAR, AND OTHER VESSELS,

INDIAN NAVY.

WAR-VESSELS.

Ship's Name	Where built	Year	Tonnage	Horse Power	Armament	Description of Vessel
'Ajdaha'	London	1846	1440	500	8 guns	Steam-frigate.
'Akbar'	Glasgow	1841	1202	350	6 ,,	,,
'Assaye'	Bombay	1854	1800	650	10 ,,	,,
'Auckland'	,,	1840	946	220	6 ,,	,,
'Berenice'	Glasgow	1846	756	220	4 ,,	Steam-sloop
'Clive'	Bombay	1826	387	—	18 ,,	Sloop-of-war
'Clyde'	,,	1857	300	60	3 ,,	Steam-gunboat
'Constance'	,,	1838	182	—	3 ,,	Schooner
'Elphinstone'	,,	1824	387	—	18 ,,	Sloop-of-war
'Euphrates'	,,	1828	255	—	10 ,,	Brig
'Falkland'	,,	1853	491	—	18 ,,	Sloop-of-war
'Ferooz'	,,	1848	1450	500	8 ,,	Steam-frigate
'Hugh Rose'	,,	1857	300	60	3 ,,	Steam-gunboat
'Lady Canning'	,,	1857	527	160	4 ,,	Steam sloop
'Mahi'	,,	1834	157	—	3 ,,	Schooner
'Punjaub'	,,	1851	1800	700	10 ,,	Steam-frigate
'Semiramis'	,,	1842	1031	250	6 ,,	,,
'Tigris'	,,	1829	258	—	10 ,,	Brig
'Victoria'	,,	1839	705	230	5 ,,	Steam-sloop
'Zenobia'	,,	1851	1003	280	6 ,,	Steam-frigate

TRANSPORTS AND TENDERS.

'Bheemah'	Bombay	1830	55	—	—	Pattamar (for Survey)
'Charlotte'	,,	1836	167	—	2 guns	Schooner
'Coromandel'	London	1856	1026	—	4 ,,	Steam-transport
'Dalhousie'	—	1856	1022	—	4 ,,	,,
'Emily'	Bombay	1855	90	—	2 ,,	Schooner
'Georgiana'	,,	1855	90	—	2 ,,	,,
'Goolanar'	,,	1855	215	—	—	Steam-tender
'Nerbuddah'	,,	1835	49	—	—	Schooner.
'Pownah'	,,	1831	43	—	—	Pattamar (for Survey).
'Prince Arthur'	—	1856	1246	—	4 ,,	Steam-transport.
'Snake'	Bombay.	1838	40	10	—	Steam-tender.

INDUS FLOTILLA.

'Assyria'	Turkish Arabia	1840	197	40	2 guns	River-steamer (Iron)
'Chenaub'	Bombay	1851	499	60	2 ,,	,, ,,
'Comet'	,,	1839	204	40	2 ,,	,, ,,
'Conqueror'	,,	1844	299	50	2 ,,	,, ,,
'Euphrates'	River Euphrates	1836	186	40	2 ,,	,, ,,
'Frere'	Bombay	1857	610	120	2 ,,	,, ,,
'Havelock'	,,	1857	610	120	2 ,,	,, ,,
'Indus'	,,	1851	522	100	2 ,,	,, ,,
'Jhelum'	,,	1851	499	60	2 ,,	,, ,,

INDUS FLOTILLA *(Continued)*.

Ship's Name.	Where built	Year	Tonnage	Horse Power	Armament	Description of Vessel
'Meanee' . .	Bombay	1844	208	40	2 guns	River-steamer (Iron)
'Napier' .	"	1844	445	90	2 "	" "
'Nimrod'	Turkish Arabia.	1840	198	40	2 "	" "
'Nitocris' . .	"	1840	154	40	2 "	" "
'Outram' .	Bombay	1857	610	120	2 "	" "
'Planet' .	"	1840	397	60	2 "	" "
'Satellite' .	"	1840	335	60	2 "	" "
'Sir Hy Lawrence'	"	1857	610	120	2 "	" "
'Beeas' .	"	1845	664	—	—	Flat.
'Cursetjee' .	"	1852	205	—	—	"
'Dromedary'	"	—	205	—	—	"
'Ethersey' .	"	1854	174	—	—	"
'Kedywaree'	"	—	151	—	—	"
'Kotree' .	"	—	100	—	—	"
'Mootnee' .	"	1834	43	—	—	"
'Ravee'	"	1845	664	—	—	"
'Sutledge'	"	1845	664	—	—	"

APPENDIX B.

STRENGTH, ARMAMENT, AND STATIONS

DETACHMENTS OF THE INDIAN NAVAL BRIGADE,

Serving in Bengal, during the Indian Mutiny, between June, 1857, and May, 1860, under the command of Captain C. D Campbell, Senior Naval Officer, Calcutta, and commanding pennant vessel 'Calcutta'

Number	Strength			Guns	
	Officers	Warrant Officers	Petty Officers and Seamen		
1	6	2	150	—	Fort William.
2	3	2	100	6	Barrackpore
3	4	1	100	4	Buxar
4	4	1	100	2	Dacca and Dibrooghur
5	5	1	200	6	Gya
6	5	1	200	—	Port Blair
7	4	1	110	4	Dehree
8	3	0	50	—	Jessore
9	5	1	120	4	Chyabassa
10	3	1	100	2	Alipore
11	4	1	100	2	Moozufferpore and Moteeharee.
12	4	1	100	2	Julpigoree
13	3	1	100	2	Chuprah
14	4	1	100	2	Chyabassa
Police Brigade	3	1	110	4	Dibrooghur
Total	60*	16	1740	40	

* Exclusive of Captain Campbell, commanding the Brigade, and Mr R Mignon, Paymaster.

N B —Absolute accuracy is not claimed for the returns in this Appendix, the preparation of which entailed considerable trouble, as no official documents were available They may, however, be relied upon as fairly correct and complete, except as regards the Warrant Officers, of whom there were more than sixteen.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE DETACHMENTS OF THE INDIAN NAVAL BRIGADE

SERVING IN BENGAL DURING THE MUTINY BETWEEN JUNE, 1857, AND MAY, 1860.

Name	Detachments	Station
CAPTAIN.		
Campbell, C D		Calcutta (Senior Naval Officer)
COMMANDER		
Batt, H.	3	Buxar.
LIEUTENANTS		
Barron, T H B	11	Moozufferpore
Burnes, H. W H (Acting)	10, 14	Alipore, Chyabassa
Carey, R	10	Alipore
Carew, G O'B	2, 7, 10	Barrackpore, Dehree, Alipore
Cotgrave, H G F. (Acting)	2, 7, 11	Barrackpore, Dehree, Moteeharee
Duval, D L	1, 5, 3	Fort William, Gya, Buxar
Davies, W H W	Police Brigade, and 14	Dibrooghur, Chyabassa
Etheridge, H. W	7	Dehree
Hellard, S B	1, 6	Fort William, Port Blair.
Hurlock, R G.	10, 12	Alipore, Julpigoree
Jackson, H.	8, 3	Jessore, Buxar

Name	Detachments	Station
LIEUTENANTS (Continued)		
Lewis, T E	4	Dacca, Dibrooghur
Sweny, M A.	1	Fort William
Templer, C B	6, 13	Port Blair, Chuprah
Tozer, M P S	7	Dehree
Warden, F (Acting)	1, 6	Fort William, Port Blair
Windus, A T	1, 2, 9	Fort William, Barrackpore, Chyabassa.
Yates, W F (Acting)	9	Chyabassa
PAYMASTER		
Mignon, R J		Calcutta.
MIDSHIPMEN.		
Brownlow, H W	7	Dehree
Cuthell, W	4	Dacca, Dibrooghur
Gower, H L	6	Port Blair
Hannay, H E	3	Buxar
Manwaring, C S	6	Port Blair
Mayo, A	4	Dacca, Dibrooghur
Parker, G C	3	Buxar
Seamp, R	1, 3, 5	Fort William, Buxar, Gya
Wray, C A	1, 5	Fort William, Gya

Name	Detachments	Station
ACTING MASTERS		
Braybrooke, W N.	7, 12	Dehree, Julpigoree
Brown, C H.	2, 12, 6	Barrackpore, Julpigorree, Port Blair
Chicken, G B.	3	Buxar
Connor, J G.	4, 8	Dacca, Jessore
Fall, J.	2	Barrackpore
Hanley, W. M	1	Fort William.
Havers, J	Police Brigade	Dibrooghur.
McCan, J.	Police Brigade	Dibrooghur.
Paul, J M.	13	Chuprah
Ridge, S S.	5, 11	Gya, Moozufferpore
Rose, J	9	Chyabassa.
Salmon, H. R. G	Gunboat 3	Ganges
Saunders, J	Gunboat 4	Ganges
Shum, W	10	Alipore
Stephenson, J.	Gunboat 2	Ganges
Vincent, W	9, 13	Chyabassa, Chuprah
Wanick, C S	Gunboat 1	Ganges
Wood, H A.	6	Port Blair
ACTING FIRST CLASS SECOND MASTERS		
Butland, G.	1, 11	Fort William, Moozufferpore.
Combs, H A	1	Fort William
Dolmage, J A.	12	Julpigoree
Dunn, D.	1, 9	Fort William, Chyabassa
English, W G	1	Fort William.

Name	Detachments	Station
ACTING SECOND MASTERS (Continued).		
Gladwin, G	11, 14	Moozufferpore, Chyabassa.
Green, E D	9, 10	Chyabassa, Alipore.
Hastings, H C	2	Barrackpore.
Lillicrap, H V	10	Alipore
Morrison, D M	6	Port Blair.
Poole, D	7	Dehree
Powell, A	13	Chuprah
Purrier, C E	14	Chyabassa
Williams, T.	9	Chyabassa
WARRANT OFFICERS		
Alexander, G	1	Fort William
Allen, J	2	Barrackpore
Bates, W	14	Chyabassa.
Bertram, W.	10	Alipore
Brown, J	4	Dacca
Crick, M	3	Buxar
Connolly, J	11	Moozufferpore
Gibson, J	13	Chuprah
Godwin, J	5	Gya.
Lackington, C.	12	Julpigoree
Lenard, J	4	Dibrooghur
Marsden, J	2	Barrackpore
McKinley, T.	11	Moozufferpore
Rafferty, C	1	Fort William
Scott, J	9	Chyabassa
Wilson, T	7	Dehree.

APPENDIX C.

PAY AND ALLOWANCES

VARIOUS GRADES OF THE INDIAN NAVY AT THE TIME OF ABOLITION IN 1863.

Rank or Rating	Pay per Month R	Pay per Month A	Remarks
1. Commander-in-Chief (appointed for five years, Government Letter, 30th of January, 1852)	2500		With official residence, or house rent, Rs 200 per month, in lieu thereof
2 Commodore, Persian Gulf Squadron Command Allowance Rs 900 Table Money „ 400	1300		The Commodore, when absent from the Gulf, draws during the first three months, Rs 800 per mensem, and afterwards Rs 700
3 Senior Naval Officer, Persian Gulf, when no Commodore is borne Command Allowance Rs 900 Table Money { If a Captain „ 300 / Commander „ 200 / Lieutenant „ 100			These allowances are only granted to Senior Officers who may be duly appointed as such. The officiating Senior Officer in Persian Gulf, during the absence of the Commodore on sick leave, is allowed the same rate of Table Money as a duly appointed Senior Officer, but the Command Allowance of his rank only
4. Senior Naval Officer, Aden Command Allowance, according to his rank, and Table Money, according to the scale laid down for the Senior Officer Persian Gulf			
5. Assistant Superintendent— If a Captain . .	1080		Including house-rent Draws also Rs 300 per month as Dockmaster
If a Commander	980		
6. Officer Commanding the Indus flotilla .	1000		Consolidated pay and allowance The Lieutenants, Purser, and Assistant-Surgeon, under his orders, were allowed batta at Rs 4 per diem, under orders the 8th of November, 1855, and the 26th of October, 1859.
7. Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief	600		Including house-rent. Rs. 100.

	Rank or Rating	Pay per Month	Remarks
8	Clerk to the Commodore, Persian Gulf	90	
9	Clerk to the Senior Naval Officer, Aden	70	
10	Moonshee to the Commodore, Persian Gulf	61	
11.	Captain—in command of a Surveying vessel— Command Allowance Rs 600 Survey Allowance. „ 350	950	Survey Allowance, which commences from the date of the vessel leaving Bombay, ceases on her return, unless under the special order of Government
	In command of any other vessel	800	
	On temporary employment on shore, in the absence of staff salary	602	
12	Commander—in command of a Surveying vessel— Command Allowance Rs 500 Survey Allowance „ 350	850	
	In command of any other vessel— The eight seniors . .	700	
	The eight juniors	600	
	On temporary employment on shore, in the absence of staff salary .	422	
13	A Captain or Commander, when proceeding to assume a command at an out-station—		
	Captain .	602	
	Commander . .	422	
14.	Lieutenant—in command of a Surveying vessel— Command Allowance Rs 300 Survey Allowance „ 350	650	
	In command of a vessel entitled to a Commander .	500	
	In command of a 4th rate	400	
	„ „ 5th rate	300	
15	Lieutenants—The senior fifteen	175	Table money, Rs 25 per month, is included
	All others .	145	
16	Purser— Of a 1st rate , .	300	Receives also an eighth of the value of the full proportion of provisions allowed for the number of persons borne, subject to deductions for provisions wasted, or destroyed by vermin
	„ 2nd rate . . .	270	
	„ 3rd rate .	250	
	„ 4th rate .	220	
	Acting Purser (in addition to the pay of his grade)	100	
17	Purser and Paymaster Indus flotilla— Pay as Purser . Rs 250 Pay as Paymaster „ 60	310	Ditto ditto.

Rank or Rating	Pay per Month R	Pay per Month A	Remarks
18. Assistant-Surgeon	318	10	Including Rs 12 servant's pay
19. Mate—			Passed Midshipmen, or Mates, having charge of watches in vessels of the 5th and higher classes, are allowed batta at Rs one per diem, when in command, at Rs two per day, in addition to the pay of their rank (Government Letter of the 2nd of August, 1842, and the 30th December, 1852).
Under three years' standing as such	80		
Over three years' standing as such	100		
20. Midshipman	50		
21 Captain's Clerk—In charge of Purser's duties—			Allowed also an eighth as sanctioned for pursers
Pay Rs 50			
Allowance for keeping accounts „ 30			
	80		
All others	50		
22 Acting Master—			
In command	250		Including table-money, Rs 25
All others	175		
23 Acting 1st Class Second-Master	100		
Acting 2nd Class Second-Master	70		
Command Allowance to Acting 2nd Masters of either class, in addition to their pay	100		
24 Gunnery Officer of the Receiving Ship	200		In addition to the pay of his rank
When held by an officer holding a 1st Class Certificate in Gunnery, consolidated pay at the following rates—			
A Commander	800		
A Lieutenant	600		
25. Allowances to Lieutenants, Mates, or Midshipmen, holding 1st or 2nd Class certificates in Gunnery—			
If holding a 1st Class certificate	40		In addition to the pay of his rank
Ditto 2nd ditto.	20		Ditto ditto
26 Assistant Surveyor	175		Ditto ditto
Ditto. When held by a Mate or Midshipman, Rs 4 per day (in addition to the pay of his rank)			
27 Superintendent of Tenders	60		Ditto ditto
28 Store Accountant	30		Ditto ditto. To be held by one of the Lieutenants, Mates, or Acting-Masters on the ship's establishment, and failing these, by the Officer Commanding The allowance is not payable until the accounts have been rendered.

	Rank or Rating	Pay per Month R	Pay per Month A	Remarks.
29	Naval Instructor	500		
30	Teacher of Gunnery	500		Pay according to Class in addition to Rs 60, as batta
31	Engineers*			Engineers of all three Classes receive a free passage to India and home also, on discharge, if their conduct has been satisfactory, and they have completed five years' service
	1st Class for the first 3 years £200			
	2nd ditto 150			
	3rd ditto 100			
	1st Class from the fourth to the seventh year inclusive 250			
	2nd ditto 175			
	3rd ditto 125			
	1st Class from the end of the seventh year . 300			The Chief Engineer received also 1s per day for each Apprentice under tuition
	2nd ditto 200			
	3rd ditto 150			Engineer Apprentices were divided into three Classes, receiving respectively 15, 10, and 8 Rs per month After five years' service, being then 18, they were eligible to pass as journeymen, when the scale of monthly pay was 30 rupees
	With an additional allowance, while steam is up, or employed elsewhere fitting engines, of—			
	4s per day to a 1st Class Engineer			
	3s ditto 2nd ditto			
	2s 6d ditto 3rd ditto			
32	Boiler Makers, 1st Class	150		In addition, board and lodging allowance, Rs 50
	Ditto 2nd	125		
	With an increase of Rs 50, in both classes after five years' service			
33	Gunners, Boatswains, Carpenters—			
	1st Class	100		These Warrant Officers also receive a gratuity of Rs 100 on promotion, to assist them in procuring an outfit
	2nd ,,	80		
	3rd ,,	60		
	Acting	50		

The following Petty Officers, †being of the 1st Class, receive Rs. 33 per month —Master-at-Arms, Ship's Corporal, and Seamen's Schoolmaster, Gunner's Mates, Captain's Coxwain, Quartermasters, Boatswain's Mates, Captains of the Forecastle, Maintop, and Foretop, Sailmaker, Captain of the Hold Carpenter's Mate, Caulker, Cooper, Armourer, and Purser's Steward

The following Petty Officers, being of the 2nd Class, receive Rs 30 per month —Captain of the Mast, Captain of the Afterguard, Yeoman of Signals, Caulker's Mate, Painter, Yeoman of Store-rooms, Armourer's Mate, and Sailmaker's Mate Able Seamen‡ receive per month, Rs 26, Ordinary Seamen and Landsmen, Rs 20, Marine Apprentices, or 1st Class Boys, Rs 9, 2nd Class Boys, Rs 5

* The scale of pay of the Engineers was reckoned in English money,

† Petty Officers and Seamen conducting themselves to the satisfaction of their commanding officers, receive after two years' service, one gold badge and a gratuity of Rs 24, after five years' service, a second gold badge and a gratuity of Rs 36, and, after eight years' service, a third gold badge and a gratuity of Rs 40 A further sum of Rs 2 is given to every Petty Officer and seaman, as a monthly allowance for good conduct, provided he has not broken his leave, or otherwise misconducted himself Seamen-gunners are, for the first three years from the date of their certificates, allowed per month, Rs 2, second three years, Rs 3, third three years, Rs 4, in addition to the pay of their ratings

‡ European seamen are allowed Rs 50 bounty money for three years' service, and Native stokers, Rs 15 Crimpage money at Rs 10 per head is allowed to persons procuring seamen for vessels at out-stations, but not at Bombay

BATTA.

Burmese War, 1824-26.—The Service received War Batta,* on the scale per diem granted to the Army, according to the Regulations, and in addition, the Governor-General in Council, by General Orders, dated the 3rd of August, 1826, granted to the Officers and men engaged in the Burmese War, a donation of six months' batta to those who had served for a period of not less than twelve months, and half that amount to such as had served a less period. On the 19th of October, 1827, a second General Order was issued from the same authority, stating that the Court of Directors had authorised the issue of a second donation of batta of a like amount, to the forces engaged in Ava and Arracan, which was made applicable to the Bombay Marine by an Order of the Bombay Government, dated 22nd of September, 1828.

By Government Letter of the 24th of November, 1832, and Government General Order of the 10th of October, 1835, the following rates of batta to the various grades of the Indian Navy, were authorised in supersession of those formerly existing —

	Per Diem Rs	a	p
Captains	20	0	0
Commander	15	0	0
Lieutenant, Surgeon, and Purser	4	0	0
Midshipman and Clerk	2	0	0
Warrant Officers	2	0	0
Petty Officers and Seamen	0	4	0

Half batta, as well as batta, was also introduced into the Indian Navy agreeably to the usage of the military department.

Under a Resolution of the Governor-General in Council of the 4th of August, 1841, the Officers and men of the Indian Navy were awarded the following scale of batta, also applicable to similar grades of the Royal Navy, under the conditions established by orders of the Court of Directors, dated 22nd of December, 1786, and the 4th of August, 1791 —

	Per Diem Rs	a	p
Captain, three years' post	12	8	0
Post-Captain, under three years	10	0	0
Commander	7	8	0
Lieutenant	3	0	0
Master	3	0	0
Purser	3	0	0
Surgeon	3	0	0
Assistant-Surgeon	3	0	0
Midshipmen	3	0	0
Secretary to Senior officer	3	0	0
Schoolmaster	3	0	0
Master's Mate	3	0	0
Captain's Clerk	3	0	0
Gunner, Boatswain, and Carpenter	3	0	0
Petty Officers and Seamen	0	4	0
Non-commissioned Officers and Marines	0	4	0
Boys	0	4	0

Under date the 18th of July, 1860, war batta to medical subordinates serving in the Indian Navy, was payable at the following rates —

Assistant Apothecaries	Rs 30 per month.
Hospital Assistants	Rs 5 „

On the 2nd of December, 1854, the rate of war batta for European and country-trained Engineers was fixed at Rs 3 per diem. On the 14th of November, 1861, the rate for Natives was fixed at Rs. 3 per month.

* The Military and Naval forces engaged in Burmah also received Prize-money, for we find that an Order was published on the 7th of March, 1838, directing those entitled to participate, to forward their claims to the Superintendent.

Half batta was awarded to Ward-room Officers and Midshipmen, while in Steampackets, in Government Orders dated the 9th of March and 11th of June, 1838, but by Government Order of the 14th of May, 1850, the allowance was discontinued from the following 30th of April

The following amounts of War Batta and Donation Batta were paid to the Service —

Capture of Aden, 1839 —Batta for one month to the Officers and crews of the H C S 'Coote' and schooner 'Mahi' (24th January, 1842)

China War of 1840-42 —Under Government Order of the 30th of January, 1844 —

	Per Month Rs	a	p
Commanders	456	9	0
Lieutenants and Officers ranking with them	182	10	0
Midshipmen, Clerks, Engineers, Gunners, Boatswains, and Carpenters	91	5	0
European Petty Officers, Engineers, Apprentices, Seamen and boys	6	13	4
Natives	3	0	0

Scinde War,* 1842 —Batta for six months to Captain Nott and Officers and crew of the 'Meteor,' 'Nimrod,' and 'Comet,' for being present at the battle of Dubbi, near Hyderabad (24th October, 1844)

Siege of Mooltan, 1848-49 —Six months' donation batta was paid to the Officers and men of the Indian Naval Brigade,† and passed Midshipmen Davies, Heathcote, Cookson, Cousens, and Elder, serving with the rank of Acting-Masters, participated on the scale of Captains in the Army

Burmese War, 1852 —Under Government General Order of 3rd January, 1854, six months' donation batta was paid to Officers and men of the Indian Navy at the following rates —

	Rs	a	p
Commander, and Lieutenant in command of a ship, as Major in the Army	2,739	6	0
Lieutenant, Surgeon, Acting-Master, and Purser, as Captain in the Army	1,095	12	0
Mates of three years' standing, Assistant-Surgeon, and Acting 1st Class Second Master, as Lieutenant in the Army	730	0	3
Midshipman, Clerk, Engineer, Gunner, Boatswain, Carpenter, and Acting 2nd Class Second-Master, as Ensign in the Army	547	14	0
Petty Officers, Seamen, Engineer Apprentices, and European servants paid by the State, as Privates in the Army	38	0	0
Lascars, Stokers, Coal Trimmers, and Native servants paid by the State, as Native Privates in the Army	18	0	0
Assistant Apothecaries	180	0	0
Hospital Assistants	30	0	0

Six months' donation batta was also given to all ranks employed in the Persian Expedition

Under orders of the Bombay Government, dated the 26th of August, 1857, the War Batta of their ranks was awarded to Officers and men of the Service employed on detached duty on shore in Bengal By letter of the Supreme Government, dated the 8th of December, 1858, Lieutenants in command of the Detachments in Bengal were allowed Rs 300 per month as pay (including Table Money and Batta), and Rs 100 per month as command allowance, and Lieutenant Hellard at Port Blair received a consolidated allowance of Rs 600 per month Under orders of the Bombay Government, dated the 7th July, 1858, the officers and men of the Naval Artillery Brigades formed for service at Bombay and Surat, were allowed batta, but the Lieutenants in command were refused the extra pay granted to those serving in Bengal (See Government Letter of the 24th of February, 1859)

* In the distribution of the Scinde Prize-money, the Officers and crews of the 'Shannon,' and 'Coote,' serving on the Scinde coast between the 17th of February, and the 24th of March, 1843, under the command of Captain Lynch, were admitted to participate (Order dated 10th of June, 1848) A second distribution of Scinde Prize-money was made (6th of September, 1849)

† By Order of the 21st of January, 1853, the Royal Warrant was published for the distribution of the Prize-money, in which the Service shared.

APPENDIX D.

REGULATIONS

OF THE

INDIAN NAVAL FUND.*

Instituted 1st January, 1830

Table showing the amount of Pension to Widows during their Widowhood, and to Children of each Class and Condition.

	Full Pension			Deduct amount of Lord Clive's pension †			Nett pension payable by the Fund		
	£			£	s	d	£	s	d
Widow of a Captain	250	0	0	91	5	0	158	15	0
Ditto Commander	210	0	0	68	8	9	141	11	3
Ditto Senior Lieutenant	156	0	0	45	12	6	110	7	6
Ditto Lieutenant or Purser	136	0	0	45	12	6	90	7	6
Children (with reference to Arts 16 and 18 as to limitation) if bereft of both parents, under 10 years of age . . .	30	0	0	—	—	—	30	0	0
From 10 to 16 . .	40	0	0	—	—	—	40	0	0
Ditto ditto who have lost their father, under 10 years of age	20	0	0	—	—	—	20	0	0
From 10 to 18 years .	30	0	0	—	—	—	30	0	0
Daughters only on the death of both parents after attaining their 18th year, according to Articles 17 and 18	40	0	0	—	—	—	40	0	0

Art 3 —Scale of Annuities payable to children for whom additional donations may have been made under Art. 11

	If bereft of Father only	If bereft of both parents
Under seven years .	£20	£30
From seven to ten years	£30	£40
From ten to eighteen years	£40	£50

* We append some extracts from the Rules, which are too lengthy to be given *in extenso* When the management of the Fund was taken over by the Secretary of State for India, it was found to be in a most flourishing condition.

† *These pensions from Lord Clive's Fund are not given to the widows of retired Officers, but application for them must be made to Government.*

Art 4 —To continue to females until marriage or death

Art 5 —The Annuities to boys will cease on the completion of their eighteenth year, at which time the guardians of each of them shall receive from the Fund the sum of £150

Art 6 —On application being made, and on sufficient reasons being assigned, the above sum of £150 may be paid previous to the child, boy, or girl, completing its eighteenth year, but in all cases the payment of this sum shall extinguish all claims to a continuance of the Annuities

Art 7 —The benefit of the preceding Articles shall be extended to such female children as at present receive Annuities, provided that the increased donation be deducted from the amount payable by the Fund, by instalments of one-fourth the amount of pension, the same benefit to all boys on the same terms.

Art 8 —On the same condition, a child born within ten months after the death of its father shall be entitled to the increased annuity, on the necessary affidavit being made by the widow, and transmitted to the secretary

Art 9 —Females for whom additional donation shall have been paid, and who have attained the age of eighteen previous to the death of their fathers, shall nevertheless be entitled to admission on the Fund, their Annuities continuing in like manner with those of other female children (Annuitants) until their marriage or death

Art 10 —The guardians of female Annuitants shall declare, six months previous to their attaining the age of twenty-one years, whether they wish to receive the final portion, or to continue as Annuitants, and the receiving any Annuity after that age forfeits all right to the payment of portion

Art 11 —Donations shall be paid by subscribers within one year of the birth of each child, of Rs 100 for a son, and Rs 200 for a daughter, but such donations shall not be considered as forming a part of the minimum required to entitle subscribers to the full benefits of the Fund

Art 14 —Notice of the birth of each child shall be given to the Secretary in India, or the agents in London, within three months after its occurrence In failure of such intimation, and unless it shall have been proved to the satisfaction of the directors that the delay arose from unavoidable circumstances, the parent of such child shall pay double donation, or Rs 200 if a son, and Rs 400 if a daughter

Art 16 —Widows who are Annuitants on the Fund, and who may hereafter marry, are allowed to retain one-half of the Annuity formerly granted to them, and if the second husband be a subscriber, it shall become optional with the widow to claim the Annuity prescribed for the rank of either the first or second husband, but she is not to receive more than one full Annuity

Art 17 —The Annuities to children for whom additional donations shall not have been paid under Art 11 shall cease to sons, without reservation, on the completion of their sixteenth year, and to daughters on the completion of their sixteenth year, if their mother shall be living, or on their being settled in life, in case of the death of both parents, the Annuity (if the death of the parent occurs subsequently to their attaining their eighteenth year) to commence from the date of the death of the last surviving parent On the sons completing their sixteenth year, and the daughters being settled in life, the guardians of each of them shall claim from the Fund the sum of £100, to assist in his or her establishment in life

Art. 18 —The grant of Annuities to the daughters, for whom additional donation shall not have been paid under Art 11 shall, in case of the death of both parents, after their attaining their eighteenth year, be subject to the deduction of any yearly income beyond half the amount of Pension which they may derive from any other source, and in case such other income shall amount to £90 per annum, the Annuity granted from the Fund shall cease and terminate. The guardians, in claiming the gratuity allowed on the settlement in life of each child, shall satisfy the Directors of the justice of the claim, but in all cases the payment of the sum shall be a virtual resignation of any claim to a continuance of the Annuity

Art. 19 —All widows of subscribers who do not possess such amount of property as excludes them from the benefit of Lord Clive's Fund, and who are not provided with a passage to England by Government, shall be entitled to receive (for one passage only) the sum of Rs 1,500, to defray the same.

Art 22.—The children of a deceased subscriber, without reference to their age, or the rank of their parents, shall be entitled to receive as follows, to defray the expenses of their passage to England —

For a Single Child	Rs 800
For the Second ditto	500
For the Third ditto	400
For the Fourth ditto	200
For the Fifth ditto	100

Providing that no more than Rs. 2,500 be granted to one family, inclusive of the mother.

Art 23 —A married subscriber shall be entitled to receive, on his personal security, a loan equal to twelve months' nett pay of the rank he holds, for the purpose of sending his wife or children to England, provided that the said loan be repaid, with interest, by instalments, within twenty-four months from the date of its advance A similar loan on the same terms and conditions, shall be granted to a married subscriber for the purpose of bringing his family from England, provided that all loans formerly advanced to him shall been duly discharged

Art 24 —Widows, Annuitants on the Fund, shall furnish, every half-year, an affidavit of the names and number of children alive for whom such Annuitant claims a pension, according to the Regulations

Art 25 —In the same manner, the next of kin, or guardians of children, Annuitants on the Fund, shall furnish a half-yearly affidavit to the same effect

Art 26 A married Lieutenant and Purser (or widower of that rank with offspring) at home on sick certificate, being married at the date of his departure from India, shall be entitled to receive from the Fund £20 per annum for his wife, and £10 for each of his children, if the number does not exceed two, during the period of his receiving pay in England, but the total sum so payable for wife and children shall not exceed £40 per annum

BENEFITS TO UNMARRIED SUBSCRIBERS

Art 27 —Subscribers below the rank of a Lieutenant proceeding to England on sick certificate, shall be entitled to receive from the Fund £20 per annum, during the period of their receiving pay in England.

Art. 28 —Subscribers of the rank of Captain or Commander, who may proceed to Europe on sick certificate, and who are not furnished with a passage by Government, shall be entitled to receive, for that purpose, a sum not exceeding Rs 1,500, to defray the same, on loan, to be paid, with interest, within twenty-four months after their return to India.

Art 29 —Subscribers, of whatever rank, who may have proceeded to Europe on sick certificate, and subscribers who may have proceeded thither on furlough, and may be compelled to remain after the expiration of such furlough, on account of certified ill health, shall be entitled to receive from the agents in England (as a loan only), for a Captain or Commander, £150, for Lieutenant or Purser, £120, for a Midshipman or Clerk, £60, to defray their passage outward, the same to be repaid, with interest, wholly by Captains and Commanders, and half the amount only by officers below that rank, after their arrival in India, by instalments not exceeding twenty-four. A second loan must be all repaid without interest

Art 32 —Subscribers below the rank of Commander, returning to India from furlough, shall be entitled to receive from the agents in England (as a loan only) the sum of £60, the same to be repaid, with interest thereon, after their arrival in India, by instalments, not exceeding twelve

Art 33 —Pursers proceeding to England on sick certificate, not being allowed passage-money by Government, shall be entitled to receive Rs 1,200 from the Fund, on loan, half of which to be paid back, with interest, in twenty-four months after their return to India.

THE END.